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History of the Quṭb Shāhī Dynasty

Sulṭān Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk, "Baṛā Malik", Founder of the Quṭb Shāhī Dynasty.
(Courtesy, Director, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)

HISTORY
OF THE
QUṬB SHĀHĪ DYNASTY

by
H. K. Sherwani

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To the Memory of

Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh I
Statesman, Soldier, Administrator,
whose Descendents caused
the Re-florescence of Haidarabad
as a great Cultural Unit.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

(Arabic, Persian, Urdu)

I. Vowel Sounds

a	ـَـ
ā	ـَـا
ē	ـے
i	ـِـ
ī	ـِـی
u	ـُـو
ū	ـُـ ر
ai	اے
au	اَو

II. Consonants

ا , ء	a	س	s
ت	t	ش	sh
ٹ	ṭ	ص	ṣ
ث	th	ض	ẓ
چ	ch	ط	ṭ
ح	ḥ	ظ	ẓ
خ	kh	ع	c
د	d	غ	gh
ڈ	ḍ	ق	q
ذ	dh	و	w
ر	r	ہ	h
ڑ	ṛ	ي	y
ز	z		
ژ	zh		

ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.—Abu'l-Faẓl: Akbar Nāmā.
Aravidu—Heras: The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara.
Asafiya—Aṣafiya State Library (now the State Central Library)
Bahmanis—Sherwānī: Bahmanīs of the Deccan, an Objective Study.
Barani—Ẓiyāu'd-dīn Baranī: Tārikh-i Firōz Shāhī.
Banerji—Banerji: History of Orissa.
Basatin—Ibrāhīm Zubāirī: Basātīnu's-Salāṭīn.
Bernier—Bernier: Travels in the Moghul Empire.
Briggs—Briggs: History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India.
Burhan—'Ali bin 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā: Burhān-i Ma'āthir.
B. & W.—Bilgrami and Wilmott: Historical and Descriptive Sketches of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions.
C.H.I.—Cambridge History of India.
E.D.—Elliot and Dowson: History of India as told by her own Historians.
E.I.—Epigraphia Indica.
E.I.A.P.S.—Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement.
E.I.M.—Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.
E. Is.—Encyclopaedia of Islam.
English Factories—Foster: English Factories in India.
Ethe—Ethe: Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library.
Fer.—Muḥammad Qāsim Ferishta: Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī, also called "Tārīkh-i Ferishta."
Further Sources N. & V.—Nilkanta Sastri and Venkata Ramnayya: Further Sources of Vijayanagar History.
Gribble—Gribble: History of the Deccan, I.
H.A.—Mīr 'Alam (Abū Turāb): Ḥadīqatu'l-'Ālam.
Hada'iq—'Ālī bin Taifūr Bistāmī: Ḥadā'iqu's-Sālāṭīn.
Hadiqa—Niẓāmu'd-din Aḥmad Ṣā'idī: Ḥadīqatu's Salāṭin.
Hayat—Zor: Ḥayāt Mīr Mu'min.
I.A.—Indian Antiquary.
I.C.—Islamic Culture, Haidarabad.

I.H.C.—Indian History Congress.

Ivonow—Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J.A.S.B.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J.I.H.—Journal of Indian History.

J.P.H.S.—Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.

J.N.I.—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.

Kambo—Muḥammad Swāleḥ Kambo: 'Amal-i Swāleḥ.

Lahori—'Ābdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī: Bādshah Nāmā.

Landmarks—Bilgrami: Landmarks of the Deccan.

Mahnama—Ghulām Ḥusain Khān: Māhnāmā.

M.A.—Muḥammad Kāẓim: Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī.

M.L.—Khāfī Khan: Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb.

Munt.—Badaonī: Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh.

Num. Sup.—Numismatic Supplement.

Q.S.—Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shah.

Relations—Moreland: Relations of Golconda.

R.H.A.D.—Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department.

Rieu—Rieu: Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum.

Rihlah—Ibn-i Baṭūṭā: Riḥlah.

Salar Jung—Salar Jung Library, Haidrabad.

S. & A.—Sewell and Aiyangar: Inscriptions of South India.

Sewell—Sewell: A Forgotten Empire.

Sources—Aiyangar: Sources of Vijayanagar History.

Sprenger—Sprenger: Catalogue of the Persian, Arabic and Hindu'sta'ny Manuscripts of the Library of the Kings of Oudh.

Storey—Storey: Persian Literature a Bio-bibliographical Survey.

Tab.—Niẓāmu'd-din Aḥmad: Tabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhī.

Tadh.—Rafī'ud-dīn Shīrāzī: Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk.

Tar. Gol.—A.M. Siddiqui: Tarikh-i Golkunda.

T.Q.—Tawārīkh Quṭb Shāhī.

Velugot—Velugoṭivārivamśavalī, ed. Vengata Ramnayya.

Zaf.—'Abdu'l-lah el-Makkī: Ẓafaru'l-Wāliḥ.

Zafarah—Girdhārīlāl Aḥqar: Tārīkh-iẒafarah.

PREFACE

My study of the Bahmanīs was motivated by my *Life of Maḥmūd Gāwān* which was published in 1942, and when I completed the history of the Bahmanīs in 1953 it was only natural to pass on to the study of the Quṭb Shāhīs whose chef d'oevre, Haidarabad, still thrives as the capital of modern Andhra Pradesh and as the seventh largest city of the sub-continent. The scions of the dynasty formed a connection link between the Bahmanīs and the Aṣaf Jāhīs, and they were also the promoters of that peculiar culture which is sometimes dubbed Dakhnī culture, itself the result of the synthesis of cultures from practically all parts of the country as well as from overseas, which came face to face in the great tableland of which the Quṭb Shāhī dominions formed a significant part. Beginning as an enclave round the great natural bastion of Golkonda, Quṭb Shāhī dominions spread in all directions, till the time came when their officers administered the east coast as far south as San Thome and inland as far as Penukoṇḍā, Karnūl and Indūr, while. their north-eastern border ran with the border of northern Orissa. The whole of this vast area, which in fact exceeded modern Andhra Pradesh to some extent, has been named Tilang by our Indo-Persian chronicles, for the generality of a very large part of the population of the region spoke Telugu as their mother-tongue. Literature flourished, and most of the rulers were poets of some merit in Persian and Dakhnī, while a majority of them were patrons of Telugu which had virtually become their second mother-tongue.

The period saw a complete understanding between the two great sections of the population, Hindu and Muslim. These included migrants from the north as well as those from over the seas, mainly from Iran and Central Asia, the home of the Quṭb Shāhī progenitors. The city of Haidarabad was founded in 1000/1592-3, and it soon proved to be the *sangam* of practically all the cultures of India.

Owing to the insistence of friends, the life histories of two Quṭb Shāhī monarchs, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, have already been published, while numerous papers on the Quṭb Shāhī period have been included in some of the learned journals in India and abroad. I am

grateful to the publishers of the two monographs as well as to the editors of the Journals for having allowed me to utilise the materials contained in them. I have revised practically every word of my published papers in the light of my later studies and have had to change large portions of the script in order to link together the subject matter in the form of a book.

An attempt has been made to transliterate non-English names and technical terms according to the scheme of diacritical marks attached, as correctly as possible; but the exigencies of the press have sometimes come in the way. Moreover it has not been considered necessary to put diacritical marks to familiar names of places like Golkonda, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Gulbarga, and to the names of Mughal Emperors, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The anglicised names of towns like Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Bangalore, Masulipatam etc., have likewise been left untouched. For the spelling of name of the later Quṭb Shāhī capital, "Haidarabad" has been preferred to the rather outlandish "Hyderabad", though the latter has been used when an indication had to be made regarding the place of the publication of a certain book of the locus of a library.

Notes, both explanatory and referential, have been placed at the end of each chapter rather than at the end of a page so that they might not detract the attention of an ordinary reader but may be of help to those who wish to make a further study. For the sake of brevity, whenever a reference has been made to a chapter of a book or an article in a Journal, generally only the first page of the chapter or the article is indicated.

It is a matter of satisfaction that I have been able to find the correct longitudes and latitudes of practically every city, town and village of south India which has any importance in the history of the Quṭb Shāhīs—and these number more than 250. This has been an uphill task mainly for two reasons. Firstly years ago have been dwarfed out of all recognition today and it has been difficult to find them in the Survey of India Sheets; and secondly, because the orthography of the names of most of these places has been twisted to an almost impossible degree in the accounts left to us by European travellers, and to a lesser extent by our Indo-Persian chronicles. The longitudes

and latitudes of historical places have been mentioned only once in the text.

The history of the Bahmanī Succession States has been eclipsed by the scintilating period of Mughal supremacy. If the present study, which comprises a discussion of the political, linguistic and cultural development of the region, puts into lime-light the lesson that, after all, what we call Indian Culture is the result of the synthesis of cultures prevalent in different parts of the country, the efforts of the author in bringing out this volume would not be in vain.

Haidarabad H. K. S.
August, 1972.

371	7	**Bāgh**	**Ghāt**
387	21	facilitate	felicitate
387	21	Ismā'il	Ibrāhīm
421	19	Fizūni	Fuzūni
428	9	VII	VI
467	8	mu'mmadis	Maḥmūdis
523	last line	Ḥusain	Ḥusaini
537	16	*Shu'arabi*	Shu'arā'i
562	17	*Tiraqqa'it-i*	*Ruqqa'it-i*
577	30 & 31	*Companies*	*Factories*
657	8	the even:	that even
665	last line	Mādanna	Mēsanna

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story in his

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home. In the
ı reached Bidar.
urn home. When
him to leave but
As my uncle had no
His Majesty to allow
in order that he should
proposal. When my uncle
old him that I preferred to
it was not possible to face the
espoilers of my race. Moreover I
venty[12] and felt that I had greater
it was bravery and prowess which
orts for favours in the Deccan. On
e decided to leave me at Bidar and
ne."[13]

here to give a short account of the con-
in the Bahmanī kingdom towards the
ntury when Sulṭān-Qulī arrived at the
Bidar. During the greater part of the re
surnamed Lashkarī, the government w
nds of the dowager Queen Mukhdūma-i
nd after her in the hands of Khwāja-i Ja

371	7	**Bāgh**	**Ghāt**
387	21	facilitate	felicitate
387	21	Ismā'il	Ibrāhīm
421	19	Fizūnī	Fuzūnī
428	9	VII	VI
467	8	muḥmmadīs	Maḥmūdis
523	last line	Ḫusain	Ḫusainī
537	16	*Shu'arabi*	Shu'arā'i
562	17	*Tiraqqa'āt-i*	*Ruqqa'āt-i*
577	30 & 31	*Companies*	*Factories*
657	8	the event	that even
665	last line	Mādanna	Mēsanna

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE

SULṬĀN-QULĪ QUṬBU'L MULK

(up to 2-9-1543)

Section I. *Sulṭān-Qulī's Rise to Power*

Sulṭān-Qulī's Antecedents

Sulṭān-Qulī[1] belonged to the Turkoman tribe of Qarā Quyunlu which had black sheep as its emblem. Luckily we have his genealogy in our possession in the handwriting of his great grandson, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, and this tallies, to a large extent, with the other genealogies we possess.[2] Compared to the genealogies of the Bahmanī kings, who took pride in being descended from the semi-mythical Persian hero, Bahman, this genealogy seems sober and real.[3] It is short and pithy and takes the ancestral tree only up to the fifth degree before Sulṭān-Qulī, i.e., up to Qara Muḥammad, the chief of the Qarā Quyunlu tribe. So far as it goes it corresponds to the genealogy given in the Tārikh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh which may be regarded as the official history of the first part of the Quṭb Shāhī rule, but the latter has added a number of names in order to connect the tree with Japheth son of Noah.[4]

Qarā Muḥammad held sway over Armenia and Azerbāijān, but his son Qarā Yūsuf, who succeeded him in 1387, was dispossessed of his patrimony by Tīmūr[5] and was forced to fly to Egypt. On Tīmūr's death in 1405, however, Qarā Yūsuf returned home and succeeded in wresting Azerbāijān, Hamadān, Isfahān and Qazwīn from the Tīmūrids, making Tabrīz his capital. Qarā Yūsuf died in 823/1420 and was succeeded six months later by his son Amīr Iskandar, while on Iskandar's death in 841/1438 the throne was seized by his younger uncle Jahān Shāh who managed to annex Fārs, Kirmān and Khurāsān

and was able to extend his sway in the part of Asia from Azerbāijān to Hirāt to which he moved his capital. Jahān Shāh was murdered by Ḥasan Bēg the chief of the Aq Quyunlu tribe which had the representation of the White Sheep as its emblem and which was the traditional enemy of the Qarā Quyunlu. Ḥasan sought out practically every member of the Qarā Quyunlu but it was brought to his notice that Pīr-Qulī, son of Alwand and grandson of Iskandar was not a man with a quarrelsome temperament and had absolutely no intention of claiming his patrimony. It was for this reason that Ḥasan Bēg spared Pīr-Qulī and his family.[6]

Pīr-Qulī was married to Khadījā Bēgam who was the granddaughter of Jahān Shah. They had two sons, Allah-Qulī and Uwais-Qulī. Uwais-Qulī had married Maryam Khātūn, daughter of Malik Ṣwāleh Hamadānī to whom was born a son, who was named Sulṭān-Qulī. When the boy grew up he was taught the arts of war and peace as was the custom in those days, and, as transpires from his later life he became a scholar of the Qur'ānic lore, mathematics as well as other branches of knowledge such as astrology and necromancy. His grandfather Pīr-Qulī died when he was just twelve. But the crisis in the family really came with the death of Ḥasan Bēg and the accession of his son Ya'qūb to the leadership of the Aq Quyunlu on 1-10-882/6-1-1478.[7] Ya'qūb proved to be even harder on the Qarā Quyunlu than his father, and he began to put the remnant of the tribe to all kinds of torments. Not at all confident of what was in store for him Uwais-Qulī sent his son Sulṭan-Qulī to India and asked his brother Allah-Qulī to accompany him. The ostensible reason for this was to trade in horses[8] but it seems that the uncle and nephew also had rich and valuable presents with them which might be utilised to gain favour with the local potentates.

It is related by some of our chroniclers that the party came to India twice,[9] the first journey being to North India. But as they found the north to be in an unsettled condition they went back home. If this version of the story is correct it may have been on the accession of Amīr Ya'qūb that they were finally

forced out of their land. It is, however, certain that when they did come to the Deccan they found things there better than in almost every other part of India, for, despite the perennial dakhnī-āfāqī squabbles the major part of Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī's reign was a period of the extension of the Bahmanī Empire without and of comparative peace within.[10] Allāh-Qulī and his nephew were well received by the king. The *Tārikẖ-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* has related the episode of the return of Allāh-Qulī home in the words of Sulṭān-Qulī himself, and it would be interesting to quote the story in his own words:[11]

> "After being at the capital for some time my uncle requested His Majesty to allow us to return home. In the meantime the news of Sulṭān Ya'qūb's death reached Bidar. But the Sulṭan would not allow us to return home. When my uncle persisted the Sulṭān permitted him to leave but said that I, Sulṭān-Qulī, should stay on. As my uncle had no time to mention this to me he begged His Majesty to allow him to give his reply on the morrow in order that he should know what I thought of the proposal. When my uncle broached the subject to me I told him that I preferred to serve His Majesty as I felt that it was not possible to face the Aq Qūyunlū who were the despoilers of my race. Moreover I had attained the age of twenty[12] and felt that I had greater chances of rising here as it was bravery and prowess which were regarded as passports for favours in the Deccan. On hearing this my uncle decided to leave me at Bidar and himself returned home."[13]

Conditions at Bidar

It would be well here to give a short account of the conditions prevailing in the Bahmanī kingdom towards the end of the fifteenth century when Sulṭān-Qulī arrived at the capital Muḥammadābād-Bidar. During the greater part of the reign of Muḥammad III, surnamed Lashkarī, the government was virtually in the hands of the dowager Queen Mukẖdūma-i Jahān Nargis Bēgam and after her in the hands of Kẖwaja-i Jahān

Maḥmūd Gāwān. But with the death of the Queen about 1472 and the murder of the Khwājā ten years later the kingdom began to tread its downward path, and this was further precipitated by the murder of Maḥmūd Gāwān's successor in the office of the Prime Minister, Malik Ḥasan Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, in 1486. After the death of Muhammad III exactly one lunar year after Maḥmūd Gāwān's death, there was an utter lack of leadership and want of loyalty to the State, and the dakhni-āfāqī quarrels, which had marred the very face of the kingdom, were causing the political and even the military structure to disintegrate. There is no doubt that there were men of outstanding ability in the Deccan, but each of them was spending his energy in trying to get the control of the monarch, and as all of them could not severally control the centre at the same time they began to carve out autonomous principalities for themselves leaving the Sulṭān under the tutelage of Malik Qāsim Barīd the Turk who thus became the self-appointed Prime Minister of the kingdom. But the tradition of a centre was too deep-rooted to be shaken off easily, and while Qāsim did not dare to dethrone his ward the governors of far-flung provinces like Yūsuf 'Ādil of Bījāpūr, Aḥmad Niẓāmu'l-mulk of Aḥmadnagar and Fatḥu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-mulk of Berar never declared their complete independence of the centre till the very end of the monarchy.[14]

Sulṭān-Qulī's Rise to Power

The story of the rise of Sulṭan-Qulī at Muḥammadābād-Bidar as related by Tārikh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh seems too naive to be believed. It is related that once the king went on a hunting expedition accompanied by many nobles and a large entourage. Although there was plenty of game at hand still those who were nearest to the king did not bag as much game as the king would have liked. On the other hand Sulṭān-Qulī was very successful, and the king was mightily pleased with him. When the cavalcade returned to the capital he made a present of one hundred and fifty Arab, Turkish and 'Irāqī horses with golden saddles and reins to Sulṭān-Qulī and further

granted him the title of Khawāṣ Khān and the jagir of Kuṛangal for his expenses.[15]

We are aware that Sulṭān-Qulī was known as Khawāṣ Khan Hamadānī some time before he became Quṭbu'l-Mulk; but however prone to eccentric behaviour the Bahmani Sulṭān might have been it seems improbable that he should have raised the dignity of the āfāqī to such an extent and made such costly presents to him on the basis merely of a day's *shikār*. What is more likely is that this rise in the estimation of Sulṭān Shihābu'd-din was gradual and the honours that he received were the cumulative effect of a number of episodes which the chronicle above-mentioned has bracketed together as the result of a single day's adventure.

Ferishta recounts the story of Sulṭān-Qulī's rise in a different way and with a certain romantic touch about it.[16] He makes him a slave of the Sulṭān, and as such he would be in close touch with the ladies of royal household. He was honest, trustworthy and well-versed in mathematics, and as such his services were in great demand on the part of the ladies who entrusted him with their money matters and accounts. Conditions in the kingdom had deteriorated considerably;[17] not only was it difficult to collect taxes from far-flung provinces but highways were infested with thieves and dacoits and there was neither any security of life nor of property to the traveller. The centre of these disturbances was Tilangānā, and the king proposed to send a *posse* of three or four thousand troops to put down the recalcitrant elements there. On getting to know the intentions of the king, Sulṭān-Qulī petitioned him "through a lady of the royal household" that His Majesty might be pleased to allow him to lead the expedition. His petition was granted and he was able to rid the country of thieves and marauders to the complete satisfaction of the king. This raised him very high in the estimation of Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd and he was showered with many marks of royal favour.[18]

The first definite date we come across in the life of Sulṭān-Qulī in India is 21-11-892/8-12-1487, when he is prominently mentioned as one of those āfāqīs who saved Sulṭān Maḥmūd

from the danger which beset him at the hands of the rebellious dakhnīs. The King, who was a man of weak intellect, went out that day on picnic to Bāgẖ-i Dilkushā without being aware of the great discontent caused among a section of the population by the recent murder of Malik Ḥasan Niẓāmu'l-Mulk in which he was himself said to be implicated. As a matter of fact a conspiracy to put an end to the life of the Sulṭān himself was on foot, and now the conspirators took advantage of his absence to accomplish their nefarious object. When he returned from the outing he found that there was hardly any noble present to receive him and pay respect to him at the Palace. He, however, paid no heed to this and engaged himself in drinking bouts attended by such āfāqīs as 'Azīz Khān Turk, Ḥasan 'Alī Khān Sabzwārī and Syed Mīrza Mashhadī accompanied by a host of pretty girls.[19] All of a sudden a thousand men led by dakhnī and ḥabashī sardārs entered the fort and locked it from inside so that it might be impossible for those outside to enter the palace and protect the royal person.[20] It so happened that Khāwāṣ Khān (Sulṭān-Qulī) was present with a few armed gẖarībs or āfāqīs near the King. There was a free fight between these gẖarībs and the dakhnī rebels, and when the King seemed to give way Khawāṣ Khān induced him to persevere and not to lose heart.[21] The royal attendants were done to death by the rebels and the Sulṭān had to fly to Shāh Burj in the Fort where the battle continued between Khawāṣ Khān's men and the rebels. In the meantime the news of the revolt spread throughout the city and Jahāngir Khan, Farhād Khān, Qāsim Barīd, Shēr Khān Ardistānī, Kishwar Khān and others arrived with a detachment of soldiers twelve thousand strong, and scaling the battlement near Shāh Burj by means of rope ladders, defeated the rebels in a hand to hand scuffle and forced them to fly to Nagīna Maḥal.[22] The capital itself was the scene of a bloody carnage which lasted through the earlier part of the night, and it was only when the moon rose at midnight that the killing of the dakhnīs and āfāqīs came to an end. When morning came it was found that the King's party, i.e., the āfāqīs or gẖarībs, had full control of the situa-

tion. The Sulṭān was hard on the dakhnīs and ordered that in future the walls and battlements of the Fort should be guarded only by gharībs under the command of Khawāṣ Khān, Jahāngīr Khān and Ḥasan Khwaja-i Jahān, men who had saved the life of the King during the crisis. This was another feather in the cap of Sulṭān-Qulī Khawāṣ Khān who rose further in the estimation of the King and was showered further titles and honours.[23]

The next episode worth noting in the life of the founder of the State of Tilang was his success in the campaign against Bahādur Gīlānī the *thānedār of Goa*. This 'island', as our chroniclers call it, was part of the Governorate of Bījāpūr and was under the jurisdiction of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Gīlānī when Maḥmūd Gāwān held charge of the province. On Gāwān's murder in 887/1482 Niẓāmu'd-dīn continued to be the district officer of Goa. When Niẓāmu'd-dīn died in 896/1491,[24] the intrepid *thānedār,* perceiving the weakness of the central government of Bidar and dissensions at the Court, managed to take possession of the whole of Konkan coastline right up to Dābūl, occupying Kolhāpūr, Kalhar, Panhālā, Bēlgām, and other forts in what is now called the Southern Maratha country. He even went further and harassed the land as far as Chaul, sent one of his subordinate officers, Yāqūt Ḥabashī with twenty war boats[25] as far north as Mahāim which belonged to the kingdom of Gujarat, and sank twenty-five Gujarātī ships with all the merchandise on board.[26]

Hearing this the Sulṭān of Gujarat, Maḥmūd Bēgaḍa, sent an expedition under Malik Sārang Khān Qiwāmu'l-mulk to punish Bahādur for having violated Gujarāti territory and for putting the kingdom to so much loss. Malik Sārang Khān, however, could not proceed further than Agāshī and Bassein for beyond these places lay Bahmanī territory, and considering the happy relations which had subsisted between the two neighbouring Sulṭānates for decades, the Sulṭān of Gujarat was loath to encroach on it. He therefore sent Hāshim Tabrīzī with an autograph letter addressed to the Bahmanī monarch in which he complained that Bahādur had caused much depra-

dation on the Gujarātī coast, and appealed to Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd in the name of the old friendship between the two countries to put an end to the rebellion.[27]

Maḥmūd now became suddenly alive to the necessity of suppressing the activities of a rebel like Bahādur and sent word to all the *ṭarafdārs* or governors of different provinces, i.e., Yūsuf 'Ādil, 'Imādu'l-mulk and Niẓāmu'l-mulk to send their forces immediately, and himself, accompanied by Sulṭān-Qulī Khawāṣ Khān and a large army, proceeded to Bījāpūr where he was received right royally by Yūsuf 'Ādil. The King now sent an ultimatum to Bahādur ordering him to lay down his arms, release the officers captured by him and give up the Gujarātī ships which he had taken into his custody. As no answer was forthcoming he summoned Quṭbu'l-mulk Dakhnī, governor of Tilangānā to join forces with Bahādur. In the battle which ensued Quṭbu'l-mulk was killed and the Sulṭān thereupon conferred the vacant title on Khawaṣ Khān who is known in history by his new title Quṭbu'l-mulk. With the new Quṭbu'l-mulk in command the royal army gained a series of victories against Bahādur, for the rebels were driven out of Jāmkhanḍī while Malkhēṛ was taken by the King in person.[28] There seems to have been a hitch at Mubārakābād-Miraj where Pōṭa Nāyak, who was evidently one of Bahādur's partisans, opposed the royal army with 5,000 horse and 100,000 foot soldiers. Quṭbu'l-mulk was here faced by one of the most valiant of the leaders of the opposing forces, namely Pōṭa's son Dēvā Nāyak. But the day proved to be auspicious, for the Sulṭān's cause, for Dēvā was struck by Quṭbu'l-mulk and fell dead on the battlefield, followed by a general stampede of his army. When Pōṭa saw that the game was up he sent his envoys to the royal camp in order to beg the Sulṭān's pardon which was granted forthwith.[29] The Sulṭān now entered Miraj in triumph and was so pleased with what Quṭbu'l-mulk had done that he issued orders that he should be raised above all the nobles and maliks of the kingdom.[30]

Quṭbu'l-mulk now made Miraj the centre of his activities and again turned towards Bahādur. He harassed the rebel so

much that he was forced to send a message to the king on 20.7.898/7.5.1493 that he now desired to lay down his arms.[31] On the receipt of this good news the King was doubly pleased as on that very day a son was born to him, and it was perhaps due to this auspicious occasion that the terms offered to Bahādur were very lenient. Bahādur quite wrongly thought that this was due to some weakness on the part of the Sulṭān, and he now revoked all thought of making obeisance to him.

Maḥmūd now marched out of Miraj, captured Kalhar and forced Bahādur's representative at Dābūl to pay him the homage that was due. The scene now shifts to Panhālā which had been captured by the royal army and which Bahādur now attempted to recapture. The Sulṭān ordered Quṭbu'l-mulk to prevent Bahādur from reaching the citadel. The rebel met the general with a force "consisting of 2,000 Gīlānī, Māzendrānī and Khurāsānī horse" and 15,000 foot soldiers. It was in this battle fought before Panhālā on 5.2.900/5.11.1494 that Bahādur was killed.[32]

Quṭbu'l-mulk, Ṭarafdār of Tilangānā.

It has been mentioned already that Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd's reign saw the disintegration of the State leading to the progressive autonomy of provincial governors, while the Sulṭān himself became a virtual prisoner in his own palace, always guarded by Qāsim Barīd. When the Sulṭān returned to Bidar from his western campaign he was so pleased with Quṭbu'l-mulk's strategy that in 901/1496 he granted him the title of Amīru'l-Umarā and passed orders that he should be made the *ṭarafdār* of Tilangānā and the great fort of Golkonḍa be added to his already extensive jāgīrs.[33] Qāsim Barīd, on the other hand, had made many enemies at the Court who poisoned the King's ears by telling him how dangerous he was and that what he intended was that he should revolt against the authority of the Sulṭān and perhaps sit on the throne himself. The King, weak as he was, now sent secret word to Yūsuf 'Ādil, Niẓāmu'l-mulk and Quṭbu'l-mulk who went and besieged Qāsim's jagir town of

Ausa.[34] The siege went on for a whole month, and when matters had become acute for Qāsim he begged the royal pardon which was granted, and the provincial governors were now ordered to go back to their charges. It was, however, agreed that they should keep contact with the Sulṭān by presenting themselves at the capital at least once every year. Maḥmūd was greatly pleased with Quṭbu'l-mulk's response and increased the forces under his command by eight thousand men.[35]

Vijayanagar

On the southern frontier the Bahmanīs were face to face with the kingdom of Vijayanagar. The southern State had then a boy on the throne,[36] but he had a strong minister, Narasa Nāyaka, who took advantage of the civil turmoil at the Bahmanī court, and responding to the traitorous invitation extended to him by Qāsim Barīd, and advanced right into the Rāichūr doāb. The government at Bidar was so incompetent that it was not at all difficult for the Vijayanagari forces to reduce the two key fortresses of Rāichūr and Mudgal. Yūsuf 'Ādil, for whom this was like a stab in the back, first marched to Bidar, defeated the traitor and then went in full force against the army of the southern kingdom. He fought a pitched battle on a Monday in Rajab 898/ April 1493 and captured both the forts in one stroke.[37]

This unfortunate piece of territory, however, seems to have changed hands several times, coming now under the sway of the Bahmanīs and then passing under Vijayanagar. About 909/1503 there was a kind of lull among the large fief-holders, and the Sulṭān had the courage to demand the so-called arrears of tribute from the southern kingdom and almost simultaneously to lead the army southwards. He moved on to the village of Arkī where he was joined by Quṭbu'l-mulk with ten thousand foot-lancers, three thousand horse and fifty elephants. Yūsuf 'Ādil and Fatḥu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-mulk also joined in due course with large armies. When all was ready, 'Ainu'l-mulk, who commanded a part of the royal contingent, was ordered to wheel round by way of Kalhar and Kōlhāpūr towards Vijayanagar

with five thousand horse, five thousand foot soldiers and eighty elephants. The Sulṭān took over the command of the large army himself and laid siege to Rāichūr which was soon reduced. Hemmed in on all sides and hopeless of the outcome of the contest, the Rāya offered to pay off the tribute to the Sulṭān and relinquished the possession of Rāichūr and Mudgal which were granted to Yūsuf 'Ādil by the Sulṭān.[38]

Bahmanī arms were not so successful in the east. Not very long after Maḥmūd's accession, in 890/1485, Saluva Narasimha, who had usurped the throne of Vijayanagar, ordered his general, Iswara Nāyaka, to march against the Bahmanī camp at Koṇḍukūr where he completely routed the Deccan army, and then marched right into Orissan territory without meeting any resistance on the part of the Bahmanīs.[39] But he met a stiff resistance on the part of the Gajapatī of Orissa, for we find Purushottam overrunning the whole of the Godavari-Krishna doāb right up to Vijayawaḍa in 1488.[40]

Qāsim Barīd's conduct in the campaign against Vijayanagar had been by no means praiseworthy, and he seems to have been degraded and made to retire to Ausā. In his absence the office of the Prime Minister was handed over to Khān-i Jahān. When, however, Qāsim heard that the Sulṭān had returned from the south he also hurried to Muḥammadābād-Bidar, where he arrived on 9-12-909/24-4-1504, and as he found that those in charge of the Fort would not open its gates for him. He challenged the authority of the officers of the royal army and besieged the citadel. Underhand methods had to be employed and the fort was at last entered by promises of money to those who were in charge. The first thing which Qāsim did on his entry was to make short work of Khān-i Jahān whom he got murdered, and then he forced the Sulṭān to reappoint him Prime Minister. The large fief-holders naturally did not like the traitor to be at the helm of affairs again nor did they want the Sulṭān to become powerless. Majlis-i Rafī' Yūsuf 'Ādil therefore wrote to Quṭbu'l-mulk to join hands with him to release the Sulṭān from Barīd's clutches. They were joined, as usual, by Fatḥu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-mulk and Dastūr Dīnar. The fort had to undergo

a siege again as Qāsim had, by then, got full control of the royal forces. It was an irony of fate that the Sulṭān was now brought out of his palace to command his army against the very persons who had come to rescue him from the illegal clutches of his self-appointed Prime Minister. Quṭbu'l-mulk now detached his forces from the main army besieging the fort and attacked Qāsim Barīd singly. It was not long before the tables were turned. Ḥaidar Khān, who was *sar-naubat* in Qāsim's army, was killed and Qāsim himself was forced to fly. The nobles who had come to the rescue of the King now saw that their work had been accomplished, and in order to remove any misunderstanding which might have been created in his mind by their fighting against the royal army which was commanded by the King in person, they protested their loyalty to him and asked permission to return to their charges. The Sulṭān was again greatly pleased with Quṭbu'l-mulk's strategy and presented him with priceless jewels, costly robes of state and fine horses.[41]

Quṭbu'l-mulk and Yūsuf 'Ādil

Quṭbu'l-mulk had won the estimation of the Sulṭan for his success in every campaign that he had undertaken at his command, and it was well known that there was no one who was more loyal to the person of the King than the governor of Tilangānā. It appeals that ever since Jamādī I, 908/November, 1502, when Yūsuf 'Ādīl had ordained that the Shī'ī form of the call to prayer should be adopted and Shī'ī khuṭba read in the Jāmi' Masjid at Bijapur,[42] the relations between Sulṭān Maḥmūd and himself were not of the happiest, and this feeling led to a want in the Sulṭān's confidence in Yūsuf, who had evidently taken possession of certain towns without the Sulṭān's permission. Maḥmūd began to think that Yūsuf had become disloyal to the sovereign and wanted to teach him a lesson.[43] He therefore sent urgent messages to Quṭbu'l-mulk in 910/1505 to go and punish the ṭarafdār of Bijapur. Summons were also sent, as usual, to 'Imādu'l-mulk of Berar, but he did not respond to them. Although a Shī'ah himself Quṭbu'l-mulk immediately pro-

ceeded to Bidar where he was invested with the command of the royal forces and ordered to proceed against Yūsuf.[44] The two armies came face to face at Kōvilkonḍa to which Yūsuf had evidently advanced. Seeing that it was not possible to face such a strong force with any hope or success, Yūsuf agreed to enter into parleys direct with Quṭbu'l-mulk. A kind of peace conference was thereupon held in which Yūsuf poured out his heart to Quṭbu'l-mulk and told him the reason why he was regarded a suspect at the capital. He said that persons in high authority there were jealous of the āfāqīs and did not like any one of them to rise.[45] It was therefore most unbecoming that they should fight against each other, and what they should do instead was to join hands to put down thieves and marauders and to work for the progress of the State and good of their sovereign. This statement of policy must have impressed the sagacious Quṭbu'l-mulk and he readily agreed to withdraw. By the treaty entered into, Yūsuf evacuated the country round Kōvilkonḍa but retained the rest of his dominion without any fear of molestation.[46]

Battle of Deoni and fall of Rāichūr.

Probably the last effort made by a Bahmanī Sulṭan to win back the Rāichūr doab from Vijayanagar was made in Sha'bān 923/September 1517.[47] In that month Maḥmūd sent messengers to all the governors and fief-holders to send their forces to the capital. Accordingly Niẓāmu'l-mulk, Ismā'īl 'Ādil (who had succeeded his father Yūsuf in 1510) Dastūr Dīnār and Quṭbu'l-mulk sent their forces, but it is said that the number of soldiers sent by Quṭbu'l-mulk exceeded all previous records, and this shows how much he desired that the Bahmanī State should remain strong and not fall a prey to disintegrating tendencies. It is related in *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayam* (by Kumār Dhurajti) that this army consisted of one lakh Bundelas, one lakh Pindars, one lakh Muslims and a thousand elephants. This large army marched towards Vijayanagar, ostensibly to wrest the arrears of the so-called tribute from the Southern Kingdom. But the Bahmani forces were stopped at Deoni by Krishna Dēva Rāya's

army and were hemmed in on two sides by a far superior force consisting of six lakh footsoldiers, six thousand and six hundred horse and two thousand elephants.[48] A hand to hand struggle ensued in which the Bahmanī Sulṭān himself took part. He was thrown down from his steed and being severely wounded, had to be carried away in a palanquin to the tent of Mīrza Luṭfu'l-lāh, the son of Shāh Muḥibbu'l-lāh, who was closely related to the royal House. This was the signal for the Bahmanī army to retreat homewards. Unfortunately the severe wounds sustained by the Sulṭān grew worse and worse and he finally succumbed to them on 24-12-924/27-12-1518.[49]

"The Declaration of Independence"

We must try here to unravel a problem which has withstood solution so far, and it is the question whether Quṭbu'l-mulk declared his independence after Maḥmūd Shah's death. Ferishta's assertion that he declared his independence in 918/1512 has been conclusively proved to be incorrect by the decipherment of the inscription over the *miḥrāb* of the Jāmi' 'Masjid outside the Bālā Ḥisār Darwāzā of the Gōlkonḍa Fort This inscription records that the mosque was constructed "during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh al-Bahmanī".[50] This has led certain historians merely to advance the date of Quṭbu'l-mulk's "declaration" of independence from 1512 to 1518, the year of Maḥmūd Shāh's death.[51] But it is rather significant that there is no description of the formal assumption of the royal title in any of our chronicles besides mere passing references such as that by Ferishta, and even the Tārikh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh has only a bald statement that Sulṭān-Qulī also enthroned himself. On the other hand the same work is quite explicit that

"he was content with what His late Majesty (may his abode be in Paradise) had granted to him, and contrary to what other rulers (*'salaṭīn'*) of the Deccan, he continued to prove by his deeds that he was ever faithful and never cast his eyes towards the lands owned directly by the Bahmani Sultan."[52]

Briggs, who has translated extracts from the Tārikh-i

Muḥammad-Quṭb Shāh, gives a short description of how Niẓāmu'l-mulk, Ismā'īl 'Ādil and 'Imādu'l-mulk definitely declared their independence and proclaimed themselves kings. But when he comes to Quṭbu'l-mulk he simply mentions on the authority of "the History of Mahomed Kooli Kootb Shah" that

> "Sooltan Kooli Kootb-ool-Mulk, who still continued his allegiance to the shadow of royalty which remained, retained possession of the province of Tulingana, making Golconda his seat of government."[53]

This, of course, goes counter to Ferishta's assertion that he followed other governors by proclaiming his kingship "although his territories were not very large." But Ferishta himself is explicit that quite different to "other Sultans.....he continued to send rich presents in money as well as in kind" to the *rois fainéants* at Bidar."[54]

The question of the so-called independence of the governors of the Bahmani kingdom has been discussed elsewhere,[55] and it has been conclusively proved that even the chief of them, the ruler of Bījāpūr, did not proclaim his kingship till 945/1593.[56] There is, however, no doubt that the governors of different Bahmanī provinces took full advantage of the weakness of the central administration at Muḥammadābād-Bidar and became autonomous within their respective charges. Quṭbu'l-mulk was, of course, no exception to this and he did very much as he liked in his *ṭaraf* of Tilangānā. What is strange in his case is that from the evidence we possess we must come to the conclusion that although he survived the last Bahmanī sulṭān by at least five years he never formally declared his kingship or assume the royal dignity, and he died not as a king but merely as the seniormost nobleman of the Deccan.

Perhaps the most authentic evidence that Quṭbu'l-mulk never assumed the royal title will be found in the epitaph of his tomb, which reads thus:

انتقل صاحب هذه الروضة الرضية و هو الملک المغفور السعید الشهید الغازي لوجه الله المجاهد فی سبیل الله سلطان قلی المخاطب بقطب الملک المشهور به بر (ے) ملک

It would be noticed that the epithet used for the deceased ruler is not Quṭb Shāh (which is invariably used in the case of every

other member of the dynasty whose tombstone bears any epitaph), but merely Quṭbu'l-mulk, and as if to signal him out for his great age and position in the Bahmanī kingdom, to which he always remained loyal, he is designated *Baṛē Malik* or the Senior Nobleman.

This evidence, which is official and contemporary, should be conclusive. But there are other important bits of evidence to corroborate this further. We are fortunate in possessing a copy of a book named *Kanzu'l-lughat* which originally belonged to the Royal Library at Golkonda, in the collection of the late Nawab Sālār Jang.[58] It contains on its flyleaf the genealogy of the Quṭb Shāhī monarchs in the hand of the sixth ruler, Muḥammad Quṭb Shah himself. It reads as follows:

"Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh s/o Mīrza Muḥammad Amīn, s/o Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, s/o Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk, s/o Uwais Qulī, s/o Pīr Qulī, s/o Alwand Bēg s/o Mīrza Sikandar, s/o Qar(a) Yūsuf, s/o Qar(a) Muḥammad Turkmān."

The most noticeable thing about this genealogy is that while Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm are designated Quṭb Shāhs, Sulṭān-Qulī has not got that title appended to his name. If he had ever proclaimed himself king there is not the least doubt that he would have been so designated by his own great-grandson who was so careful about the royal title of his grandfather.

This is not all. We have further material proving our thesis in the *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*, which is virtually the official history of the first six rulers of the dynasty, that Sulṭān-Qulī never assumed kingship. The table of contents of the work, which was, as was the custom in those days, as much a part of the book as the contents themselves, is absolutely definite that, different to the later rulers who are entitled as kings, not only Sulṭān-Qulī but Jamshīd-Qulī and Subḥān-Qulī, who succeeded him, never assumed the royal title. The table is as follows:

Chapter 1 : Account of the fortunate and successful *amīr-zādah*, Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk;

Chapter 2 : Account of Jamshīd Quṭbu'l-mulk and his son who is known as Subḥān-Qulī;

Chapter 3 : Account of the life of the high and the mighty, of the Equipage of Farīdūn, the Magnificence of Solomon, with his Seat on the throne of Jem, the Refuge of the people, supported by God the Almighty, the Father of the Victorious, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh ;

Chapter 4 : Account of the life of one with position of Solomon, the Khāqān of the Age, with Sun as the Shield of his greatness and high dignity, King of kings, with Stars as his soldiers, having the support of God, Father of the Victorious, Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

Epilogue : Account of some of the events of the reign of the Khāqān of the World, King of kings, with finality in his verdict, the Priceless Gem in the collection of Royalty, Sun in the Firmament of the Realm, King, Refuge of the people, Father of the Victorious and of the Successful, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shah.[59]

It will be noticed that the contrast between the description of the founder of the dynasty on the one hand and the titles and panegyrics of the fourth and the fifth ruler is great indeed. It is absolutely clear that the writer, who himself lived in the reign of Sulṭān-Quli's grandson, considers his progenitor as merely "the son of an *amīr*" and calls the second ruler "Jamshīd Quṭbu'l-mulk", while the boy ruler, Subḥān, is merely mentioned. There was no doubt an antagonism between Ibrāhīm and Jamshīd, but that is no reason why Sulṭān-Qulī should have been dragged down from his pedestal if he had ever proclaimed his royal dignity and title.

Extent of the Province of Tilangānā in 901/1496

As has been related above the Bahmanī kingdom had reached its lowest ebb during the reign of Shihābu'd-din Maḥmūd, and not only had the *ṭarafdārs* and large fief-holders practically freed themselves from the control of the Centre, but the whole of the Bay littoral had been overrun in turns by the armies

of Orissa and Vijayanagar. The result was that when Sulṭān-Qulī was appointed *ṭarafdār* of Tilangānā in 901/1496 he could control merely the territory lying between the great fortress of Golkonḍā and the old Kākatiya capital, Warangal, while the territory between Warangal and the sea came to be occupied by local chieftain, Reddīs or Nāyaks, who owed loyalty mostly to the Gajapatī of Orissa. They had time to repair old forts or built new ones on hillocks which studded the gentle slope westwards. From the geographical point of view the Golkonḍā hill, which rises nearly four hundred feet from the ground level, is the easternmost important hill in the great Deccan plateau which extends from the Western Ghāts eastwards, and thus commands the whole country right up to eminences in the Godāvari-Krishna, doāb such as Dēvarkonḍa, Konḍāpalli, Konḍāvīdu and other places.[60] Had it not been for the extremely unsettled condition at the Bahmanī capital and the utter lack of patriotism on the part of the ministers after Maḥmūd Gāwān it would not have been very difficult to maintain Bahmanī hegemony in these parts. But it was otherwise, and the pressure of Orissa from the northeast and Vijayanagar from the south had proved too much for the decadent government at Bidar. Within six years of the death of Muhammad III, Purushottam of Orissa had overrun the whole of the Godāvari-Krishna doāb right up to Vijayanagar territory and had driven the Bahmanī forces as far south as Konḍāvīdu.[61] Even Warangal, the old Kākatiya capital, had been lost on January 21, 1504, to a local chief, the intrepid Hindu who is known in history as Shitab Khan.[62]

Section. II. *Quṭbu'l-Mulk's Military Campaigns*

Orissa and Vijayanagar

The eastern coast-line was not long in the possession of the Orissan potentate, for with the accession of Krishna Dēva Rāya towards the end of 1509 the whole atmosphere was, in a way, electrified and the Vijayanagar arms came to be in the ascendent such as they had never been before him. The days of Orissan ascendency were over with Purushottam's death, and the long

reign of his successor Pratāp Rudra from 1497 to 1541 saw the precipitate decline of the Gajapatīs. The data regarding the progress of the eastern conquests of Krishna Dēva Rāya are meagre and at times contradictory, but the fact remains that when time came Quṭbu'l-mulk had to reconquer the coastline bit by bit and sometimes after a fairly stiff resistance. It is said that Krishna's father had willed that the son should not rest till he had annexed the Rāichūr doāb from the Bahmanīs and Udayagirī from Orissa. He was wise enough to engage the Orissan army first as, in case he had marched on the Rāichūr doāb to begin with, his eastern flank would have been left insecure. He therefore collected a large army and sent it to Udayagirī. But the resistance offered was extremely tough, and when the siege of the citadel was prolonged to more than a year, Krishna had to proceed to the beleaguered town himself, and the fort at last capitulated about July 1514.[64]

Tilangānā and Vijayanagar

It is not certain whether Krishna marched to Koṇḍavīḍu with his army immediately after the battle of Udayagirī or returned to his capital while his army besieged the great fort of Koṇḍavīḍu.[65] However that may be, the commander of Koṇḍavīḍu, "the chief city of the Gajapatī dominion south of the Krishna", laid down his arms after a siege of barely thirty six hours, possibly after it had been stormed, on June 23, 1515.[66] The capture of Koṇḍavīḍu was preceded by the subjugation of minor forts in the district such as Vinukoṇḍa, Bēlamkoṇḍa, Nāgarjunakonda and other forts in the vicinity and the devastation of the country round about at the hands of the Bōya chiefs and three lakhs of Vijayanagar foot-soldiers.[67] This must have alienated the sympathies of the local population and perhaps made it easier for Quṭbu'l-mulk to reconquer the littoral later.

Krishna Dēva Rāya seems to have left his army in the Andhra region and returned to the capital in order to attend to urgent affairs of state. He was not at Vijayanagar for long but was again on the east coast supervising plans for further conquests at the expense of the Gajapatī. It was not long before Vijayawāḍa

was captured and made the centre of operations. This town was within ten miles from the strong and lofty fort of Konḍāpallī, the erstwhile scene of the murder of the great Bahmanī Wazīr, Maḥmūd Gāwān.[68] It was garrisoned by a strong Orissan force under Praharēswar Patra assisted by Bijli Khān, Bodayanna Mahāpatra and other high officials. On hearing that Krishna Rāya was himself besieging the fort. Pratāp Rudra Gajapatī marched on to the river Krishna. A great and sanguinary battle was fought on the banks of the river resulting in the complete success of the Vijayanagar forces. After putting Pratāp Rudra to flight Krishna Rāyā continued the siege of the great fort which was subdued with some difficulty two months later.[69]

As has been noted above, the political geography of Tilangānā had changed considerably since the death of Maḥmūd Gāwān. While the Andhra coast line had been annexed to the Gajapatī dominions the trace round about Warangal was occupied by small chieftains the most powerful to whom was one Sitādu or Sitāpati who is known in history as Shitāb Khān.[70] He seems to have taken Warangal on January 21, 1504 and held sway over a number of forts such as Khammamēt, Devarkonḍā and Nalgondā. For the time being Shitāb Khān seems to have been overpowered and Krishna Rāya is shown in possession not only of these fortresses and of Warangal but also of certain places within the province over which Quṭbu'l-mulk held sway.[71] Thinking that his left flank was secure, Krishna Rāya took possession of Rājahmandri and marched right into the home territory of Orissa. But his way was barred by Shitāb Khān (who seems to have fled to Orissa before him) at the hill south of Poṭnūr. Shitāb Khān had sixty thousand warriors under him, but in the end Krishna's strategy and prowess held the field and Shitāb Khān had to fly leaving the road clear for the Vijayanagari troops.[72] It is said that Krishna Rāya continued his triumphal march to Kaṭak (Cuttack) which was burned, and the expedition ended in his marriage to Princess Mohinī of Orissa (also called Princess Ṭikka) and the annexation of the whole of the Andhra country south of the Krishna to the Vijayanagar empire.[73]

Quṭbu'l-mulk's Campaign in Tilangānā; First Phase

It may safely be asserted that so long as Krishna Dēva Rāya lived Quṭbu'l-mulk did not take any practical steps to recover the Tilangānā territory which has been lost during the regime of the weak rulers of the Bahmanī dynasty or their selfish advisers after Maḥmūd Gāwān's death. The political acumen of Krishna Rāya coupled with his strategic ability and his singleness of purpose must have kept Sulṭān-Qulī back. Krishna's death about the end of 1529 and the civil commotion at the capital by his preference for his half brother Achyūta at the expense of his eighteen month old son changed the whole situation.[74] Pratap Rudra Gajapatī lost no time to invade the territory beyond the Krishna,[75] and quite a number of local potentates asserted their independence.[76] Great diplomat as he was, Quṭbu'l-mulk bided his time and allowed the southern kingdom to let itself weaken further before he invaded the lost territory. This invasion took place definitely before the death of Ismā'īl 'Ādil on 6-9-1534, and although no definite date has been mentioned we may put it down to 1530 or 1531.[77]

It, however, appears that Quṭbu'l-mulk had to face a very tough fight, and the earliest venture by the Golkonḍā army seems to have been unsuccessful. The chief, Velugōṭi Timma, lord of Gāni is said to have "destroyed a contingent of the Muslim infantry when they attempted to cross the frontier and enter the Vijayanagar territory, defeated the forces of Bhairava (Bahrām) Khān at Ṛompicerla, vanquished Khān-i Khanan and Hayat Khan, capturing the insignia of their office."[78] This was evidently merely a reconnaissance of the actual military position, and once Quṭbu'l-mulk had taken account of the strength of the enemy forces at Rājkonḍa some months later and thus launched a series of campaigns which resulted in his reaching the natural limits of Tilangānā and annexing "the territory from the confines of Warangal to Masulipatam and Rajahmundry... and the annexation of sixty or seventy forts."[79]

Quṭbu'l-mulk was careful enough to strengthen the ramparts of the Golkonḍa fort, which was renamed Muḥammadnagar,

and then marched on to Rājkonḍa as the chief of the place, Venkaṭa Nāyak seems to have made inroads into the Golkonḍa territory. The fort was closely besieged, but the garrison defended it bravely, and it was with difficulty that the Golkonḍa forces were able to capture it. Quṭbu'l-mulk did not continue the fight against local chiefs for the time being but, perhaps in order to take count of the toughness of the opposition he had encountered, he returned to the capital. After reorganising his forces he advanced to the great fort of Dēvarkonḍa, the ramparts of which were "high like the very Pleiades." Dēvarkonḍa, is situated in a naturally hilly country and the fort is surrounded by seven hills, being thus stronger and more prominent than most other forts in the neighbourhood. The result was that, although the defenders did not have recourse to any outside help, they kept on for a considerable length of time. The conquest of Dēvarkonḍa meant a signal success for Quṭbu'l-mulk, for "all the Rāyas, Chaudhrīs and Sardārs" of the country round about brought costly presents and paid homage to him.[80]

When the news of the fall of Dēvarkonḍa reached Vijayanagar. Achyūta Rāya and his ministers were touched to the quick.[81] The Rāya immediately ordered the mobilization of his forces and himself marched north eastward with thirty thousand horse and three lakh foot-soldiers, and as he crossed the border he began to lay waste Tilangānā. Quṭbu'l-mulk, on the other hand, could muster only five thousand horse and thirty thousand infantry, and with these meagre numbers he proceeded to Panagal near the Krishna where Achyūta had concentrated his vast army.[82] It is related that, perhaps not knowing the strength or weakness of the Golkonḍa forces, the army of Vijayanagar took to its heels on its mere approach. But they soon gathered again. The battle which ensued was evidently long and wearisome. Quṭbu'l-mulk ordered that fifteen hundred horses should be kept in reserve hidden from the enemy, and when opportunity offered itself, to engage and tilt the scales in favour of Golkonḍa. Even with his odd three score and more years he put himself right in the centre of his army. The battle raged the whole day, and when Quṭbu'l-mulk thought that odds were

against him and the fight might end in his defeat he prostrated before the Almighty God and ordered that it was time that his reserve of fifteen hundred should engage the enemy. As these were all fresh soldiers they turned the scales and Achyuta's army was defeated and put to flight leaving a vast amount of booty on the battlefield. But that was not the end of the fight, for the garrison remained obdurate and resisted Quṭbu'l-mulk's charges for nearly two months. There were sorties after sorties but they were all turned back. At last the commandant of the fort, who happened to belong to the royal family of Vijayanagar, realised that it was impossible to resist any further as there was no hope of any help from the capital and conditions of famine had already appeared. He therefore offered allegiance to Quṭbu'l-mulk provided he was pardoned and allowed to proceed home with honour. These conditions were accepted and the fort of Panagal became a part of Quṭbu'l-mulk's dominion.

It was a great day for Quṭbu'l-mulk who was much heartened by his victory especially as the army at his disposal was smaller than the army which he had to oppose. He now sent a message to the qil'ahdār of Ghānpura to lay down his arms, but he "answered this message by the discharge of his artillery followed by a sally from the hills which descended into the plains." The result was, of course foregone, and the fort was immediately besieged by the Golkoṇḍa army. The siege had, however, to be prolonged for fully two months and Quṭbu'l-mulk lost many of his brave officers and men. The fort is situated on a hill, "and the only road leading up to it runs along a narrow footpath with high precipices on either side. This passage was blocked up with stones and stockade and there were two bastions guarding it." Quṭbu'l-mulk ordered that the bastions be destroyed first. When this had been done he led the storming party himself and was successful in carrying the fort, though not without a heavy loss. From Ghanpura he proceeded to Kōvilkoṇḍa "which was bravely defended" and it was only when there was no hope of any help coming from Vijayanagar that the Nāyak commanding the fortress at last capitulated. "The garrison was

thereupon permitted to march out with all their private property, while the contents of the public treasury, which was represented to be extremely rich.....were distributed among the soldiers."[83]

Quṭbu'l-mulk Campaign in Tilangānā : Second Phase

On achieving his immediate objective after a protracted campaign Quṭbu'l-mulk returned to his capital, Muḥammadnagar-Golkonḍa for a well-earned rest. But this he was not destined to have. For soon after his back was turned Qiwāmu'l-mulk Turk, one of the old Bahmanī nobles, who had already taken possession of Elganḍal and Malangūr, collected a fairly large army and began to lay waser certain portions of Tilangānā. Quṭbu'l-mulk sent word to him to desist from giving offence as they were once good friends, but these protests fell upon dead ears and he had to march to Elganḍal. The battle raged outside the walls of the fort till midday, when, realising that it was impossible to resist a strong enemy like Quṭbu'l-mulk, Qiwāmu'l-mulk betook himself to the fort. But even there he felt unsafe and surreptitiously fled to Berar to seek protection from Daryā 'Imādu'l-mulk who was ruling there. Both Elganḍal and Malangūr were now clear and Quṭbu'l-mulk appointed his own officers to take over charge of them.[84]

It was the habit of Quṭbu'l-mulk to make a peaceful approach to a possible opponent first and to begin operations against him only on the receipt of an unfavourable reply. When Qiwāmu'l-mulk took refuge in Berar he sent word to Daryā that a rebel like Qiwām should be expelled from his territory. Moreover it was brought to the ruler of Berar that the district of Haft Ṭappā, which was included in the royal domain of the late Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, had been granted to Quṭbu'l-mulk as a part of his fief but had been wrongly occupied by the officers of Berar, and it was time that it should be handed over to Quṭb Shāhī officers. Instead of treating the Golkonḍa envoy well, according to current international usage, Daryā scolded him and gave a most indignant reply. On hearing of the insult Quṭbu'l-mulk marched northwards and met the

Berāri forces at Ramgīr. He adopted his usual strategy of placing a small force, in this case, of 2,000 cavalry, in reserve, and just when the two forces were balanced and there was a danger of the Golkonḍa army being defeated this reserve was called in and effectively turned the scales, the day ending in Quṭbu'l mulk's victory. Daryā 'Imādu'l-mulk fled to Berar and Quṭbu'l mulk returned to Golkonḍa after taking possession of Haft Ṭappā.

Quṭbu'l-mulk's Campaign in Tilangānā : Third Plase

It was about this time that Quṭbu'l-mulk was informed that Sitāpatī, alias Shitāb Khān, who seems to have taken possession of Warangal on January 21, 1504,[85] and who had extended his authority to Khammamēṭ and Bēlamkonḍa, was laying waste even those tracts of Tilangānā which he had under his immediate control, and had recruited twelve thousand men to his service. For Quṭbu'l-mulk Shitāb Khān was a usurper, and now that he was the virtual overlord of Tilangānā he consîdered him to be a rebel. He therefore remobilised his forces and proceeded to Bēlamkonḍa which he besieged. But it was soon evident that it was not an easy matter to take such a strong fortress, and the siege had to be prolonged. When the defending garrison was weakened by famine and decimated by fighting Quṭbu'l-mulk decided to take it by escalade and assault, and old as he was in years, he led the assault himself and was successful in capturing the fort.[86]

When Shitāb Khān learned of the fall of Bēlamkonḍa he recruited more soldiers and marched to the place where Quṭbu'l-mulk was reported to be. The two armies were brought face to face, and although Shitāb Khān copied the Golkonḍa strategy of keeping 2,000 gunners in reserve he was not successful and had to fly for his life leaving much booty and treasure which fell to the soldiers in the army of Golkonḍa. It is, however, rather surprising that instead of following up the victory and sending Shitāb Khān to the wall at once Quṭbu'l-mulk should have returned to Golkonḍa and given his opponent enough opportunity to do further mischief. Shitāb Khān had still the great fort of

Warangal in his possession, and now he sent urgent messages to the chiefs of Koṇḍapallī, Indrakoṇḍa, Ārāpalli and Etgīr giving them information of Quṭbu'l-mulk's might and his organising power, and telling them that if they did not all join hands they would be swept away by the Golkoṇḍa armies. The response was immediate and it is reported that the forces concentrated at Khammamēṭ was so large that the country round "was full of Hindu soldiers which defied all count."[87] Shitāb Khān's own army consisted of thousands of gunmen, many elephants and masses of infantry, and these were all concentrated at Khammamēṭ The two opposing forces met outside the town and a ferocious battle ensued. Quṭbu'l-mulk ordered an enveloping movement both on the right and left of the enemy. Once a breach in Shitāb Khān's line was made the huge army under his command was routed and Etgīr, Indrakoṇḍa and Nēkoṇḍāpallī fell into Quṭbu'l-mulk's hands.

But Khammamēt fort was still occupied by Shitāb Khān's men and this was reputed to be "impregnable even to artillery fire.[88] Quṭbu'l-mulk now sent his usual message to the commandant of the fort and told him that his chief Shitāb Khān and his confederates had already been defeated and it was better for the garrison not to shed any human blood but to lay down their arms. But this was of no avail. Fighting began and the forces were so balanced that it went on for days resulting in the loss of many distinguished officers and hundreds of men on both sides. The intrepid Quṭbu'l-mulk now ordered a general assault which he led in person as on many previous occasions; walls were scaled and the fort was at last captured after a severe hand to hand fighting. The fall of Khammamēṭ meant the acquisition of immense booty on the part of Quṭbu'l-mulk as the place had been the main treasury of the enemy for years.

Shitāb Khān now betook himself to Rāmachandra son of the Raja of Orissa who held court at Koṇḍāpallī and who was "king of the land on the seacoast of Tilangānā and Orissa as far as the confines of Bengal."[89] Shitāb Khān informed him that practically the whole of Tilangānā had passed into Quṭbu'l-mulk's hands and if he was not forced back then the

kingdom of the Gajapatīs would be in a grave danger of being extinguished altogether. Pratāp Rudra now ordered that the whole of his Orissan army should be mobilised, and nearly three lakhs of infantry and thirty thousand horse were collected in no time. Rāmchandra, Shitāb Khān, Vidyādhar.[90] Harichand and other leaders of Orissa swore to fight to the last against the aggressor. On the other hand Quṭbu'l-mulk also collected his forces, but it is said that he had only five thousand horse under his command. The two armies met on the bank of the river near Palankchipur. The night was spent in reconnaissance on both sides. The next morning Ramchandra began the attack with ten thousand horse, a hundred thousand foot soldiers, and three hundred elephants on his right flank, while Harichand and Shitāb Khān were placed on the left flank with the same number of troops. In either case the elephants had archers sitting on their backs or were supported by archers and carabineers on foot.

The forces under Quṭbu'l-mulk's command were meagre compared to these masses of well-equipped men. He put his son Prince Ḥaidar Khān on his right and Fatḥī Khān on his left with just one thousand five hundred horse each, while he commanded the centre with two thousand horse. According to his habit he first prostrated before the Almighty to give victory to his aims and then advanced against Rāmchandra's forces. It is strange that with such a small army it was Quṭbu'l-mulk who won the day, and the result can only be attributed to greater discipline and singleness of purpose on the part of the army of Golkonda.

Quṭbu'l-mulk Campaign in Tilangānā : Fourth Phase

The last step in reaching Quṭbu'l-mulk's objective was consequent on the occupation of certain towns and forts of Tilangāna by Achyuta Rāya of Vijayanagar when Quṭbu'l-mulk was away fighting Shitāb Khān and others. But he was not long in the possession of this territory, for when the ruler of Golkonḍa was back the Rāya had to retrace his steps. Diplomat and strategist as he was, he now desired to make Tilangānā safe for

himself by ousting Achyūta from the whole of Tilangānā territory in the east. Koṇḍavīḍu was still occupied by Vijayanagar, and Quṭbu'l-mulk now ordered the movement of the troops towards that fort. But what Quṭbu'l-mulk wanted was to envelop the citadel from all sides, and he ordered the investment of Bēlamkoṇḍa and Koṇḍapallī, the Nāyaks of which had rebelled against his authority. The jungle all round was cut down in order to facilitate the movement of troops. In spite of stubborn resistance on the part of the garrison Bēlamkoṇḍa was taken by general assault and Suhail Khān was appointed its commander. He now sent Prince Ḥaidar Khān to Koṇḍapallī while he himself moved towards Koṇḍavīḍu. In the meantime, however, Achyuta had sent his own nephew with fifty thousand troops to engage the Golkoṇḍa army before the walls of the fort. The commander now had recourse to a ruse. He gave out that he would lay down his arms within three days, but at the same time he sent secret word to Quṭbu'l-mulk informing him of the straits in which he was placed. On receiving this news Quṭbu'l-mulk advanced to Bēlamkoṇḍa with a large army and forced the Vijayanagari army to raise the siege and leave sixty elephant load of spoils behinds.

This battle of Palankchipūr proved to be one of the most decisive battles of the whole campaign. Apart from four lakhs of hons and uncountable gold and silver jewellery and other costly articles, practically the whole of the Tilangānā coastline fell into Quṭbu'l-mulk's hands. Fetḥī Khān was now sent with reinforcements to Koṇḍapallī which was subdued and put in charge of Khurshīd Khān, and Quṭbu'l-mulk was able to subdue the Godāvari-Krishna doāb as far as Ellore in the centre and Rajahmundri in the north. He found that the rump of the army of the enemy had been collected again and was encamped on the northern bank of the river; but it was not long before Fetḥī Khān again defeated them and they had to fly north.

When news was brought to the Gajapatī capital the Raja consulted his advisers about the policy to be pursued.[91] He was told that Quṭbu'l-mulk had a great and a valiant army at his

command and it would be most difficult to oppose him with any possibility of victory. His council therefore advised him to make peace with the ruler of Golkonḍa. Envoys were sent with a message to Quṭbu'l-mulk with profuse apologies for the conduct of Orissa in the past, and a treaty was entered into between the parties under which the Godāvari was fixed as the frontier between the two states.[92]

Quṭbu'l-mulk now moved on to Konḍavīdu. After a heavy bombardment the fort was retaken and the keys of the citadel were surrendered. It was agreed that the chief, who seems to have revolted from the Golkonḍa authority, should pay a tribute of three lakhs of hons every year and in lieu of this he be left in possession of the fort.[93] Achyuta was at Chandragīri when he heard of the defeat of his ally at Konḍavīdu, and fearing that Quṭbu'l-mulk might well march on to his own capital as his next move, he sent his son-in-law, Basava Rāja with one lakh infantry and twenty thousand horse to recover the fortress, and himself followed him. Evidently the forces now besieging the citadel were far too strong for Quṭbu'l-mulk, and he was now advised not to risk a battle at the walls of the fort but to retreat to a more favourable place in the open. Acting on the 'scorched earth' policy he now destroyed all the useful buildings of the fort, burnt its gates and retreated to the banks of the Godāvarī where he faced the enemy in full force.[94]

The battle of the Godāvarī was one of the most contested of the whole campaign. Hand to hand fighting between the opposing forces raged from morning till noon, and when both sides were equally fatigued and decimated, and therefore equally matched,Quṭbu'l-mulk appeared as if from nowhere at the head of fresh two thousand picked troops which he had, as usual kept in reserve, and thus entirely turned the scales in his favour. The enemy had therefore to retreat to Konḍavīḍu hotly pursued by Quṭbu'l-mulk. The Vijayanagaris were forced to sue for peace and history repeated itself by Achyūta agreeing to pay three lakhs of hons annually to Golkonḍa, while another two lakhs in cash as well as costly articles were presented to Sulṭān-Qulī.[95] The recapture of Konḍavīḍu and the outcome of the

battle of the Godāvarī had a benumbing effect on the defenders of Konḍapallī which had been besieged by Prince Ḥaidar Khān for many months. The defenders thought that as there was no prospect of any help arriving from Vijayanagar it was futile to continue resistance any longer. They therefore requested the Prince to intercede with his father for the life and honour of those who had been fighting, and on being assured of his good offices by him they at last presented the keys of the fortress to him. Quṭbu'l-mulk now entirely pardoned them, but exchanged the defending Nāyaks with the Nāyaks of Ghanpura which was already in his possession.[96]

Quṭbu'l-mulk and Ismā'l 'Ādil

This was the time when the Bahmani succession states were on a constant and continuous war path against each other, and if there was one who was not taking part in these internecine feuds it was Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk. It seems that the Vijayanagar troops who returned to the capital after their arduous campaigning in the east related the story of the might of Gonkonḍa and the bravery of its armies. Achyūta consulted his advisers who said that Vijayanagar had done all that was possible to help Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhar, but to no avail, and it would be better now to give all help to Ismā'īl 'Ādil of Bijapur and persuade him to attack Golkonḍā-Tilangānā. It is related that most costly presents in cash as well as in kind were sent to Ismā'īl 'Ādil as a token of alliance between the two states.

Ismā'īl moved on to Kalyāni, a strong border fortress, which was evidently captured by him, and from there he advanced to Kōvilkonḍā and laid siege to that citadel. The fort was then under the command of Ja'far Bēg who was a kinsman of Quṭbu'l-mulk himself. When Ja'far heard that the ruler of Bijapur was marching to invest the fort he lost no time to strengthen it. When the news of the siege was brought to Quṭbu'l-mulk he immediately consulted his advisers regarding the policy which should be adopted. They said that it was more than two years since the Golkonḍa army had been fighting in Tilangānā, and

as both man and beast wanted some rest it would be unwise to give battle to 'Ādil Khān. They advised that the hand of friendship should be extended to the ruler of Bijapur, although they were doubtful if the move would have much effect as the attack on the Golkonḍa territory was being undertaken with the connivance and help of the Rāya of Vijayanagar. Sulṭān-Qulī replied that he had never relied on mere numbers but always on God's grace and help, and that he had decided to oppose the intruder. He therefore ordered that the fort should be defended at all cost with the paltry three thousand men who formed the garrison. At the same time he sent envoys to Ismā'īl 'Ādil asking him to desist from any further fratricidal conflict. But Ismā'īl was so sure of success that he would not even hear of peace, and there was no alternative left for Quṭbu'l-mulk except to fight.

The battle of Kōvilkonḍā proved to be decisive. Quṭbu'l-mulk arranged his army in such a way that he put Fatḥī Khān in charge of the left wing, 'Āinu'l-mulk in charge of the right wing and Prince Ḥaidar Khān in charge of the centre, while he himself commanded the usual reserve contingent which was set apart to be utilised when time came. It was a hard struggle against great odds, and the battle raged for three consecutive days, reaching a stalemate on the third. Ismā'īl 'Ādil now sent a posse of two or three thousand horse to Golkonḍa by way of diversion, but even that did not bear any decisive result, and the fourth day saw severe hand to hand fighting between the contending forces. Quṭbu'l-mulk, on his part, sent his heavy baggage to be dumped at the near-by fort of Ghanpura, while he made a night attack on the Bijapur camp followed by a series of night attacks by the Golkonḍa reserves, while light troops were ordered to intercept the supplies of the enemy. There was a simultaneous action before Ghanpura as well in which the aged Quṭbu'l-mulk threw himself in the thick of the battle, receiving a bad sabre cut on his face which disfigured him for the rest of his life. This double action, however, resulted in the flight of Ismā'īl 'Ādil's troops followed by protracted guerilla action on the part of the Golkonḍa partisans which went

on for another two or three months. Ismā'īl had now been fighting for Kōvilkoṇḍā for over a year without any hope of success. He was a broken man and died of fever and fatigue on 16-2-941 / 6-9-1534.[97]

Quṭbu'l-mulk and 'Alī Barīd

'Alī Barīd had been an ally of Ismā'īl 'Ādil in his invasion of Tilangānā, and although he was probably not present at the siege of Kōvilkoṇḍā he was laying waste large tracts of Tilangānā on his own account. When the Golkoṇḍa army was released from the long drawn campaign around Kōvilkoṇḍā Quṭbu'l-mulk marched to Barīd's capital, Bīdar, and soon came to grips with the Barīdī forces. There was severe fighting on the first day, but it was indecisive and the battle continued on the second day as well. Feṭhī Khān, the hero of many a battle, was ably supported by Prince Ḥaidar Khān. Slow fighting went on for some time, when Quṭbu'l-mulk, who must have been in his later seventies, ordered a general assault resulting in the complete defeat of the Barīdī army. He now proceeded to besiege Kohīr which was one of Barīd's strong fortresses.[98] This completely upset all 'Alī's plans and he was forced to mobilise more troops, and with these under his command he moved on to relieve Kohīr. Quṭbu'l-mulk now ordered that half of the Golkoṇḍa army in the field should go forward and meet the enemy while the other half should continue the siege. The two armies were face to face for nearly three months without either of them gaining the upper hand. Both Quṭbu'l-mulk and 'Alī Barīd were now thoroughly sick of the stalemate, and a treaty was entered into between them under which Kohīr was ceded to Golkoṇḍa while Quṭbu'l-mulk promised to desist from any further encroachment on the Barīdī territory.[99] The cession of Kohīr gave Golkoṇḍa a central position in the Tilangānā State.

Nalgoṇḍa and Koṇḍvīḍu

While Quṭbu'l-mulk was fighting against Ismā'īl 'Ādil and 'Alī Barīd, Raja Harichand, who held Nalgoṇḍa as a tributary of Golkoṇḍa, rebelled, and began to lay waste the country right round the fort. Quṭbu'l-mulk now hurried to the scene, and as

was usual with him began by asking the qil'ahdār to lay down his arms and thus save blood from being spilt. But the demand was rejected and Quṭbu'l-mulk laid siege to the fortress. The siege was marked by numerous sorties attempted by Harichand, which were followed by attempts to storm the citadel on the part of the Golkonḍa army, resulting in heavy casualties on both sides. Quṭbu'l-mulk now sent a message to the Raja that if he did not surrender and agree to the payment of a small tribute he would blockade the fort on all sides and starve the garrison into submission. Harichand now had recourse to a trick. He agreed to lay down his arms, sent costly presents to Quṭbu'l-mulk, and welcomed the proposal that the ruler of Golkonḍa should visit the fort in person with just a few attendants. While waiting to receive the conqueror with open arms he issued secret orders that when Quṭbu'l-mulk entered the fort practically unattended he should be enveloped by the Raja's men and murdered. When these naïve instructions were brought to Quṭbu'l-mulk's notice he parried them by passing secret orders that though he would enter the fort unattended as arranged, a good number of troops should be kept ready to storm the fort at a given signal. What was expected came to pass, and before any harm could be done to Sulṭān-Qulī his reserve came out of the hiding place and a general battle ensued which resulted in the success of the Golkonḍa army. Harichand was captured and met a traitor's death.

From Nalgonḍa Quṭbu'l-mulk marched to Konḍavīḍu the commander of which had evidently revolted. Konḍavīḍu was again invested, and being hopeless of success in a clean fight the rebel tried to bribe some of Quṭbu'l-mulk's *amīrs* to intercede with him on his behalf. When Quṭbu'l-mulk heard of the plot he was furious and, declaring that he would have none of these underhand tricks, ordered the artillery to bombard the battlements of the fort. But before it was too late the commander laid down his arms and petitioned that he should be pardoned for his faults. Quṭbu'l-mulk thereupon pardoned him and after erecting a tower of victory in the fort returned to his capital.[100]

Quṭbu'l-mulk's last days and the manner of his death

Octogenarian as he was Quṭbu'l-mulk was not destined to have rest even in the evening of his life. There was an internal revolution in Bījāpūr when Ismā'īl 'Ādil's second son Ibrāhīm blinded his elder brother Mallū and himself ascended the throne, destined to be the first titled king of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty.[101] While Quṭbu'l-mulk was engaged at Koṇḍavīdu, Ibrāhīm joined hands with 'Alī Barīd and began to lay waste Golkoṇḍa territory which was adjacent to Bījāpūr. It seems that Kaknī and Nawakī, two villages on the Golkoṇḍa-Bījāpūr border, had been occupied by the Bījāpūr forces while the ruler of Golkoṇḍa was fighting with Shitāb Khān. On being informed of further inroads by Bījāpūr troops Quṭbu'l-mulk advanced westwards and laid siege to Udgīr, while at the same time he sent word to 'Alī Barīd that Mēdak and Kaulās should be evacuated at once as they belonged to Golkoṇḍa as of right. 'Alī Barīd knew his own weakness, and realising that he could not hope to gain anything single-handed he sent an urgent message to Burhān Niẓamu'l-mulk for help. But then Burhān and Ibrāhīm were not on friendly terms, and instead of sending military help to Bidar, Burhān sent the Shī'a divine Shāh Ṭāhir to reconcile matters between Quṭbu'l-mulk and 'Alī Barīd.[102] When Shāh Ṭāhir reached Bīdar he told 'Alī that "both Nīẓāmu'l-mulk and 'Imādu'l-mulk" thought that Medak was within Golkoṇḍa territory and had formed a part of the *ṭaraf* of Tilangānā from the time of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī. On finding that he was hemmed in on all sides 'Alī Barīd consented to forego his claim to Mēdak and sent the keys of the fort as well as presents to Quṭbu'l-mulk. On his part Quṭbu'l-mulk raised the siege of Udgīr and returned to Golkoṇḍa, where he received Shāh Ṭāhir with the respect that was due to him. It was through his efforts that a treaty was negotiated between Quṭbu'l-mulk and Burhān under which 5,000 fully armed soldiers were sent to Aḥmadnagar in order to help Burhān against the pretensions of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil regarding Shōlāpūr which had been a bone of contention between the two for a very long time.[103]

All this must have happened in or about 1534, the year of

Ibrāhīm 'Adil's accession, and for nine years, i.e., up to 1543, Quṭbu'l-mulk had a well-earned rest after his arduous life of campaigning which had lasted almost without a break for a decade. He was a devout Muslim, and once he had reached his objective of controlling the whole of Tilangānā right up to the sea and had thus made his position secure, he made up his mind to remain at peace with everyone and spend the rest of his time in prayer. He was spared nearly nine years after the siege of Udgīr, and we are not aware of any military exploit of his during the period. It redounds to his will power and to his robust physique that he should die not a natural death as an old and an infirm man but by being hit unawares by an assassin.

It is related by Ferishta that it was a case of parricide and one of Quṭbu'l-mulk's sons, the crafty Jamshīd, who had been imprisoned by his father for his misdeeds, was at the back of the foul deed which put an end to the old man's life.[104] But the problem is not so easy of solution. Except for *Tabaqāt-i Akbarshāhī,* which simply says that "after ruling over the province of Golkonḍa for twentyfour years Sulṭan-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk passed away,"[105] it is agreed on all hands that he was done to death. But the place and the motive of the murder bear a certain amount of thinking. We cannot brush aside even *Tabaqāt,* as, though the book was written in the far north, it was compiled within fifty years of the tragic occurrence at Golkonḍa. *Burhān-i Ma'āṯhir,* which was completed at Aḥmadnagar in 1591, is more precise and says that Quṭbu'l-mulk was killed "by one of his own companions", but it makes no mention of any conspiracy whatsoever.[106] This is significant as, after all, Aḥmadnagar is not very far from Golkonḍa and not much time had elapsed since the murder. It is also strange that while the book gives quite a wealth of detail in the case of numerous events in the Deccan it does not say that the murder was the result of any conspiracy in which a member of the ruling House was involved. Jamshīd's name creeps in for the first time in Ferishtā's *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* which was completed eight years after *Burhān-i M'āṯhir,* in 1611. As is usual with him, Ferishtā

gives a fairly long story ending in the murder, but the description he has given has a tinge of improbability about it. He says that Quṭbu'l-mulk's son Jamshīd had grown old in the hope of ascending the throne on his father's death. But the father had lived on, and his impatience had led him to get one of his slaves to kill him whenever an opportunity offered itself. The potentate was sitting one day on the bank of a sheet of water and was examining some jewels when the slave suddenly appeared from behind and stabbed him to death. After committing the foul deed he turned to Jamshīd for protection and reward but, fearing the disclosure of the conspiracy the prince instantly beheaded him.

If we take the details as given by Ferishtā into account we would perceive the incongruity of the story. If Jamshīd was the chief conspirator it is very unlikely that he should make it a point of being present at the time of the murder, especially when it was his interest not to be mixed up with it. Moreover, if he was the eldest son and heir of his father, as Ferishtā asserts, it seems improbable that he should behead the person who had, at his own command, facilitated his accession to the throne.[107]

As a matter of fact *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Qutb Shāh* is categorical that Jamshīd was not Sulṭān-Qulī's eldest son. It says that he had two brothers who were older than him namely, Haidar Khān, the hero of many a battle, who was already dead, and Quṭbu'd-din who had been appointed heir by his father on Ḥaider Khān's death and whom Jamshīd regarded as his bitter enemy. Jamshīd, who was of a most unscrupulous bent of mind, had conspired against Quṭbu'd-dīn and had consequently been confined to the Golkonḍa fort by his father. He was therefore not merely impatient to take his father's place but was smarting at the indignity of being a prisoner within the palace. It is related that in spite of his incarceration he managed to enter into a conspiracy with his warder, the commandant of the Fort, to kill his father. The author of the *Tārīkh* says that Sulṭān-Qulī had ordered certain alteration to be made in the Jāmi'Masjid of the Fort, which he had

built some years previously, and had gone there to supervise the work personally on a Thursday towards the end of Jamādī I, 950/August 1543,[108] when it so happened that he dropped his handkerchief which had the names of the twelve *imāms* inscribed on it. Regarding this as a bad omen he immediately retired to the Palace and postponed his visit to the site for a few days. It was not till Sunday, 2-6-950/2-9-1543 that he went to the mosque after this, and while he was in the act of offering his *'aṣr* prayers he was struck with a sabre by Mīr Maḥmūd Hamadāni and killed there and then. It is reported that he received as many as twenty-three wounds, but this seems to be an exaggeration, for a man of such an advanced age would succumb to death at the first stroke.

If we analyse the whole episode in the context of our authorities, two or three things seem to be clear. The first thing is that neither Burhān nor Tabaqāt, perhaps the earliest chronicles to record Sulṭān-Qulī's murder, mention Jamshīd's name as one of the conspirators, although both of them were compiled within half a century of the event. It is *Ferishta* who mentions Jamshīd's name for the first time as parricide, while *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* describes the whole episode in great detail as if the author was himself present on the occasion, basing his account on "all Deccan histories" which, however, are not mentioned by name. The strangest part of this is that when Jamshīd becomes the ruler of Tilang after his father's murder he receives letters of condolence from another Deccan ruler Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar,[109] which would hardly be the case if he had been directly or openly involved in the murder.

These rather incongruous facts may perhaps be explained by a hypothesis. As is well known even to casual readers of Deccan history that Jamshīd's younger brother Ibrāhīm had to fly to Vijayanagar for the safety of his life, and he did not return till after Jamshīd's death. It was not Jamshīd's but Ibrāhīm's descendants who ruled Golkonḍa and made the kingdom the rendezvous of all who were wedded to culture and the arts, and the centre of trade and commerce. The question

may well be asked whether Jamshīd's name was not dragged in as a parricide by his enemies and they were helped in this propaganda by his unscrupulous nature and his habit of looking at things from a purely egotistic point of view. Moreover it was not till the reign of Ibrāhīm's son that Ferishta's compendious work, and not till the reign of his grandson that the *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* were compiled. One may therefore hazard the opinion that while there is no doubt that Jamshīd was unscrupulous and self-centred, as his life history shows, and while it may be possible that he connived at the violent end of the fairly protracted life of his father, his name was dragged in by the chroniclers who flourished after him, as the chief actor in the drama. This seems to be the only explanation of the extra-ordinary fact that while even minute details of Jamshīd being involved in the heinous crime should be provided by the chroniclers who were furthest away from the murder, those of them who were nearest to the deed should be silent regarding the motives for the murder, and at least one of them should not refer to the fact of the murder at all.

In this connection it is not possible to ignore the significant account of the hunt for the murderer given to us by the anonymous author of the metrical history of medieval Tilang, the *Tawārīkh-i Quṭb Shāhī*, which was compiled during the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. It is related that when Jamshīd returned to Golkonḍa after defeating 'Alī Barīd and the flight of Ibrāhīm to Vijayanagar, the first thing he did was to proceed to his father's mausoleum where he stayed for three days and three nights, and it was only after much weeping and wailing and after distributing a large amount of gold and silver to the needy for the repose of father's soul that he left the precincts. When he came out of the tomb he publicly declared that he was in no way connected with the conspiracy, and ordered that a search should be made for the murderer throughout the State, and that he would not rest till the culprit had been brought to book. It was after many days that the murderer was recognised by the *imām* of a mosque in which he had taken refuge and handed over to the entourage of the

court. When Jamshīd came to know of the arrest of the man he was overjoyed and ordered that general rejoicings should be held in the capital. He went out of his way to rebuke the murderer personally and told him that he should not have coloured his white beard with the blood of such a venerable personage as his old father. He was bound to the leg of an elephant, pelted with stones and brickbats and dragged about for three days, and when he was dead his corpse was not buried but cremated.

Such is the account left to us by the author of the versified history of the earlier Quṭb Shāhs. It is necessary here to remember that, like the author of the *Tārīk̲h-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh,* the author is without doubt Ibrāhīm's partisan and calls Jamshīd merely as Jamshīd Kh̲ān and not even as Jamshīd-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk. Of course it is quite possible that Jamshīd should be shedding crocodile tears when he found that practically the whole of the Deccan was up in arms against him out of the suspicion of parricide. It is moreover significant that even after the murderer had been brought to book Jamshīd was not at ease for he still feared Ibrāhīm and 'Alī Barīd, indicating that he still felt a pang in his conscience. But if the account is correct then the whole story of Mīr Mahmūd Hamadānī running to Jamshīd after he had committed the foul deed and being put to death by him must be entirely discounted and the rest of the account containing the implication of Jamshīd also put to a certain amount of doubt.[110]

Section III. *Quṭbu'l-mulk as a Man and as a Ruler*

Quṭbu'l-mulk arrived in India when he was in the prime of his life and spent more than sixty years in this country, finally succumbing to the blow of an assassin. Although he belonged to a noble family of Persia and was a descendant of a line of kings he was personally an entirely self-made man and it was by dint of great will power, perseverance and tact that he rose to the highest dignity in the Deccan. Except for the last seven or eight years of his life he was practically always in the saddle,

and even when he was past the proverbial three-score-and-ten he knew no rest, was never weary, never despondent. He was a firm believer in God's Grace, and at Panagal and elsewhere, even when there were odds against him, he was known to prostrate before God to give victory to His humble servant, even while fighting was in progress and was in its critical stages.

Difficulties he had to face

It must be remembered that the period of Quṭbu'l-mulk's rule was one in which the states of South India were ruled by some of the ablest administrators and generals, such as Purushottam of Orissa, Krishna Dēva Rāya of Vijayanagar, Ismā'īl 'Ādil of Bījāpūr, Burhān Niẓāmu'l-mulk of Aḥmadnagar and Shitāb Khān of Warangal. Each one of them was a match for the ruler of Tilangānā, and it redounds to Quṭbu'l-mulk's ability that he could withstand their opposition and was successful in moving the borders of the small *ṭaraf* of Golkonḍa as he found it, to the shores of the Bay of Bengal. When the fort of Kōvilkonḍa was invested by Ismā'īl 'Ādil with the connivance and help of Vijayanagar, Quṭbu'l-mulk knew that the odds were against him, and when he consulted his advisers they were unanimous that he was outmatched and the best thing would be for him to withdraw. But Quṭbu'l-mulk was made of a different mettle and was not the man to give way so lightly. He once told his advisers that he had never in his life relied on mere numbers and he must oppose the military alliance entered into by his enemies at any cost. In vivid contrast to the machinations of his enemies he never allowed himself to hit his enemy at the back. It was a matter of a common occurrence with him that he approached the enemy with a definite offer, and it was only when that offer was rejected that he had recourse to an appeal to arms. This habit of a peaceful approach to an enemy was made irrespective of whether he was a Hindu, a Muslim, an erstwhile friend or a rebel. Thus when the rebel Qiwāmu'l-mulk was given an asylum by Daryā 'Imādu'l-mulk of Berar, Quṭbu'l-mulk was no doubt touched to the quick, but he first asked 'Imādu'l-mulk to expel the

rebel, and only when this was refused that he marched to the Berar border. Even when the opponent was a rebel like Harichand of Nalgonḍa, he was first asked to lay down his arms, and it was only when he received a negative or an evasive reply that an attack was ordered. We see him informing the commander of the fort at Khammamēṭ that his chief, the rebel Shitāb Khān, had already been subdued, and it was no use shedding human blood any more. Although Quṭbu'l-mulk would never accept defeat he treated the rulers of the Deccan well, and "his policy was not to make enemies but rather to settle things by peaceful means as far as possible".[111] But he was not to be duped into submission either, and when he found that those in his entourage had been bribed to intercede on behalf of the enemy Harichand, he refused to be played into the meshes of such conspiracy and ordered the bombardment of the fort.

Impression of Quṭbu'l-mulk on his Contemporaries

It was no doubt due to his humane feelings that he was admired by all who came in contact with him. As an instance we might cite here the views of the Telugu poet Addanki Gangādhara Kavī who says in his *Tāpati Samvaranōpakhyānam:* "It is fit to praise him who has conquered four hundred hill forts and has so brilliantly commanded armies..... (It might be said without fear that) Quṭb Shah is full of the highest qualities".[112] This eulogy sounds rather queer in the face of certain reports that he razed to the ground a number of temples at Ghānpura,[113] while after the battle of Palankchipur he is said to have erected one thousand mosques in place of temples he demolished at Konḍapalli. Now, to say the least this can only be the grossest exaggeration. For there could not have been many temples in a small place like Ghānpura, and it is unthinkable that he should have erected as many as one thousand mosques in a town like Konḍapallī. Except in the case of rebellions like those of Shītāb Khān and Harichand, who were prone to raise their banners against Orissa and Vijayanagar as much as against Quṭbu'l-mulk, he was always

forgiving to his enemies, and the episode of the permission he gave to the garrison of Koṇḍavīḍu to march out with honour after the fort had been captured, is a case in point. He was of course sometimes hard to his enemies especially when they were callous or treacherous in their behaviour, but this was an exception to the treatment he generally showed to those who opposed him. On the other hand our authorities furnish us with at least one instance of the confidence he had in his non-Muslim countrymen. During one of his campaigns he seems to have reduced certain districts on the Tilangānā-Vijayanagar frontier, and he actually appointed a Vijayanagarī, Rāmarāj, who was later to make a mark in the fortunes of Vijayanagar, his deputy in the occupied districts which were actually contiguous to the Southern State. Rāmarāj acted as Sulṭān-Quli's lieutenant for three years, and was dismissed only when Quṭbu'l-mulk began to suspect him when he fled back to Golkoṇḍa in the face of some foraging hands sent there by Ismā'īl 'Adil of Bījāpūr. Rāmarāj thought it better for himself to leave Tilangānā and sped his way to Vijayanagar where he was greatly honoured by Krishna Dēva Rāya, who gave him his daughter, Tirumalamba, in marriage.[114] It was a case of broad-mindedness like the employment of a possible adversary like Rāmarāj and the power to inculcate loyalty in him while he was in service, which must have impressed those who came in contact with him, and must have made persons like Gangādhara Kavī sing praises for him.

There is another facet of his tolerant policy, and it is in the liberal education he must have given to his son Ibrāhīm. During the harsh rule of his brother Jamshīd, Ibrāhīm thought it prudent to leave the State and take refuge elsewhere, and it is remarkable that it was Vijayanagar, not a state with a Muslim ruler, to which he found his way. It is also significant that he had, as one of his entourage, a person named Kānōjī, evidently a Telugu, with him. Ibrāhīm was well received at Vijayanagar and remained there for seven years during which he developed a taste of Telugu language and literature, which he patronised when he ascended the throne of Tilangānā. All

this was hardly possible if Ibrāhīm had been brought up in a narrow, intolerant atmosphere by his father.

We can therefore aver that the reports of Sulṭān-Qulī's intolerance and his harsh treatment of his enemies which have been handed on to us by our Persian chroniclers must be tested with the other data which we have, before they are believed. They are always prone to exaggerate the losses sustained by the enemies of the rulers many times in order to raise the strength of their patrons and their ancestors in the estimation of their contemporaries, and this was possible for them to do as there was a large gap of time between the events they recounter and the time when their chronicles were compiled.[115]

His Diplomatic Talent

Before passing on to Quṭbu'l-mulk's strategy and his unique position as a war leader it would be profitable to deal with certain aspects of his diplomacy as gleaned from the data we possess. It has already been noted how he allowed the state of Vijayanagar to be weakened by internal causes after the great Krishna Dēva Rāya's death, before launching his general attack on the Andhra region and the Bay littoral. The result was that he did not have to face any great power but only local chiefs and a very weak and declining Vijayanagar. Not content, however, with his commanding position he made it doubly secure by allying with Pratāp Rudra of Orissa against the possible confederacy of these chiefs.[116] The order that he gave to the Nāyak of Koṇḍavīḍu to change places with the Nāyak of Ghanpura really took the wind off the sails of the insurgents and may be regarded as a first class diplomatic move. In the same way when Shāh Ṭāhir was sent by Burhān Niẓamu'l-mulk to mediate between Quṭbu'l-mulk and 'Ali Barïd, Quṭbu'l-mulk took advantage of the occasion and demanded the cession of Kōhīr which made Gōlkoṇḍ sale in the west as it had been made safe in the east by his brilliant campaigns in the Godavari-Krishna doāb.

As a Military Leader

This leads us to the consideration of Quṭbu'l-mulk as a

military leader and a strategist. He was aware that he had to face a very strong opposition in all quarters, and in order to offset the strength of the enemy he had an almost invariable recourse to the method of keeping a fresh posse of infantry or cavalry in reserve, so that in case there was a stalemate these troops should come into the field and turn the scales. This we find in battle after battle, and the stratagem was rewarded by an almost continuous series of victories to his arms. We find two thousand horse turning the scales at the battle of Rāmgīr against Daryā 'Imādu'l-mulk of Berār, one thousand and five hundred jumping into the fray at the battle of Panagal against Vijayanagar and two thousand called upon to enter the arena at the great battle of the Godāvari which resulted in the final recapture of Koṇḍāvīḍu. Had it not been for the system of keeping an effective reserve at hand it is difficult to see how Quṭbu'l-mulk could have succeeded with just twelve thousand carabineers when his opponent Shitāb Khān had "thousands of gunmen", elephants and infantry under his command.[117]

While he was without doubt reckless about his own comfort and person and led assaults and escalades even when others younger than him would lose all energy (such as the general assault on the great fortifications at Bidar and the escalade at Bēlamkoṇḍa which was held by Shitāb Khān), he was careful enough to make the position of his army secure before he made any advance. Thus it was only after he had strengthened the fortification of his capital Golkoṇḍa that he advanced to the east,[118] and when he found that Koṇḍavīḍu was guarded on either side by Bēlamkoṇḍa and Venukoṇḍa, instead of rashly spending his energy on Koṇḍavīḍu, he postponed his attack till he had subdued these two strong places. When he was forced at last to retreat in the face of a powerful enemy he had recourse to the modern method of scorched earth such as in the case of Koṇḍavīḍu when it had to be evacuated in the face of a strong Vijayanagar army. Even in such a contingency he would not rest and sometimes adopted guerilla tactics in order to tire out the enemy, as in the struggle against Ismā'īl 'Ādil. He had no patience with any underhand tactics on the part of an

enemy; thus when he came to know that Raja Harichand, who held Nalgonḍa fort, had laid a plan to murder him when he went to meet him unattended, he ordered his own army to be alerted, and before the Raja could do anything the Gōlkonḍa forces which were hidden in an ambush, made short work of the defenders.

Thus as a military commander and a master of strategy Quṭbu'l-mulk had few equals among his contemporaries. He was surrounded on all sides by actual or potential enemies, but it was through his power of perception and quick decision as well as his long view that he finally overcame all obstacles. As has been related above, he passed the last eight years of his long life at peace with God and man. His objective of reaching the natural limits of Tilangānā had been partially achieved in his lifetime and he left the task of unifying the whole of the Bay littoral under one sceptre to his successors.

Shī'ism

Although Quṭbu'l-mulk belonged to the Qara Quyunlu, well-known for their Shī'ism, a creed which was perhaps fanned by the fact that their opponents, the Aq Quyunlū happened to be Sunnīs, this cannot be said to have influenced either his loyalty to the Bahmanī throne or his general policy. As has been discussed elsewhere Shī'ism had been slowly creeping into the Deccan ever since the influx of the *āfāqīs* in the fifteenth century, and Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī as well as his son 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad I were definitely inclined towards it. The tendency gathered strength with the passage of time till Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd, though remaining as sunnī after the tradition of his ancestors, had a definite leaning towards the priority of 'Alī over his three predecessors in the Caliphate.[119] Quṭbu'l-mulk. whatever his antecedents, had so much identified himself with the Deccan as he found it, and adopted its ways of life, that he thought it is duty to be loyal to the reigning dynasty as long as it existed.[120] It was when the Bahmani centre had become palpably weakened and Shī'ism proclaimed the state religion first of Bījāpūr and then of Aḥmadnagar, that Quṭbu'l-mulk

took steps to spread the creed in his dominions as well. As he is himself quoted to say, it was only after the accession of that great Shī'ah Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī to the throne of Iran in 1501 that Sulṭān-Qulī introduced the Shī'ah *Khutbah* and gradually replaced the names of the three Caliphs by the name of the twelve *imāms*. This was in accordance with the programme laid down by him on his arrival in India, for he is quoted as making a promise to God that if He were to grant him authority over a country he would introduce the *Khuṭba* of the twelve *imāms* in his dominions.[121] It was no doubt out of respect for the greatest Shī'ah monarch of his day, Shāh Ismā'īl, that his name was introduced in the *Khuṭbah* as well. Shī'īsm was thus established as the religion of the Quṭb'Shāhīs and went on flourishing till the sceptre passed from them to the Mughals by the Emperor Aurangzēb after the fall of Golkonḍa, but it has nevertheless left an indelible mark in the life and customs of Deccani Hindus as well as Muslims whether Shī'ah or Sunnī.

Architecture

Shī'ism, naturally, had an effect on the sacred architecture of the period, though it was not so marked in the time of Sulṭan-Qulī. Strange as it might seem, while *Tārikh i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* ascribes the construction of *thousands* of mosques to Sulṭān-Qulī,[122] there is only one solitary mosque which is certain to have been built by him in the capital and that is the small Masjid-i Ṣafā, later called Jāmi'Masjid, just outside the Bālā Ḥisār Darwāzā of Golkonḍa Fort. The mosque is a very handsome structure constructed according to the approved Bahmanī pattern with a single dome in the centre and another small dome crowning the gateway, remînding one of the much larger structure which serves as the gateway to the Shāh Bāzar Masjid at Gulbarga. What is rather remarkable is that the commemoration tablet, which is dated 924 and contains the names both of Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī and of "Sulṭān-Qulī, known as Quṭbu'l-mulk", has absolutely no reference to the Shī'ite creed. But the roofed prayer cham-

ber of the mosque, which is itself divided into four lateral aisles, opens out into the courtyard by five beautiful, well-proportioned, arches reminiscent, perhaps, of the five pillars of the Shī'ite religion namely, the Prophet, 'Alī, Faṭimā, Ḥasan and Ḥusain.[123]

The plan of the Golkonḍa fort, as it exists today, owes its execution to a large extent to Sulṭān-Qulī. As has been mentioned above, he strengthened the structure by circumvallation and large strong gates before he proceeded to the conquest of the Bay littoral. It is said that the Fort was constructed on a site where an older Kākatiya fort stood, but that the name of Golkonḍa was given to it by Sulṭān-Qulī after the Telugu word "gulleru" or shepherd as it was a shepherd who is said to have pointed out the site to him. But we know from our authorities that the name given to the Fort by Sulṭān-Quli was Muḥammadnagar, and in any case it was not necessary for a shepherd to have pointed out the older structure, as the fort, with its central summit, the Bālā Ḥisār, rises to a height of nearly four hundred feet from the ground level and can be seen for miles round.[124] Besides parts of the great wall which is three miles in circumference and is now pierced by eight great gates and broken by eighty-seven bastions each with a distinct name,[125] there is little left of Sulṭān-Qulī's palaces or the mansions of his nobles which have been so much eulogised by our chroniclers,[126] as they have all been replaced by later structures by his successors. While Sulṭān-Qulī ordered the nobles to build their mansions within the Fort he did not lose sight of his poorer subjects, and the large bazars and the period structures, large and small, which are still to be seen between the Bālā Ḥisār Darwāzā and the Fath Darwāzā are reminiscent of the wealth of the city which was destined to be the undisputed metropolis of the Deccan for more than two centuries. Sulṭān-Qulī is said to have built a fine *ḥammām* or public bath by the side of the Jāmi'Masjid, and it is said that those who took their bath there were not merely given free service but were also presented *lungīs* or printed towels of the finest variety.[127]

As Sir Wolseley Haig says, Sulṭān-Qulī "was endowed with that peculiar sympathy for ultra refinement in art and litera-

ture which belonged to the Persian temperament",[128] and it was he who laid the foundation of the style of architecture named after the Quṭb-shāhī dynasty. It should, however, be noted that the "eclectic" principle of the mixture of the Persian, Hindu and Paṭhān styles[129] was to be evolved after his death. The mausoleum which he constructed for himself stands in strong contrast with the adjoining tombs of his successors by its fine proportions and its simplicity of design. The tomb itself, 30′ 10″ square, is built on a platform 100′ square and while the interior is octagonal the outer elevation is square with walls rising to 20 feet and crowned by a dome which goes up another 20 feet.[130] The four corners of the roof are ornamented by four bouquets after the fashion of corresponding Bahmanī structures. Apart from the inscription stating the name, title and the date of the death of the deceased which are inscribed in three bands, there are four bands covering the Throne Verse of the Qur'ān and the Shī'ite *durūd* containing the names of the twelve *imāms*. All these inscriptions are engraved in beautifully polished basalt in the finest naskh style.[131] There are three other graves in the mortuary chamber and twentyone graves of fine basalt on the platform outside.

Here mention should be made of two wash-houses, one near Sulṭān-Qulī's tomb and the other just inside the Bālā Ḥisār Darwāzā in the Fort itself. Both these places were meant for washing the dead bodies of royal personages, the former for the males and the latter for the females of the royal house.[132] The *ḥammām* for males is a part of the *Langar-Faiẓ-Athar* which is definitely mentioned as having been constructed by Sulṭān-Qulī himself, while the other is almost its replica on a smaller scale, and according to the local tradition, this was also built by him. Both wash-houses are constructed in fine style with provision for hot and cold running water and the drains for the flow-out of dirty water and refuse. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about these *ḥammāms* is the circular platform in the centre of both with twelve beautifully inlaid patterned waves jutting out from the centre, reminding one of the twelve *imāms* of the Shī'ite creed.

The Man

In short, this architect of a State which encompassed the Deccan for more than two hundred years, was a man of remarkable qualities. A devout, God-fearing man, he was first and foremost a military leader and a strategist, and it was by dint of his courage and his strong will-power that he was able to carve out a principality which grew to be a kingdom by uniting a large part of the Andhra-dēsa under one sceptre.

There are at least three portraits of Sulṭān-Qulī extant, one single and the other two in groups. In the group paintings he is depicted as seated on a raised seat with his successors on both sides making a kind of circle with him at its head. The composition of the groups thus shows that they must have been painted more than a century and a quarter after his death. In one of the group Sulṭān-Qulī is shown as a handsome young man about twenty-five years of age, fair of face with a closely cropped beard, slightly stout but of a well-proportioned gait, one foot partly crossed on the seat or throne, the other resting on the ground. He has a sword held resolutely in his left hand, while it touches the ground. This white straight sword happens to be the centre of the whole composition and is very prominent. He has a long, flowing garment of striped cloth of gold fully buttoned up in front and seemingly padded. On the head he has an exotic Central Asian cap with three aigrettes. The inscription on the top indicates that it is the portrait of Ghāzī Baṛē Malik, the same description as appears on his tombstone, with the epithet 'pādshāh' and 'God have mercy on him' added on.[133]

The other group must similarly be posthumous as it also represents Sulṭān-Qulī as sitting in the company of his successors right up till the very end of the dynasty. This portrait of Sulṭān-Qulī and his single portrait are so similar that one may well have been a copy of the other, and both of them are so lifelike that there is no doubt that they represent him as he actually was towards the end of his long and eventful life. Here we find him a venerable old man, fairly thick-set, with determination and perseverance writ large on his face, and with

a broad forehead furrowed with old age. His dress consists of a Central Asian cap similar to the one above described but with just one aigrette in the middle and a long coat buttoned up and embroidered at the collar (which is perhaps the ancestor of the modern Hyderabad *shairwani,* now the accepted official dress of India). He has a belt girdling his waist with long embroidered ends gracefully hanging in front and his hand holding his sword with a determined grip. The portrait is that of a man with a remarkable physiognomy, with determination writ large on it in spite of his hoary age, and clearly shows off the personality of one who was destined to be great leader of the men and an architect of a great kingdom.[134]

There is another interesting group housed in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, No. 3467, in which *"Baṛē Malik"* is seen seated with the last Quṭb Shahī monarch, Abu'l-Ḥasan and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh along with three attendants. *Baṛa Malik* is shown in his middle age with black moustaches and white closely cropped head, and with the regulation Mughal dress. Curiously the more prominent of the two other monarchs is Abu'l Ḥasan who is named Tānā Shāh in the group while "Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh" is given a back seat ! This shows that the group must have been executed during Tānā Shāh's reign. This is the only group where Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk is shown in Mughal dress, which is anachronistic, to say the least.[135]

Lastly is a remarkable Solo portrait of "Baṛē Malik" in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, which seems to be a faithful likeness of the ruler in the evening of his life. The vestment is of chintz with leaf and flower pattern repeated all over, a turned down collar, while the ruler holds a sword in the right hand, and has a central Asian cap with an aigrette in the middle. The large halo round the head indicates the late execution of the portrait as the halo was not imported into India before the advent of the European, particularly the Portuguese, portraiture when the portraits of Jesus Christ and his mother were embellished by such halos.[136]

Unfortunately we have no data regarding the administrative

reforms affected by him, and in all probability he maintained the administration of Golkonḍa-Tilangānā much as he found it.[137] He was essentially a military leader, and it is not likely that he carried out any reforms in the government of the country under his rule. But the fact that the state which he founded could be at peace both within and without during the last seven or eight years of his extreme old age leads us to the conclusion that the country was well governed and the foundations laid of a centralised administration which was the harbinger of an almost proverbial prosperity.

NOTES

1. Although the name Sulṭān-Qulī might suggest royal dignity, the epithet 'Sulṭān' is only a part of his name, much in the same way as 'Earl' and 'King' are the names of many private individuals in England and America today. Similarly the title of 'Malik' which originally meant *king*, was frequently granted to persons of Turkish or even negro descent, while in South India 'Bādshāh' is quite frequently met with as the name of persons who have no affinity with any royal house. The epithet 'Sulṭān' has led quite a number of historians of note such as Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, London, 1900, pp. 167, 323, etc., Professor Nilakanta Sāstrī and Dr. Venkataramnayyā, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Madras, 1946, I, 174 ff. to regard 'Sulṭān' as a title and an emblem of royalty which it was not. The question whether Sulṭān-Qulī ever assumed the royal title will be discussed later. K. K. Basu in his paper, A Chapter from Golconda History, *Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, 1940, calls him 'Subḥān Qulī' on p. 263 and 'Quli Qutbul Mulk' on p. 264, perhaps following Rafi'ud-dīn Shīrāzī's *Taḏkiratu'l-Mulūk*, MSS. Aṣafiyah, Tārikh 1081, fol. 18 b., although it appears that the learned professor had *Tārikh Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*, MSS. Aṣafiyah, Tārikh, 401 or its epitomised translation appended at the end of Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Vol. III, before him as he gives copious references from it. Of course Tadh is entirely wrong in calling him Subḥān-Quli, which was really the name of Jamshīd Qulī's son.

2. This genealogy is written on the fly-leaf of the book named *Kanzu'l-lughāt*, now in the Salar Jang Library, and is placed in the Salar Jang Museum, Room 18, show case 4, as a rare manuscript. The name of the book is, incidentally, not *Kanzu'l-lughāt* in plural, as related by the late Ḥakīm Shamsu'l-lāh Qādirī in his article on *Dakan ki 'ilmī taraqqiyan Salāṭin-i Quṭb-Shāhiyah kē 'ahd mēn*, Rasālā Tārīkh, April-June, 1929, p. 104, but *Kanzu'l-lughat* in the singular. The genealogy is in the hand of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, the fourth ruler, and is dated in the beginning of Muḥarram, 1045, which corresponds to June-July 1635. It is as follows :

Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, b. Mīrzā Muḥammad Amīn, b. (Ibrāhīm) Quṭb Shāh, b. Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk, b. Uwais-Qulī, b. Pīr-Qulī, b. Alwand Bēg, b. Mirza Sikandar, b. Yūsuf, b. Qarā Muḥammad Turkmān. Ferishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi*, II, 167, simply says that Sulṭān-Qulī belonged to the Turkish tribe of Bahārlū and was of the clan of Mīr 'Alī Shākir. For Qarā-Qūyunlū tribe see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 74 and for Aq-Qūyunlū tribe, II, 225. Also see V. Minorsky, the Qara-Qoyunlu and the Quṭb-Shahs, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies*, London, 1955, pp. 50-73; this is really a translation of the preliminary

pages of *Q.S.* left over by Briggs, and is rich with critical and informative footnotes. The Qarā-Qūyunlu traced their descent from Bahrām Khān of Bahārlū. The two names are wrongly spelt as Qara-Qunilu and Aq-Qunilu in Prof. A. M. Siddiqui's *Tārikh-i Golkunda*, Hyderabad, 1959.

3. For the ancestory of the Bahmanīs, see *Bahmanis*, pp. 48-50.

4. *Q.S.* 32.

5. *Ibid.*, 6. It may be remarked that Aq-Qūyunlū were Sunnīs, while the Qarā-Qūyunlū were Shi'ah; see Syed Azhar 'Alī's paper on *Qara-Quvin-lu Turkman* in the *Rūedād Idāra Ma'āraf Islāmiyah*, Lahore, 1933, pp. 367-402, where on pp. 393 and 394 there are references to Faẓlu'd-dīn al-Isfahānī and Qāīẓi Nūru'l-lāh Shustarī's *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn* for the *Shi'ism* of the Qarā-Quyunlū.

6. *Q.S.*, 31.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Period of the arrival of Sulṭān-Qulī in India : The age of Sulṭān Qulī at the time of his murder is variously given as 90 (Mīr 'Ālam, *Ḥadiqatu'l-'Ālam*, Hyderabad 1309 H., henceforward *H.A.*, p. 83), "more than 85" (Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhabu'l-lubab*, Calcutta, 1929), and "about 99" (*Q.S.*, 107). Thus there is a difference of about 15 years between *H.A.* and *Quṭbshahi*, and it seems that *Munt.* has struck a rough average between the two. There are differences between the dates of his death as recorded by our chroniclers, but the date inscribed on his tombstone, i.e., 2-6-950/2-9-1543 must be taken as correct, and it is corroborated by *Q.S.*, 106. *Briggs*, III, 377, has wrongly computed the Hijri date to correspond to 4-9-1543. Now the crisis in the family of Pīr-Qulī occurred after the death of Amīr Ḥasan and the accession of Amīr Ya'qub in 882/1478 (*Qutbshahi*, 30) which resulted in the self-imposed exile of Allāh-Qulī and Sulṭān-Qulī. This must have been in the reign of the Bahmanī Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī who died on 5-2-887/26-3-1482, and not in the reign of his successor Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd, as is averred by *Q.S.*, 34. This is further corroborated indirectly by *Q.S.* itself, for it says that at this time Sulṭān Qulī was in the prime of his youth عنفوان شباب and if we consider 85 to be his age at the time of his death he must have been born about 865/1461 and must have been less than 21 at the time of his coming and settling down in India. Minorsky in his article referred to in note 4 above, reaches more or less the same conclusion, but his argument is based on different data. He says : "The first journey of Sulṭān-Qulī to India appears to have been motivated by the advent of Aq Qoyunlu Ya'qub (883/1478) and at that time Sulṭān Qulī was under age. After the rule of thirteen years Ya'qūb died in 896/1490 by which time Sulṭān-Qulī is said to have reached the age of twenty. Following this chronology he would have been born about 876, at least sixteen years

later than according to the anonymous author. Should we assume that his uncle Allah Qulī returned to Persia on receiving a false report of Ya'qūb's death the discrepancy might be reduced to some ten years, but in any case Sulṭān Qulī was born later than previously assumed". With great respect for Prof. Minorsky I feel that the date of Sulṭān-Qulī's birth, 876 H., is based on a supposition which may, after all, be wrong.

9. Muẓaffar Khāfī, *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk*, MSS. Āṣafīyah, Tārikh 134, fol. 134-b, as well as *Q.S.* say that Sulṭān-Qulī came to India twice, but the former says that he went to Northern India the first time while *Q.S.* has it that he came to the Deccan on both the occasions. It is not known when *Tadhk* was compiled, but it brings down history to the death of Aurangzēb. The transcription of the Āṣafīyah copy was completed on 5-6-1247 H. At least this transcript is not very reliable as Allāh-Qulī is named 'Alī-Qulī and Sulṭān-Qulī is called Muḥammad-Qulī in it.

10. For the general condition of the Bahmanī kingdom in the reign of Huḥammad Shāh Lashkari see Sherwani: *Bahmanis of the Deccan*, pp. 298-302.

11. *Q.S.*, 34-35.

12. This confirms my surmise regarding the probable date of Sulṭān-Qulī's birth as well as the period of his arrival at Bidar; see n. 8, above.

13. All this goes against the veracity of the episode related by *Fer.*, II, 167, that Sulṭān-Qulī got himself enrolled in the corp of the royal slaves "because Muḥammad favoured Turkish slaves." This as well as many other stories relating to the history of the Deccan have been copied by Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad in his *Tabaqāt-i Akbar-Shāhī*, Lucknow, 1875. Khāfī Khān seems to be more reliable when he says in *M.L.*, III, 368, that Sulṭān-Qulī "entered the service of the King" on his arrival in the Deccan. *Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, Calcutta, 1925 (henceforward *M.A.*), 301, calls Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk "a slave of Sulṭān Maḥmud Bahmanī," but on the face of it the statement is incongruous as he could not have remained a slave after he had been created a noble of the Bahmani kingdom. *H.A.* p .11 does no more than give both the versions and leave the decision to the reader. I regret that I do not agree with Prof. Siddiqui when he says (*Tar-Gol.*, 16) that in every matter "the histories written at Golkunda" are necessarily more trustworthy than others;" for instance, in the matter of the period of Sulṭān-Qulī's arrival at Bidar, *Q.S.* is evidently wrong.

Muḥammadabād-Bidar, headquarters of the District of that name, Mysore State, 17° 55′ N., 77° 32′ E.

(Longitudes and latitudes of different towns and villages mentioned in the book have been taken from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, or from the *District Gazetteers of Madras* and *Bombay*. In case these did

not contain the exact geographical position of a place it has been computed from the *Survey of India Maps* of the scale 2 miles to an inch or from the *Survey of India District Maps* of the scale 8 miles to an inch).

14. For the so-called independence of Governors, see *Bahmanis*, p. 390, and Sherwani, Independence of Bahmani Governors, *Proceedings, I.H.C.*, 1945, p. 159. Qāsim Barīd is called a Turk by Syed 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā in *Burhan*, Hyderabad, 1936, while *Fer.* II, 176 calls him a Circassian.

15. *Q.S.*, 37. *Tadh* fol. 135-a, says that the title was granted to him on 2-6-892/25-5-1486.

Kurangal, headquarter of a taluqa, Maḥbūbnagar district; Andhra Pradesh; 17° 7′ N., 77° 38′ E.

16. *Fer.* II, 167.

17. *Fer.* does not mention the name of the king in whose reign this deterioration took place, but we presume it was in the reign of Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd.

18. *Fer.*, II, 167, says that it was on this occasion that the King granted him the title of Quṭbu'l-mulk. But we are aware (*Burhān*, 150) that there was another Quṭbu'l-mulk who was governor of Tilangānā and who was alive till 898/1493 when he was killed in the battle of Jāmkhanḍī against Bahādur Gīlānī. Thus it could only be after this that the title was granted to Sulṭān-Qulī. Prof. Siddiqui first follows *Fer.* (*Tar. Gol.*, 20) and then, without any comment, on the very next page, says that the title was granted after the battle of Jāmkhanḍī. He does not mention *Bur.* at all.

19. *Bur.*, 137-141; *Fer.*, I, 365; *Bahmanis*, 365. Syed Mirza is called "Mashhadi" by *Fer.*, but Badayuni, *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, says that he was a Khurāsānī.

20. *Fer.*, I, 365.

21. *Q.S.*, 37. On 21st Zil-qa'da the moon would rise at Bidar at 23.58 hours.

22. *M.L.*, III, 120. The palace on the Shāh Burj still exists and at present houses the district treasury.

23. *Q.S.* says on p. 39 that the title Quṭbu'l-mulk was granted to Khawās Khān on this occasion. This is, however, evidently wrong for reasons given in note 18 above.

24. *Tab.*, 433. Goa, former capital of Portuguese India; 15° 30′ N., 77° 57′ E.

25. Thus in *Fer.*, I, 368; *Tab.*, 432, has 20 ships. There had been peace between the Deccan and Gujarat since the days of Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad I; see *Bahmanis*, p. 208.

Kolhāpūr, headquarters of a district, Mahārāshṭra State; 16° 49′ N., 74° 11′ E.

Kalhar or *Karhad*, headquarter of a taluqa in the Satārā district, Mahārāshṭra State; 16° 42′ N., 74° 10′ E.

Chaul, in the 'Alībāgh taluqa of the Qulābah district, Mahārāshṭra State; 18° 34′ N., 73° 54′ E.

26. *Mahāim*, modern *Māhim*, now a suburb of Bombay, was originally an island with Māhim river in the north, the sea to the west and salt pans to the east and the south; see Burnell, *Bombay in the days of Queen Anne*, Hakluyt Society, 1953, map opposite p. 90; position, 18° 55′ N., 72° 54′ E.

Agāshī, fort in Bassein taluqa, Thānā district, Mahārāshtra State; 19° 28′ N., 72° 47′ E.

Bassein, headquarters of the taluqa of that name, Thānā district, Mahārāshtra State; 19° 20′ N., 72° 49′ E.

27. The actual letter is reproduced in *Bur.*, 147 and *Q.S.* 41, with slight variations. Maḥmūd Bēgada, Sulṭān of Guḍarat, 1458-1511.

28. *Bur.*, 150. It is mentioned here that Sulṭān-Quli was granted the title of Quṭbu'l-mulk, and the jagir of Koṭgīr, Durgi and other places in the neighbourhood were granted to him.

Bijāpūr, headquarters of a district, Mysore State; 16° 49′ N., 75° 43′ E.

Jāmkhanḍī, headquarters of a District, Mahārāshṭra State; 16° 30′ N., 75° 72′ E.

Malkhēṛ, on the Kagna river, Gulbarga District, Mysore State, 17° 12′ N., 77° 9′ E.

Miraj, renamed *Mubārakābād*, headquarters of a district, Mahārashṭra State; 16° 49′ N., 74° 71′ E.

Koṭgīr, Niẓāmābād district, Andhra Pradesh, 4 miles east of the Manjira; 17° 35′ N., 73° 10′ E.

29. For details of the Miraj campaign see *Q.S.*, 40 & 41. Death of Deva Neyak, H.A., 22.

30. *Q.S.*, 41. This seems an exaggeration. *Fer.* II, 176 seems more correct when he says that he was raised above the jagirdars of Tilangānā.

31. Thus in *Fer.*, I, 368. *Tab.* has 25-7-889/1-8-1492. The name of the envoy as given in *Tab.*, 434 is Khwāja Ni'matu'l-lāh Tabrīzī, while *Bur.*, 149 calls him Bona, evidently a Hindu chief. After Bahadur's defeat and death Bona is said to have been received in the royal presence and honoured for his bravery. The date is definitely correct as on that date a son, the future Aḥmad IV, was born to the King.

32. Date in *Burhān.*, 153. *Dābul*, renamed Muṣṭafābād, fort in Ratnagiri district, Mahārāshṭra State; 17° 35′ N., 73° 10′ E.

33. *Fer.*, II, 176. Prof. Siddiqui says (*Tar. Gol.*, 27; article on The Qutub Shahs in the *Journal of Dakkan History and Culture*, II, No. 2, p. 191) that Golkonḍa is called Mangalwāram in the inscription on Neknām Khan's grave in the royal cemetery near the Fort. The inscription is reproduced in *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, p. 38 and translated into English on p. 39, as well as in A.A. Bilgrami's *Landmarks of the Deccan*, p. 177. I find no reference to the identification of Golkonda with Mangalawāram in either of these. All that transpires from the inscription is that the revenues of "the village of Mangalwāram in the division of Janwal (or Janwarah), popularly known as Ḥasanābād, are endowed for Nēknām Khān's tomb." It is unthinkable that Golkonḍa should be called Mangalawāram and be regarded as merely a village in 1084/1673, which is the year of the inscription referred to. As a matter of fact Mangalwāram is the name of two villages, *Pedda* (Great) Mangalwāram and *Chinna* (Little) Mangalwāram, the first being 10 miles from Golkonda, position, 17° 20′ N., 78° 16′ E., the latter being 13 miles from the citadel, at 17° 23′ N., 78° 14′ E.

Date of the assumption of the office of the ṭarafdār of Tilangānā by Quṭbu'l-mulk, 901/1496.

Golkonḍa fort, six miles from Hyderabad City, 17° 23′ N., 78° 24′ E.

34. Thus in *Bur.*, 158; *Q.S.*, 43 says that they came of their own accord.

Ausa, headquarters of a taluqa, 'Usmānābād district, Mahārāshṭra State; 18° 16′ N., 75° 27′ E.

35. *Q.S.*, 44-45.

36. The name of the ruler is variously given as Immadi Narasimha, (*Further Sources*, I, 150 ff.), Timrāj (*Fer.*, II, 6) and Tamarao (Nuniz., in *Sewell*, 309). The authors of *Further Sources* agree to the identification and even say (I, 154) that he was young at the time of his enthronement; but they also say that *Fer.* considers Timrāj to be the *de facto* ruler, as it was Narasa Nāyaką who had the real reins of government in his hands. I am afraid I have not been able to verify this statement from *Fer.* They also feel that "it is hazardous to attempt to discredit the evidence of Nuniz by citing Ferishta." (*Further Sources*, I, 154 n.). At least in the matter of the name and age of the ruler *Fer.* and Nuniz are in full agreement.

Immadi Narasimha or Timmarāya reigned from 1492 to about 1505, although he was under the tutelage of Narasa Nāyaka up to 1503 and then of his son Vīra Narasimha up to the end of his reign. *Further Sources*, I, 178, say that Immadi Narasimha reigned for "nearly 14 years", but on the very next page his successor is said to begin his reign in 1505, so there is a difference in the calculation at least of one year.

37. *Fer.*, II, 6. The actual date is not mentioned. For reasons best

known to the authors of *Further Sources* Ferishta's rather pointed testimony is brushed aside in I, 154, and even the fact of the battle is doubted by them.

Rāichūr, headquarter of a district, Mysore State; 16° 12′ N., 77° 25′ E.

Mudgal, fort in the Lingsugur taluqa of the Raichur district, Mysore State; 16° 01′ N., 75° 47′ E.

38. *Q.S.,* 45.

39. *Sources,* 9, 88, 106, where the Telugu poems, *Varahapurānam* and *Parijātaparanhanamū* are quoted in evidence.

Konḍukūr, in the Nellore District, Andhra Pradesh; 15° 12′ N., 79° 57′ E.

40. Banerji, *History of Orissa,* I, 316.

Vijayawada, large Railway centre on the South Central Railway, headquarters of the Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh, 16° 31′ N., 80° 37′ E.

41. *Q.S.* 46; *Burhān* 158-59; *Munt.,* III, 129. Qāsim Barīd's traitorous conduct is mentioned *Basātin,* 17.

42. *Basātin,* 20, says that this occurred on "a Friday in Jamadi I, 908" which corresponds to October-November, 1502. *Fer.,* II, 11 does not give any definite date but simply says that the change occurred in 908. *Munt.,* 126, says that the *aḏẖan* and the *ḵẖuṭbah* were modified on "a Friday in Zi'l-Hijjah, 908". I am personally inclined to agree with *Munt.* and think that the change in all likelihood would have been effected on the first Friday of the auspicious month of Zi'l-Hijjah five days before the great festival of Baqr'īd which fell on Tuesday, the 10th of the month, while Friday immediately before that date fell on 2-6-1503. It may be noted here that till then neither Niẓāmu'l-mulk or Quṭbu'l-mulk had declared their Shī'ism, for while the former declared it to be the true religion in 1537, *CHI,* III, 440, the latter declared it to be the state religion only after Maḥmūd Shāh's death (*Q.S.,* 52), although his ancestors definitely belonged to that persuasion.

43. *Q.S.,* 47. Taking possession of certain towns by Yūsuf has been inferred what followed the conference between him and Quṭbu'l-mulk, for which see below.

44. *Q.S.* 48. *Tadh,* 18 b. *Koṿilkonḍa* in Mahbubnagar district, Andhra Pradesh 16° 48′ N., 77° 47′ E.

45. It may be noted here that while Qāsim Barīd was himself of Turkish origin he was opposed by all the powerful elements of the State, whether dakhnī or āfāqī. The old demarcation based on race, and perhaps also religion, was rapidly giving place to a tug of war based almost purely on personal ambition, and this proved to be the bane of the Bahmanī kingdom towards its close. See *Bahmanis,* pp. 360-61.

46. Details in *Tḏẖ,* 19 b. It is stated there that the kingdom was

divided between Niẓāmu'l-mulk, 'Ādil Khān, 'Imādu'l-mulk and Quṭbu'l-mulk, and the title of Quṭbu'l-mulk was granted to Sulṭān-Qulī and Majlis-i Rafī' to 'Ādil Khān after this. This, is not correct. The provinces or *aṭrāf* were already in possession of at least the first three of them even in the time of Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī, and, as has been noted above, the title of Quṭbu'l-mulk was granted to Sulṭān-Qulī Khawāṣ Khān as far back as 898/1493 after the death of the *ṭarafdār* of Tilangānā, Quṭbu'l-mulk dakhnī, in the battle of Panhālā against Bahādur Gīlānī on 5-2-900/5-11-1494.

47. *Deoni,* in the Bidar district, Mysore State, 10° 15′ N., 77° 5′ E. The Deoni campaign has been variously dated in our authorities. *Briggs,* III, 350 has translated سال دیگر of *Q.S.* 49 as "on the following year" which it literally means, and as the previous passage clearly stated اوزا اواخر نه صد و ده هجری ('towards the end of 910') for a certain fact, Briggs, thinks that the battle took place in 911 H. But loosely it may well mean "another year" not particularly "the following year". Now *Burhān,* 163, clearly states that the battle took place in Sha'bān 923/September 1517, and that it was shortly after an accident at the battle that Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī met his death. Thus there was an interval of sixteen months between the accident and his death, which occurred on 24-12-924/27-12-1518. The authors of *Further Sources,* I, 190-92, discuss the date of the campaign at length, and stress its being "jihād" so much so that they use that epithet eight times in a page and a half! They disbelieve Burhān's 923 as they consider it "too late" for "at that time Krishnarāya could not have opposed the combined might of the Bahmani Kingdom . . . since his armies were still involved in the Kalinga war". But they seem to ignore the fact that while the great Rāya had already been on the throne at least for eight years in 1517 he must have increased his power to strike on two fronts during the period, specially as the Bahmanī arms were already declining due to personal dissensions of the leaders, and the consequent disintegration was fast setting in. They also call *Q.S.'s* 911 to be "palpably false" and say that the author "dislocates the events from their chronological setting to show that Quli Qutbu'l-Mulk (*sic.*) . . . remained loyal to the Sultan till his death which he refers to 912 H." Another argument levelled against *Q.S.'s* date is the supposed presence of Malik Aḥmad Niẓāmu'l-mulk in the battle as he was already dead in 917/1512. But it is nowhere mentioned that *Malik Aḥmad* took part in the battle, and all that is mentioned is that "Niẓāmu'l-mulk Baḥri" was one of the nobles summoned by the Sulṭān, and he may well have been Burhān, the successor of Malik Aḥmad. There is no doubt that *Q.S.,* makes a mistake in putting down Maḥmūd Shāh's death on 24-12-912 while it actually occurred on 24-12-924 after a reign of 36 years, 10 months and 20 days. 912 may well be the calligraphist's mistake, especially as 37

years' period of his reign mentioned in *Q.S.* roughly tallies with the period between Muḥammad III's death on 5-2-887 and Maḥmūd's death on 24-12-924. The authors of *Further Sources* argue from the Hampī inscription of 28-1-1510 that the battle must have taken place "some time before this date" (I, 191). But there is absolutely no mention of any circumstance connected with the Deoni campaign in the Hampi inscription referred to, the translation of which is given in *Further Sources*, III, 98, and the reference in the inscription may well be to another campaign.

Under these circumstances I feel that *Burhān's* date (p. 166) viz., Sha'bān 923/September, 1517 is correct.

48. *Q.S.*, 49, makes another mistake that Qāsim Barīd continued to be Prime Minister at Bidar even after the battle of Deoni. This, of course, is wrong, as he died in 910/1505 and was succeeded by his son Amīr Barīd who was the virtual ruler at Bidar up to 1542. See *Briggs*, III, 496. For the number of opposing forces, see *Sources*, 131.

49. See note 48, above. *Burhān*, 166, while giving the date of his death, says that he was barely 47 years and 2 months at the time and had reigned for 37 years and 2 months; *Fer.*, I, 8, 374 says that the Sulṭān died after reigning for 37 years and 20 days, while *Q.S.*, 49 says that he died at the age of 47 after reigning for 37 years. Now his father Muḥammad III died definitely on 5-2-887, and counting from there to 24-12-924, the date of Maḥmūd's death, it makes the reign last 36 years, 10 months and 20 days. *Fer.*, I, 350, says that Maḥmūd was born in 875/1471, so the calculation of 47 years is perfectly correct. *Sewell*, 106, is obviously wrong in putting down 18-12-1517 as the date of the Sulṭān's death as it occurred on 24-12-923/27-12-1518.

There is a curious statement in *Padya Balabhagavatam*, Mac. MSS. 14-1-34, entitled *Rāmarāju Timma*, in which Timma is said to have "granted the Mussulman (chief or king) Muḥammad, his life, scattered the army of the Gajapatī, to whom he put to flight". Arguing from this rather cryptic statement, contained in *Further Sources*, 194, the learned compilers argue that Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd was "rescued from the jaws of death, perhaps, by Rāmaraju Timma, one of Kṛṣṇarāya's officers", although this is not vouchsafed by any other authority.

50. *Fer.*, I, 168; *Briggs*, III, 323. This has led many eminent historians, such as the late Sir Wolseley Haig, to date the so-called "declaration" in 1512; *CHI.*, III, 430; *Historical Landmarks of the Deccan*, 3. The question was tackled for the first time by Yazdani in his well-reasoned out article entitled "The Date of Sultan Quli Qutbul Mulk's assuming the Title of the King", in the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1918, p. 89. At the end of the article the author says that "it cannot possibly be inferred that Sultan Quli declared his independence earlier

than 924". But he stops here and assumes that the independence was declared in 924 H. For the complete inscription see *E.M.I.* 1913-14, p. 48.

51. Thus, *Tar. Gol.*, p. 25. Prof. Siddiqui seems to have some doubt in his mind, for he says that the year 924/1518, "may be regarded as the year of the declaration".

52. *Q.S.*, 49, 51.

53. *Briggs*, III, 337.

54. *Fer.*, III, 168. Munshī Qādir Khān, *Tārīkh-i Qādirī*, Asafiyah, 409 Tārīkh says that it was Sulṭān-Qulī who constructed Muḥammad Shāh's tomb at Bidar and sent masons for that purpose from Golkonda as "Malik Barīd would not let the tomb be completed". The amount sent annually to the Sulṭān at Bidar by Quṭbu'l-mulk was 5,000 hons. *Munt.*, III, 370, is explicit that, different to Aḥmad Niẓāmu'l-mulk and other fiefholders Sulṭān-Qulī was careful enough to avoid any ignominy attending such a declaration.

55. *Bahmanīs*, 390-94, 419; I much regret that on p. 392, 925/1519 has been misprinted as 921/1577 which is, of course, wrong. See also my article on the Independence of Bahmani Governors, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1945, pp. 159 ff.

56. The adoption of the royal dignity by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh after 1537 was discussed for the first time by Dr. Nazim in his monograph on *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 49, p. 6, also footnote 1. This was pointed out by Khwājā Muḥammad Aḥmad, then Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, in his letter to me dated 16-10-1943. Dr. Nazim thinks "that the year 1537 was the year of Ilhāmu'l-lāh's disappearance", while as a matter of fact there is no evidence to prove that the last Bahmanī king, Kalīmu'l-lāh, died before that date. See *Bahmanīs*, 410-19. On p. 26 of *Bijapur Inscriptions*, inscription No. 3251 of 943/1537 calls the ruler simply "Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān while on the same page inscription No. 410 of 945/1539 he is definitely called "Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh". We must, however, remember that there is no direct evidence that Quṭbu'l-mulk assumed the royal dignity even after this, nor are we aware of his legal status from the time of the final disappearance of the Bahmanī dynasty to the date of his own murder seven years later. As regards this second point it would suffice to remind the readers that in the Middle Ages both Asia and Europe were studded with principalities which acknowledged no superiors and still their rulers never proclaimed themselves kings. In more modern times, even after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire by Napoleon we find quite a number of duchies and grand-duchies which were entirely independent of any central authority. Nearer home we find that the Fārūqī rulers of

Khāndēsh never assumed the royal title although they were independent for all intents and purposes. I maintain that, in the same way, Quṭbu'l-mulk never proclaimed his kingship, and in all probability the first ruler of Golkonda to do so was Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.

57. *E.I.M.*, 1915-16 p. 27; there are epitaphs only on three other Quṭb Shāhi rulers' graves, viz., Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, and they are reproduced on pp. 28, 31 and 32. In the English rendering of Sulṭān-Qulī's epitaph Dr. Yazdanı has translated *malik* as "monarch" and *baṛē malik* as "the great Prince", (which is by itself incongruous); but this translation does not correspond with the connotation of the word *malik* in Indian history in general and Deccan history in particular. It does not mean a king or sovereign at all but merely denotes a nobleman, such as Malik Kāfūr, Malik Maqbūl, Malik 'Ambar, Malik Aḥmad and many others who were by no means kings. In fact the terms hardly ever means a reigning sovereign at all in the Indian context. *Q.S.* uses this title for practically every nobleman of the Bahmanī kingdom including Quṭbu'l-mulk even before his alleged "declaration of independence" on the death of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī. *Baṛē Malik* would therefore only mean the Senior Nobleman. With these modifications the effective portion of the epitaph on Sulṭān-Qulī's grave in this context would be rendered thus :

> "The occupant of this chosen shrine, and he is blessed *malik*, the felicitous, the martyr, the warrior in the path of God, Malik Sulṭān Qulī, known as the Baṛē Malik . . . ."

58. See n. 3 above.

59. *Q.S.* p. 1. The epithet used for Sulṭān-Qulī is simply شہزادۂ کامگار امیرزادہ Here it may also be noted that the work invariably calls him ملک کامگار or "the successful *malik*". It is interesting to note that Mīrza Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad Ṣā'idī's *Ḥadīqatu's Salāṭin*, the official and rather pompous chronicle of the first part of the reign of Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh (who reigned from 1626 to 1672) which was completed in 1054/1644, also calls the first ruler *"Malik Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk"* although he is careful to preface this by the courtesy title of *pādshāh* on p. 67, On p. 287 however he drops the royal title and says that Rajkonḍa was conquered by "Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk". We may well compare this state of affairs with the use of the epithet *Khusraw-i Dakan* and even 'His Majesty' as the titles of the late Niẓām of Hyderabad during the period of the old régime, although His Exalted Highness never proclaimed his kingship. It may also be mentioned that the first time a Ṣafawī monarch of Persia ever addressed the ruler of Golkonda as *Shāh* was in the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh (*H.A.*, 245), and it is well known that the Ṣafawīs were ever ready to dub royalty on the Shī'ah rulers of the Deccan whenever opportunity

arose. Sir Wolseley Haig has summed up the whole position in a few pithy words in his short article on the Quṭb-Shāhīs in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II, 1168, where he says :

"He (Sulṭān-Qulī) maintained a semblance of loyalty to Bidar until 1512 when he declared himself independent (*sic.*) at Golkunda, but he never assumed the royal title though the historians usually style him Sultan Kuli Kutb Shah".

Z. A. Desai in his article on "Qutb Shahi Inscriptions from Hyderabad State, *E. Ind., Arabic and Persian Supplement*" 1953-54, quotes two inscriptions from Koṇḍāpalli dated 931/1524-25 and 29-3-945/25-8-1538 respectively in which the ruler is called *Malik Quṭbu'l-Mulk*. Both the inscriptions are bilingual, and the Telugu version corresponds to the Persian.

60. *Warangal*, renamed Sulṭānpur, headquarter of a district in Andhra Pradesh; 17° 58′ N., 79° 38′ E.

Koṇḍāpalli, renamed, Musṭafānagar, formerly one of the five Northern Circars, now a small town in the Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh; 16° 75′ N., 80° 33′ E.

Koṇḍāvīḍu, renamed Murtaẓānagar, hill fort in Guṇṭūr district, Andhra Pradesh; 60° 60′ N., 80° 60′ E.

It is interesting to note that the book *Tārīkh-i Dakan, Ḥālāt-i Quṭbiyah*, MSS., Aṣafīyah, Tārikh, 1178, a small book by an anonymous author (mentioned by Prof. Storey in his *Persian Literature : A Bio-bibliographical Survey*, p. 748) says that 'Tilangānā' has Chānda and the Orissan border as far as Sikakōl in the north, Karnatak in the south, the sea in the east and the provinces of Muḥammadābād-Bidar and Bījāpūr in the west. The manuscript in the Aṣafīyah Library seems to be about two hundred years old.

61. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, 315-16. Purushottam's date of accession to the throne of Orissa is disputed; see *Bahmanīs*, ch. 11, note 46, where it is maintained that he ascended the throne in 1470.

62. Shitāb Khān, alias Chittapa Khān, alias Sītapatī, alias Sitadu, is one of the problem personalities of the history of the Deccan. There is quite a good amount of modern literature on the subject, e.g., Hirananda Sastri's compendious monograph, *Shitab Khan of Warangal*, where he has given the history of the name and edited an important inscription in a temple within the fort of Warangal, which commemorates Shitāb Khān's capture of the town on 21st January, 1504. There are references to the person or persons bearing that name in *Burhān*, 95, *Briggs*, III, 421, *R.H.A.D.*, 1925-26 and 1935-36 etc. There was a Shitāb Khān who had to leave the Bahmanī kingdom during the reign of Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī, there was one of whom we are speaking now, and one in the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. These three persons, or at least two, viz., Shitāb

Khān of Humāyūn's reign and the one of Ibrāhīm's reign could hardly be one and the same person as some highly eminent historians have supposed, for there is interval of more than a century and a quarter between the two reigns, and even when we hear of Shitāb Khān of Ibrāhīm's reign he evidently continues to live on and simply disappears from a battlefield. It is not many years ago that he was regarded as a Muslim, but it is now agreed on all hands that he was a Hindu and a "restorer of temples". See Sherwani, Identity of Shitāb Khān of Warangal, *J.P.H.S.*, October 1957, pp. 221 ff.

63. Chronicle of Fernão Nuniz, in *Sewell*, p. 316, not 314 as in *Banerji*, I, 323.

64. *Udayagirī*, headquarters of a taluqa in Nellore district Andhra Pradesh 14° 53′ N., 79° 18′ E. For the siege of Udayagirī see *Further Sources*, I, 200-2. There seems to be some kind of contradiction between Nuniz's account given in *Sewell*, 316 and in the account given by our Telugu authorities such as *Vijayanagarasāmrājyamu*, and *Further Sources* I have tried to coordinate the two. The MSS. *Rāyavāchakamu* referred to in *Sources*, 110, says that before subduing Udayagirī, Krishna reduced a fort called Hurmatti, but the compiler of the *Sources*, says on p. 114 that "there is no fort of that name near Udayagirī so far known". The date, 1514, in *Further Sources* I, 200; according to *Banerji*, 324, the fortress fell in 1513 "as an image of Bālakrishna captured at Udayagirī, was dedicated by him in 1514", but the argument hardly proves that the fortress fell in 1513.

65. There is a difference of opinion in the movements of Krishna Dēva Rāya after the fall of Udayagirī. We read in the *Sources*, 115, quoting *Rāyavāchakamu* that he marched to Koṇḍaviḍu himself, while *Further Sources* say on p. 203 that he returned to the capital; from there he is said to have "marched into the enemy territory and approached the town of Ahmadnagar (Ahmadabad-Bidar)". In the battle which ensued he gained a complete victory and directed the fortifications to be destroyed. "He then ordered that castor seeds should be sown where fortifications stood", and then proceeded again to the eastern frontier of the kingdom; for this see *Sources*, 114-15. Now all this is most improbable. The first thing is that Bidar was never called Ahmadabad or Ahmadnagar, but was renamed Muḥammadābād by Aḥmad I after his own son Muḥammad; for this see *Bahmanīs*, 184 and the note on p. 215; there is ample numismatic evidence to support this view. Moreover there is absolutely no mark of any razing of the fortifications at all and the old Bahmanī fortifications still stand intact. It seems that if the story is correct Aḥmadnagar may have been the name of any other minor fort, not, of course the capital of the Niẓām Shāhīs within the Bahmani territory, the wall of which

may have been demolished by Krishna, but even that has still to be identified. It is interesting to note that the late S. K. Aiyangar, relying on *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Kṛṣṇārāyavijayam* says that the Rāya proceeded to "Ahmadnagar" after the fall of Koṇḍavīḍu and the Kalinga war; *Sources,* 114.

66. *Further Sources,* I, 204; *Sources,* 114. It is related that among those who were taken prisoners at Koḍavīḍu were Vīrabhadrayya, son of Pratāp Rudra of Orissa and two officers with Muslim surnames, Rachūri Mallū Khān and Uḍḍāṇḍā Khān; *Further Sources,* I, 205, and Appendix, p. 230. We also read of Ajmal Khān and Bijlī Khān in the service of the Gajapatī, and this may well point to an alliance between the ruler of Orissa and Quṭbu'l-mulk referred to by S. K. Aiyangar in his article, The Yet-remembered Ruler of a long-forgotten Empire, *Hindustan Review,* 1917, p. 15. He also says that Krishna took Koṇḍavīḍu by storm himself. *Banerji,* 325, seems rather upset that Pratāp Rudra "had descended to the level of employing Musalman soldiers" in his campaign against Krishna Dēva Rāya. But we must remember that Muslim soldiers were likewise employed by Vīra Ballala III the Hoysala ruler, Dēva Rāya II of Vijayanagar, and even by Shivaji. The reason is simply that the wars waged were political in nature and the venom of purely sectarian communalism, as Professor Banerji knew it, had not raised its head.

67. *Further Sources,* I, 203. *Banerji,* 325, agrees with S. K. Aiyangar (n. 65 above) that the subjugation of some of these forts followed the fall of Koṇḍavīḍu, but gives no references. *Vinukoṇḍa,* in the Guṇṭūr district, Andhra Pradesh, 16° 3′ N., 79° 44′ E. *Bēlamkoṇḍa,* hill fort, Guṇṭūr district, Andhra Pradesh, 16° 30′ N., 80° E. *Nāgarjunakoṇḍa,* village near Nāgarjuna Durga or fort in the Palnad taluqa of the Guṇṭūr district, Andhra Pradesh, 16° 32′ N., 79° 14′ E. There is a good topographical account of the site and a short life history of the saint Nāgarjuna after whom the place is named in *Hyderabad Today* for September, 1955, in connection with the vast project known as the Nāgarjunakoṇḍa Sagar. The whole site, rich in historical remains going back to 2,000 years, will be submerged as the result of what is known as the Nāgarjunakoṇḍa Project.

68. For this see Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmanī Wazir,* 168 ff.; *Bahmanis,* 33ff. Srinivasachar thinks that by Kondapalli is really meant Nēkoṇḍāpalli in the Khammamēt Taluqa where he has found and edited an inscription dated May 4, 1516, now lying in the compound of a local library, which he considers an evidence of the conquest of the region by Krishna Dēva Rāya. But this does not preclude the possibility of the conquest of the lofty fort of Koṇḍāpallī without which it would

not have been possible to keep the region under control. *Vijayanagar,* in the Hospet taluqa of the Bellary district, Andhra Pradesh, 15° 20′ N., 76° 29′ E.

Nēkonḍāpalli or *Nialekonḍapalli* in the Khammamēt taluqa of the district of that name, Andhra Pradesh, 17° 7′ N., 80° 3′ E.

69. *Further Sources,* I, 206; here a series of epigraphs have been quoted in which Krishna's return to Vijayanagar is traced step by step till he reached the capital on a date before 19-12-1517 (*E.C.,* xii, pg. 4). *Banerji,* 329, has, I believe, wrongly computed the fall of Konḍāpallī in 1519.

70. For Shitāb Khān's identity, see n. 62 above.

71. Shitāb Khān's name is not mentioned in connection with Krishna Dēva Rāya's conquests, but we know from other sources that quite a number of forts conquered by Krishna belonged to him; see *Further Sources,* 208, where the learned authors doubt whether Krishna was ever in possession of Warangal as stated in the *Kaifiyat* of Anumakonḍa or Hanamkonḍa which is now a suburb of Warangal.

Kammamēṭ or *Khammam,* headquarters of a district, Āndhra Pradēsh; 17° 08′ N., 80° 15′ E.

Hanamkonḍa, a suburb of Warangal, headquarters of a district, Āndhra Pradēsh; 18° 01′ N., 70° 34′ E.

Nalgonḍa, headquarters of the district of that name, Āndhra Pradēsh; 17° 03′ N., 79° 16′ E.

72. *Further Sources,* 209, quoting *Rāyavācākamu. Banerji,* 326, doubts the occupation of Cuttack "as there is no epigraphical corroboration of the statement", and *Further Sources* doubt the burning of the city although they are satisfied that the city was reached, and apart from *Rāyavāchakamu* (on p. 204) an inscription at Komnūr in the Guṇṭūr district has been quoted which mentions Krishna's conquests "as far as Katakam". *Rajahmundri* headquarters of the East Godavari district, Āndhra Pradēsh; 17° N., 81° 47′ E.

73. *Sources,* 15; Aiyangar, *The Yet-remembered Ruler of a Long-forgotten Empire,* 15; *N. & V.,* I, 211.

Cuttack, Orissa State, 20° 29′ N., 85° 52′ E.

74. *Further Sources,* I, 233.

75. Pratap Rudra's invasion is inferred from certain verses of Allasani Peddanna, the court poet of Vijayanagar, in which he showers rebukes on the Gajapati who had invaded his motherland, and it is on the moral impact of these verses that the Gajapati returns home; *Sources,* 153. *Banerji,* 333, disbelieves the whole story. We have another rather quaint story of Achyūta Rāya being seated on his jewelled throne surrounded

by kings of Uṭkala (Orissa), Yavana (of Muslim faith) and Āndhra". *Tārakābrahmarājiyam, Further Sources* III, 168. This shows the length to which local chronicles could go. It is possible that there was an invasion from Orissa after Krishna's death, and it is also possible that it was warded off; the rest seems to be an accretion.

76. This is very important, as when we come to Quṭbu'l-mulk's campaigns it is primarily the local chiefs who bar his way. We come across the names of the loyalist Gani Timma who fought many a battle for his overlord, the Rāya of Vijayanagar, and was granted the title of 'the Lord of Mannē chiefs' by him, of Santa Linga, head of the Vikshvritti Maṭha at Srisailam, Karnul district, 16° 4′ N., 78° 52′ E., of the chief of Tondamarayagulla, the federation of the Āndhra chiefs, Chāya, and many other chiefs all of whom, except Timma, were asserting their independence; see *Velugoṭivārivamsāvali,* edited by Dr. Venkataramnayya, Introduction, 45 & 46, and *Further Sources,* III, 169, for Timma's exploits; on pp. 171-173 there is a list of 43 local chieftains who formed a federation to oppose the might of Vijayanagar.

77. *Banerji,* I, 330, says that Manmohan Chakravarti was "perfectly correct in dating the Musalman invasion from Golkonda in 1522", and refers to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 185, for his views. Chakravarti's article in the said journal deals with an inscription of Kapilēndra Dēva of Orissa from Gomathipura, which now forms a part of the district of Cuuttack, and incidentally deals with "the last Hindu kings of Orissa". The only reference to 1522 (32nd Anka of *Madala Panji* or Chronicles of the Temple of Jagannath), is to *Ferishta,* Elphinstone's *History of India,* Appendix, p. 76 and Hunter's *History of Orissa,* Appendix viii, p. 193. Neither *Ferishta* nor Elphinstone have the date 1522 as the year when Quṭbu'l-mulk invaded the Orissa territory for the first time. It is possible that Professor Banerji got his data from *Madala Panji* itself, but unfortunately I have not been able to have recourse to it, and in any case the data has to be examined before any opinion can be formed. Judging from the data at my disposal I feel that the year 1531 or 1532 fits in very well, for enough time had elapsed from Kṛishna Dēva Rāya's death for local chiefs to assert their independence and the Gajapati ruler to feel strong enough to reclaim what he thought were his lost provinces. Of course neither the one nor the other had counted on the strategic acumen of the ruler of Golkonḍa. 1532 is a year which lies midway between the death of Krishna Dēva Rāya on the one hand and the death of Ismā'īl 'Ādil on the other, and fits in well as the four or five campaigns of Quṭbu'l-mulk' ending in the failure on the part of Ismā'īl 'Ādil to take Kovilkonḍa must have taken nearly two years. My surmise is fully corroborated by *Q.S.* 84, where it is clearly stated that the Golkonḍa

army had been fighting continuously for two years at the time of the siege of Kovilkonḍa by the ruler of Bijapur.

78. *Velugot.*, Introd., 45-46; *Further Sources*, I, 233. There is no date attached to Timma's exploits but Venkataramnayya thinks that they took place in the first year of Achyūta's reign, while the attack on Konḍāvīḍu should be assigned to 1530. The later date is, however, only a conjecture as it is not mentioned in *Briggs*, III, 374-75 to which reference is made in *Velugot.*, 47, n. 80 and *Further Sources*, I. 233, n. If we refer to *Briggs* we would find that Konḍavīḍu ('Condbeer') was attacked twice, and *Briggs* mentions the first attack on pp. 366-67 and the second on pp. 374-75. Gani Timma's exploits are so varied and so spread out that they must have taken more than a few months, and it is for this as well as other reasons mentioned in n. 77 above, and for the need for a psychological moment for the launching of the attack by Quṭbu'l-mulk that I feel that one or two years must have elapsed after Krishna's death before he sent a regular army to Andhra.

79. This is a gist of Quṭbu'l-mulk's own words quoted in *Q.S.*, 51 (*Briggs*, III, 352), from Mullā Ḥusain al-Tiblisī's book, *Marghubu'l-Qulūb*, a work which was completed towards the end of Quṭbu'l-mulk's reign but which, unfortunately, is lost. From the actual campaigns detailed in *Q.S.* one does not find that he annexed Rājahmundri and Masulipatam, but there is no doubt that he regained complete control of the country as far as the Godavari delta.

Masulipatam, Machhlībandar, Machhilepatnam or *Bandar-i Mubārak*, headquarters of the Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh, 16° 11′ N., 81° 8′ E. For this important port see Shah Manzūr 'Alam's article, "Masulipatnam —A Metropolitan Port in the seventeenth century"; *I.C.*, April, 1959, pp. 179-182.

80. For *Rājkonḍa*, see Sreenivas, "Rajkonda and its Remains", *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, July 1916, pp. 166-79. Seven hills; *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Hyderabad State*, 1909, p. 152, where the date of the siege, 1513, is wrongly given; position, 16° 42′ N., 78° 55′ E.

81. The name of the Raya of Vijayanagar given in *Q.S.* is 'Krishna Rāi, but this seems to be the generic name adopted by our Persian authorities for every occupant of the throne of Vijayanagar right up to the end of the independence of that state. Achyūta had succeeded Krishna towards the end of 1529.

82. *Panagal*, a few miles north of the Krishna, now in the Maḥbūbnagar district, Andhra Pradesh, 16° 34′ N., 78° 8′ E; it is, of course different to Panugal in the Nalgonḍa district. See also *Sewell*, 133. Dr. Sreenivasachar, *R.H.A.D.*, 1934-35, in his article entitled "Nelakondapalli

Inscription of Krsna-Deva-Raya", is obviously wrong in ascribing the account given in *Briggs*, III, 339 ff., to *Fer.*, for, as Briggs himself says, it contains only the epitomised translation of the *History of the Kings of Golconda entitled Kootb Shahy.*

83. Quotation from *R.H.A.D.*, 1934-35, p. 41. War with Vijayanagar, 57-63; *Briggs*, III, 357-58; this meant the conquest of the whole territory now forming the district of Maḥbūbnagar. *Ghanpura*, Maḥbūbnagar district, Andhra Pradesh; 16° 34′ N., 78° 8′ E.

84. *Q.S.*, 64-67. The ruler referred to is simply named 'Imādu'l-mulk. As we have already stepped on to the thirties of the 16th century this ruler must have been Darya who ruled from 1529 to 1572.

Malangūr, in the Karīmnagar district, Andhra Pradesh; 18° 18′ N., 79° 20′ E.

Elgandal, in the Karīmnagar district, Andhra Pradesh, 18° 25′ N., 79° 3′ E.

Rāmgir or Ārāmgir, a village and fort in the Karīmnagar district, Andhra Pradesh; the fort is situated on an eminence 7,764 ft. in height; 18° 35′ N., 79° 32′ E.

85. For Shitāb Khān, see note 62 above.

86. *Q.S.*, 68; *Briggs*, III, 361. *N. and V.*, I, 207, think that the territory was probably conquered by Shitāb Khān from the Bahmanīs with Orissan aid; but as has been mentioned previously it was the loss of effective sovereignty by the Bahmanī centre which led to the independence of local chiefs of whom Sitāpatī was one. It was therefore most probably through his own ability that he extended his control over a large slice of Tilangāna. Also see n. 76 above.

87. *Q.S.*, 70. Dr. Sreenivasachar, in *R.H.A.D.*, 1934-35, p. 42, says that probably Shitāb Khān appealed to the Gajapatī of Orissa also and help might have come from that quarter as well.

88. *Q.S.*, 71.

Etgīr, modern *Yādgīr*, headquarters of a taluqa in Gulbarga district, Mysore State, 16° 46′ N., 77° 9′ E.

89. *Briggs*, III, 362; *Q.S.*, 73. The copy of *Q.S.*, in Salar Jang Library, Hyderabad, 37, Mss., Tārīkh fol. 74 b, is perfectly clear that Rāmachandra was the son of the Raja of Orissa and perhaps Viceroy of Tilangana with his capital at Kondāpallī. Pratāp Rudra had a number of sons but all of them are said to have been murdered after his death, and the nicknames of only two of them, Kalua Dēva and Kakharu Dēva, are known; *Banerji*, I, 337. *Q.S.*, 73, 77, seems to have mixed up the father and the son.

90. Vidyādhar, who took part in the great battle, was probably Govinda Vidyādhara who became all-powerful in Orissa in 1541. He belonged to the same Bhoi caste as Shitāb Khān; *Banerji*, I, 337. His participation in the battle of Palankchipur nearly fixes its date, for it must have occurred in any case before 1541. *Briggs*, III, 363, calls the scene of the battle "at the river near Palukchipoor". It may be mentioned that Banerji does not refer to this battle at all. In fact he closes the episodes connected with Pratāp Rudra's reign with his treaty with Krishna Dēva Rāya in 1516 resulting in his marriage with the princess of Orissa and the cession of the part of the Orissan empire south of the Godāvari, with the remark that it was not possible to determine what happened after that. He considers the accounts of "Vijayanagara panegyrists" who described "another invasion of Vijayanagara Empire" as "incredible"; *Banerji*, I, 333-34. But we have quite a detailed account of Pratāp Rudra's alliance with Shitāb Khān and the defeat of his army at the hands of Quṭbu'l-mulk which cannot be brushed aside so lightly.

91. There is much obscurity with regard to the names of Pratāp Rudra's successor at Cuttack. *Q.S.*, 77 calls him Vasnad Deo, while *Briggs*, III, 364, has "Vusnad (properly Veija Nutt) Dew", but quotes no authority for the corrected form. As has been related above (n. 89) Banerji does not throw much light on the line of the Gajapatīs between Pratāp Rudra's death and Govinda Vidyādhara's usurpation. This "Vasnad Deo" may be one of the *rois fainéants* of the intervening period.

92. This was practically the same frontier as agreed to between Krishna Dēva Rāya and Pratāp Rudra some year previously; thus Quṭbu'l-mulk had replaced the Rāya of Vijayanagar as the overlord of Tilangāna.

93. *Q.S.* 79-81, 101. Koṇḍapallī had already opened its gates to Quṭbu'l-mulk in the campaign against Shitāb Khān, and either the citadel had slipped away in the meantime or else this was Nēkoṇḍapallī near Khammamet, the garrison of which might not have been able to hold on owing to Quṭbu'l-mulk's enveloping movement.

94. *Q.S.*, 82; *Velugot*, Introduction, 47, referring to *Local Records*, IV, pp. 273-77. *Briggs.*, III, 367, has 8,000 horse, but *Q.S.*, 81, clearly says that Basava had 20,000 cavalry under his command.

95. 300,000 hons was a modest amount compared with the indemnity sometimes imposed on the southern kingdom in the early days of Bahmanī rule, for which see *Bahmanis*, 155, 162, etc.

96. *Q.S.* 82-88.

97. I have given a gist of the description of the invasion of Tilangāna by the ruler of Bijapur according to *Q.S.*, 83-91. *Fer.*, II, 25, 102, 106, 175,

Briggs, III, 70-71, and *Basatīn*, 46, have different stories to tell. *Fer.*, II, 106, says that Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, Burhān Niẓām Shāh and 'Alā'ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh (the epithet "Shāh" is unhistorical, for which see n. 57 above) met together in 939/1532 and agreed that Burhān should conquer Berar and Ismā'īl Tilangana, and that they should divide the spoils among themselves. On p. 25, however, there is a cryptic passage (which has not been translated by *Briggs* at all) as follows :—

اسمعیل عادل شاه و برهان نظام شاه..... چنان مقرر ساختند که ولایت سلطان قلی قطب شاه و برهان نظام شاه بحری و علاء الدین عماد شاه را متصرف باهم دوست و یک دل باشند

" 'Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh and Burhān Niẓām Shāh agreed that they should occupy the province of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, Burhān Niẓam Shāh Baḥrī and 'Alā'ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh and should become friendly and of one mind." This makes no sense at all. This is followed by the passage stating that Ismā'īl 'Ādil, who had been at daggers drawn with Qāsim Barīd, got himself reconciled to him. Now *Fer.*, II, 176 (*Briggs*, III, 496) is explicit that Qāsim died in 910/1504, and his successor 'Alī Barīd reigned for 45 years, dying in 955/1548; so obviously it was not Qāsim but 'Alī who was Ismā'īl 'Ādil's ally in his invasion of the Golkonḍa territory. In the same way the reference to " 'Alā'ud-dīn 'Imād Shah in *Fer.*, II, 25, is wrong as that ruler died "soon after 934/1507", so it was his successor Daryā 'Imādu'l-mulk who must have been ruling in Berar in 939/1532. Prof. Siddiqui, in his *Muqaddama-i-Tārīkh-i-Dakan*, p. 60, puts Daryā's rule as extending from 937/1529 to 970/1562. In any case the actors in the drama of 939/1532 were not Qāsim Barīd and 'Ala'ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh but 'Alī Barīd and Daryā 'Imādu'l-mulk.

Fer., II, 25, goes on to say that Sulṭān-Quli did not move to south Tilangana when he heard of Ismā'īl 'Ādil's invasion but contented to send his army "to the help of the Nāyaka who was holding Kōvilkunḍa for him". This army was under the command of Asad Khān Lārī. It is related that the Hindu commandant of the fort was on the point of laying down his arms when Ismā'īl became suddenly ill and decided to leave immediately for Gulbarga. He died on Wednesday, 16-2-941/6-9-1534. In the epitomised translation of Ferishta, *Briggs*, III, 71, does not mention Quṭbu'l-mulk's name at all.

Basatīn, 46, does not mention the treaty between Bijapur and Aḥmadnagar but says that Kōvilkonḍa was attacked by Ismā'īl single-handed. There is no mention of Sulṭān-Qulī here either. It also relates how all the treatment of the ruler of Bijapur proved fruitless and how, in spite of the victory being within an ace of being achieved, it was resolved to retreat. Ismā'īl is reported to have died at Sāgar on the way back to Bijapur and not at Kōvilkonḍa. Bashīr Aḥmad, *Wāqi'at-i Mamlukat-i Bījāpūr*, 69, follows *Basatīn*.

My own opinion is that *Q.S.'s* version is more correct. Having taken possession of Tilangāna step by step through four arduous campaigns and then to have sat quietly at home when it was being attacked by a new enemy, was not and could not be in the nature of a great leader and a commander like Quṭbu'l-mulk. Moreover an alliance between the weakening state of Vijayanagar and her erstwhile enemy, Bijāpūr, against a new and rising state is not at all improbable. The episode perhaps gives the first definite date of the campaign, namely 16-2-941/6-9-1534, and further proves my surmise that the series of campaigns undertaken by Quṭbu'l-mulk commenced not in 1522 but a couple of years before Ismā'īl's death. This is fully corroborated not merely by *Q.S.*, 84, but also by an interesting work the *Tawārīkh-i-Quṭb Shāhī*, Salar Jang Library, Naẓm-i Fārsi, 202, (not *Khamsah*, as indicated in pencil on the fly leaf), for which see note 111 below, and which is the history of the early rulers of the dynasty in verse after the fashion of the Shāh Nāma. A little exaggeration here and there is to be expected in a work like this, but certain facts, not found elsewhere, can be gleaned from it. The book is written in beautiful calligraphy with golden tracings and beautifully executed borders and lines and seems to be at least 250 years old, although the exact date of the manuscript cannot be ascertained as there is no colophon. It says that Ismā'īl 'Adil died "at the foot of the fort of Kōvilkonḍa", but before he died he willed that Ibrahim should ascend the throne and that Mallū should act as the Commander-in-Chief of the Bijapur army. It is clear from a line on p. 25,

چنیں تا کہ یک سال و یک ماہ راست * بر آمد کہ ایں فتنۂ و کینہ خواست

that Ismā'īl had been fighting for a year and a month. See also n. 111 below.

The siege of Kalyānī, the ancient capital of the Chalukyas, is mentioned in *Fer.*, II, 168, *Briggs*, III, 322, where however, there is no mention of the siege of Kōvilkonḍa at all. *Briggs* says that "the kings of Golkonda, unable to cope with the Adil Shahy forces, only sent a detachment of cavalry to cut off their supplies", so that the conclusion I have drawn regarding the fall of Kalyānī to the army of Bijāpūr would not be wrong.

Q.S., 84 is perfectly clear that Kovilkonḍa was commanded by Ja'far Bēg.

Of course Ismā'īl's objective was Kōvilkonḍa not Nalgonḍa, as wrongly stated in *C.H.I.*, III, 438.

Sāgar surnamed *Nuṛatābād*, Gulbarga district, Mysore State; 16° 37′ N., 76° 48′ E.

98. It was not Qāsim Barīd, as in *Q.S.* 97-102, but his son 'Alī Barīd who had succeeded Qāsim in 910/1504. Also see previous note.

Kohīr, headquarters of a taluqa in the Bīdar district, Mysore State; 17° 36′ N., 77° 43′ E.

99. *Q.S.*, 93-97.

100. *Q.S.*, 97-102; *Briggs*, III, 373-74.

101. The interesting question of the proclamation of kingship of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil hinges on the death of the last Bahmani holder of the royal title, and this has been fully discussed in *Bahmanis*, 391-94 and 419. There is an inscription at Bijapur, published in *Bijapur Inscriptions, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 49 p. 26, described under No. 3251, on a ruined gateway near Khwāja Sunbul's mosque, dated 943/1537, where the ruler is entitled simply as Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān, while two years later, in 945/1539 he styles himself as Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah in an inscription on a bastion inside the southern gateway of the citadel (inscription No. 439, p. 47). Dr. Nāẓim, the editor of the monograph, says on p. 6, that "this is the first inscription in which the name of a king of Bijapur is mentioned with the title of 'Ādil Shāh instead of 'Ādil Khān In all probability Kalīmu'l-lah, the last ruler of the dynasty, died about this time". (It is to be regretted that certain references in *Bahmanis*, p. 392 and notes 23 and 24 on p. 422 have been wrongly printed).
Bahmani Governors", *I.H.C.*, 1945, p. 159. *op. cit.*

It is interesting to observe that Ferishtā, who is so loud in his reports of the proclamation of kingships on the part of the provincial governors as early as 895/1490 (*Fer.*, I, 367) calls the Deccan a *mamlukat* or State and Ahmadnagar a *wilāyat* or province of "Niẓām Shāh" as late as 940/1533; for this see *Fer.*, II, 168. *Briggs*, III, 323 has quite wrongly translated *mamlukat* as "country" and *wilāyat* as *"territory"*, for the two mean "State" and "Province" respectively. It may be mentioned here that it was not till after 937/1531 that Burhān formally assumed the title and emblems of royalty; for this see *Fer.*, II, 108; also see Sherwani, "Independence of Bahmani Governors", *I.H.C.*, 1945, p. 159. *op. cit.*

102. *Shāh Ṭāhir*, one of the great Shī'ah divines of the 16th century. He was the person who successfully spread the Shī'ah doctrine in the Deccan and converted Burhān Niẓām Shāh to his faith. His ancestors had made Khond in the district of Qazwīn near the Caspian Sea their home and it was there that Shāh Ṭāhīr was born. He arrived at Aḥmadnagar in 928 according to *Fer.*, II, 104, and in 926 according to *Bur.*, 254. The circumstances of his arrival in India are also variously given; *Fer.*, II, 111, relates how he became a suspect at the court of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī of Persia for spreading Ismā'īli heterodoxy, and had to leave his country, landing at Goa and thence treading his way to Aḥmadnagar; while *Bur.*, 253, says that he was sent as an envoy to Aḥmadnagar by the Ṣafawī monarch. However that may be, he succeeded in winning over Burhān to Shī'ism (*Bur.*, 258), and was the person behind the order given by that ruler ordering the removal of the names of the first three Caliphs from

the *Khutbah* and changing the colour of the flag to green; *Briggs*, III, 228. Next year, in Muḥarram 949/April, 1542, he was given precedence over "all the nobles and divines" of the kingdom.

While at Aḥmadnagar he soon gyrated to the diplomatic service of the State, and his career as a diplomat was as successful as that of a preacher. It was he who negotiated a meeting between Ismā'īl 'Ādil and Burhān at Shōlāpūr in 930/1524 which resulted in Burhān's marriage with Ismā'īl's sister Bibi Maryam (*Fer.*, II, 104), and with Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat about 937/1537 which resulted in the adoption of the title of *Shah* by Burhān for the first time and his use of the white umbrella as an emblem of royalty; *Fer.*, II, 108; *Briggs*, III, 223. In 935/1529 it was Shāh Ṭāhīr who wrote a letter in Burhān's name to Babur on his taking possession of Delhi and becoming the Pādshāh of India after the first battle of Panipat. In 950/1543 we find him sending his son Shāh Ḥaidar with the Persian envoy, Āghā Salmān Tehrānī, to Iran with presents for the new ruler, Shāh Tahmāsp Ṣafawī. He was later sent as the envoy of Aḥmadnagar to wheel round 'Alī Barīd against Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh of Bijāpūr, but was not successful in gaining his objective. He was, however, more successful in negotiating a treaty with Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk which cemented the relationship between the two Shī'ah monarchs of the Deccan; *Burhan*, 308. He died in 953/1546 while on his way to Daryā 'Imād Shāh as the Aḥmadnagar envoy, and his remains were taken to Karbala to be buried in the vicinity of the mausoleum of Imām Ḥusain. It is related in the *Tārikh-i-Dakan* (Silsila-i Aṣafīyah, Vol. III, p. 390) that Shāh Ṭāhir died in 956, but I have not been able to verify this from any of our authorities.

For Shāh Ṭāhir's life and the various episodes connected with it see M. Hidayat Ḥosain's article, "Shah Tahir of the Deccan", *Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies*, presented to Sir Denison Ross, pp. 147-160.

Mēdak, a large town in Andhra Pradesh, 18° 3′ N. 78° 26′ E.

Kaulās, hill fort in the north-east of Bidar district, Mysore State; 18° 20′ N., 77° 42′ E.

103. Q.S., 97-104; *Bur.*, 308, calls 'Alī Barīd "Malik Barīd", and Quṭbu'l-mulk "Malik Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk". See note 2 above.

104. *Fer.*, II, 168; *Briggs*, III, 324. Mānik Rao Viṭṭhal Rao says in his encyclopaedic work, the *Bustān-i Aṣafiyah*, I, p. 20 that Sulṭān-Qulī was given the posthumous title of Ghufrān-Panāh' meaning 'May his refuge be God's forgiveness'.

105. *Tab.*, 373; this work was completed in 1593.

106. *Burhan.*, 314.

107. *Fer.*, II, 168 is again wrong here. As a matter of fact Sulṭān-Quli

had six sons whose names are given in *Q.S.*, 105, namely (1)Ḥaidar Khan, the heir apparent, who had shown his mettle in many a battlefield, had died during his father's lifetime; (2) Quṭbu'd-dīn, who became his father's favourite after the death of his eldest son, Ḥaidar; he had been blinded at the instance of Jamshīd; (3) Yār-Quli Jamshīd, who had been confined to the Golkonda fort for his misdeeds; (4) 'Abdu'l-Karīm, who had fled to Bijāpūr and was killed fighting; (5) Daulat Khān, who seems to have been off his mind; (6) Ibrāhīm, who later ascended the throne as Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.

108. *Q.S.* 107; *Briggs*, III, 377.

109. *Munt.*, III, 372.

110. *T.Q.* This work, which is a metric history of the early Quṭb Shahs, is a beautifully calligraphed, gold-illuminated history of Tilang, and was composed during the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah (1580-1612). It traces the history of the dynasty from its inception, in beautiful Persian verse, and deals with certain events in great detail, parts of which are probably the result of the fertile imagination of the poet. The manuscript begins with the praise of God and a eulogy of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah who ruled over Tilang from 1585 to 1620. The whole work is in the form of a *nāma* or letter as is mentioned on p. 1 and fol. 15(a). The story of Sulṭan-Qulī, who is called *Baṛē Malik* right through, does not begin till fol. 6(b). The whole manuscript seems to be the first part of a larger work and ends in the accession of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shah to the throne in 957/1550. Although it is not so indicated, the book is really divided into four nearly equal parts, each beginning with the praise of God, and rather abruptly ends a narrative and begins another with *āghāz-i- dāstān* or "'beginning of the story". The four parts are as follows :

(1) The reign of Sulṭān-Qulī to the successful campaign of Kōvilkoṇḍā and the death of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr; (2) From the accession of Mallū to the Bijāpūr throne to Sulṭan-Qulī's murder; (3) From the accession of "Jamshīd Khān" up to his return from Sholāpūr; (4) The remaining period of Jamshīd's rule, Burhān's interlude and the arrival of Ibrāhīm from Vijayanagar.

The description of the arrest and execution of Sulṭān-Qulī's murderer given in folios 35(a) ta 36(b) is unique and sheds more light on the whole question of the complicity or otherwise of Jamshīd in his father's murder. The poem, which is in the form of a mathnawī, is very similar to the book described by C. A. Storey in his compendious work, *Persian Literature; a biobibliographical Dictionary*, II, fasc., 3, p. 746. Here a reference is made to Ethe, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Sprenger, Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and*

Hindu'sta'ny Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Kings of Oudh, and *Ivonow, Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The reference in *Ivonow* is to a work entitled *Nasab Nāmah Quṭb Shāhī* under No. 690 which is identical to *Sprenger* No. 227 where the poem is called *Nisbat Nāmah Shahryārī*. There is another poem of the same name and the same content under No. 309 but it is only half of its size and it is interesting to note that the colophon calls it *Tawārīkh-i- Quṭb Shāhī*. The question of authorship is discussed by Ivonow under No. 690. The work is evidently much more than a *nasabnāmah* or geneology as it contains a detailed history of the Quṭb Shāhs up to the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. The Persian poet Ḥakīm Thanā'ī is mentioned in one of the lines of the manuscript as a contemporary, and as he died in 996/1588 the work must have been compiled before that date.

The manuscript in the Salar Jang Library is evidently the first part of a larger work. The first lines of the poem in the India Office Library do not correspond either with the poems in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal nor with the Hyderabad MSS. although the subject matter is more or less the same. See also note 97 above.

I believe this is the first time that use is being made of this interesting and useful work as a historical work of reference.

111. *Fer.*, II, 168; quotation from *Burhān*, 50.

112. Full quotation in K. V. Krishna Rao's *Indian History*, in Telugu, p. 210; also see *Andhra Kavula Charitram* by Kandukuri Viresilligam Pantulu, pp. 117-119. This has been quoted, by Prof. Hanumantha Rao in his article, "The Quṭb Shahi Kings of Golconda", *Journal of Dakkan History and Culture*, I, 1, p. 51, n. 3. The whole quotation, which is of 6 distiches, deals mostly with Quṭbu'l-mulk's conquests "in the north, south, east and west" and his great qualities as a general.

113. *Q.S.*, 61.

114. For Rāmarāj's early life see Heras: *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Ch. 1; *Sources*, p. xiii; *Briggs*, III, 360; *Q.S.*, 109.

115. Ibrahim and Vijayanagar, *Briggs*, III, 381; we will have more of this aspect of Ibrahim's life when we come to his reign. For an instance of exaggerations, which abound, see *Bahmanis*, p. 437.

116. See note 66 above.

117. *Q.S.*, 70.

118. *Q.S.*, 54.

119. For the gradual introduction of the Shī'ite doctrine in the Deccan see *Bahmanis*, pp. 146, 190-1, 397, 410 n. 98, 411 n. 99.

120. See n. 56 above.

121. Quotation from Sadr Jahān Mullā Ḥusain Ṭibsī (Ṭiblisi)'s *Marghūbu'-Qulūb* (which book is not now available) in *Q.S.*, 51-52. Also see *Qutbiyah*, 19-20. The Shī'ah *Khutbah* was introduced for the first time at Bijapur in 1504, and it must have been sometime after that date that it was introduced in Golkonḍa-Tilangāna.

122. *Q.S.*, 76.

123. It is a pity that very few structures in the Golkonda Fort have been properly surveyed so far, and as a matter of fact till fairly recently, when the Fort was taken over by the Indian Archaeological Department, practically the whole fort was overgrown with wild trees and grass which made any exploration impossible. It is hoped that the Union Government will take early steps to have the old palaces not merely conserved but measured and photographed as well. All that is in print regarding the general appearance of the mosque is in connection with the inscription on the gateway published by Dr. Yazdani in *E.I.M.*, 1913-14, p. 47. I have not been able to find the measurement of any monuments in the Fort in the *Reports of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department*. *Q.S.*, 54, is obviously wrong that the mosque was built after the so-called declaration of kingship by Sulṭān-Quli, as the inscription belies it.

124. Sha Rocco, *Golconda and the Qutb Shahs*, p. 5. The author has quoted Thèvenot's *Travels;* for this see *The Indian Travels of Thèvenot and Careri*, New Delhi, 1949, p. 137. Actually, the word for shepherd in Telugu in *Golla*, or shepherd (caste), the collective noun derived from it being Gollavaru or a number of shepherds, softened into Golvar or Golear. It appears that Thèvenot wrongly wrote Golcar for Golear. Golkonda simply means the Hill of the Shepherds, for the sparsely inhabited country round the hill was used in early times as a vast grazing ground for the shepherds of the locality.

M.A., 301, says that the old name of the place was *Mankāl*. It is possible that this was the corrupted form of the name of the Manakālī temple which existed in a small cave on the way up the hill to the right long before the Mughals captured the fortress.

125. A. A. Bilgrami, *Landmarks of the Deccan*, 109; Bilgrami and Wilmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, pp. 510-16 gives a fairly detailed description of the great fort as it stands today. As has been said in n. 123, till quite recently the palaces of the Quṭb Shāhs had been left entirely uncared for, and the only part of the fort which a visitor could reach was the Bālā Ḥisār; but since the Union Archaeological Department has taken it over, practically the whole area has been partly cleared and one can see the vestiges,

however indistinct, of the splendour that must have been Gōlkonda in the heyday of its glory. This as well as the short and excellent description of the Fort and its contents in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzēb* IV, 357-59 treat with it as it exists today, and it is difficult to pick out the buildings erected by Sulṭān-Qulī, or even their sites. I can do no better than quote the description of the Fort from the pen of that historian which, as he says, is based on his personal observations in October 1916. He says :

"Some 160 yards north of the Musi river, lies the fort of Golkonda, the impregnable stronghold of the Deccan. . . . A strong crenallated wall of granite, over four miles in length and of vast thickness, surrounds the fort, which is further defended by 87 semi-circular bastions, each from 50 to 60 feet high and built of solid blocks of granite cemented together, some of them weighing a ton. . . . Golkonda really consists of four distinct forts joined to each other and included within the same line of circumvallation. The lowest of these is the outer-most enclosure into which we enter by the Fath Darwaza near the south-west corner; it is a vast tract covered with mansions of nobles, bazars, temples, mosques, soldiers' barracks, powder magazines and even cultivated fields. . . . Proceeding inside along the grand main road for some 1,250 yards from the Fath Darwaza, and leaving a set of rather later palaces, harems and offices on a low site on the right, we arrive at the Bala Hissar Gate which leads us, over a flight of steps, to a higher area with exceedingly lofty and strong walls and containing a capacious three-storied armoury, magazines, stables, mosques, audience chambers, harems, gardens, large wells and steps, and even two *serais* and a temple of the monkey-god ! Further west, some 200 steps cut in solid rock lead the traveller up to the very apex of the fortress, the *Bala Hissar* (or Upper Fort), standing on a bed of solid granite, its walls being formed by huge boulders with here and there connecting curtains and parapets that tower far overhead. This is the citadel of the citadel, the kernel of the whole fort; and here the early Dravidian Rajahs of the land had built their first stronghold by filling the gaps in the natural rocky walls with mud and rough stones, and here their rude ancient temples cut into the rock still stand. In this *Bala Hissar* the Qutb Shahi kings had erected a two-storied palace, the roof of which commands a free view of the environs for miles and miles around. Here they could have retired as a last resource, for it contains, in spite of its great height, a well and powder magazine and numerous granaries . . . hollowed out of solid rock. The western face of the *Bala Hissar* is a steep scarp, between which and the outermost wall on that side, the plain is broken by three long granite spurs running westward, and present to the eye a bare uneven desert . . . ."

It will be noticed that the learned historian has nowhere indicated

the progressive erection of the buildings under different Sulṭāns.

For the names of the gates see *Landmarks*, p. 109. The name of the bastions will be found in the *Golconda Survey Map*, (200′=1″) published by the erstwhile Haidarābād Government, and in the *Historical Map of Golconda* Fort (400′=1″) published by the Department of the Archaeology. S.E. Circle.

126. Such as *Q.S.*, 55, Qādir Khān Bidri, *Tarikh-i Qādirī*, Asafiyah, Tarikh 409, p. 217, *Quṭbiyah*, 221.

127. *Quṭbiyah*, 224.

128. *C.H.I.*, III, p. 637.

129. Yazdani in *E.I.M.*, 1915-16 p. 21.

130. *Landmarks*, 115; *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, p. 26.

131. *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, p. 26; *Sha Rocco, op. cit.*, p. 52.

132. I have not been able to find the description anywhere of the *zenānā ḥammām* just within the Bālā Ḥiṣār Darwāzā of the Fort on the eastern side of the grove which was destined to see the last stand of the Quṭb Shāhī forces against the army of Aurangzēb in 1686.

Langar-Faiẓ-Athar was the name given to the compound in which the Quṭb Shāhī tombs are situated. It is related that every evening hundreds of the poor and the needy were fed here at the expense of the reigning monarch. See *Landmarks*, p. 116.

133. The original portrait group depicting Sulṭān-Qulī as a young man is in the Hyderabad State Museum and has been reproduced in colour (Pl. I) in the booklet, *Hyderabad, Art. Archaeology and Handicraft*, prepared as a catalogue of an exhibition which was opened at the Hyderabad House, New Delhi, on 10-4-1952. The group has Sulṭān-Qulī as the central figure flanked by five persons on each side. The name of Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh is repeated in respect of two persons while two portraits are not named at all and the face and name of one, possibly those of Abu'-l-Ḥasan, the last ruler of the dynasty, has been perhaps intentionally obliterated. Subḥān-Qulī, the boy ruler, does not appear in the group in the same way as he does not appear in the group which represents Sulṭān-Qulī as an old man described later. The whole composition is in a distinctly Deccani style and has a verse of the old Dakhni forming a part of the ornamental border. The period of time which elapsed since Sulṭān-Qulī's youth must have been nearly two hundred years.

134. A copy of this portrait group will be found in T. Irvine's English translation of Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. III, opposite p. 314. The central figure is that of Sulṭān-Qulī who is seen seated on a raised seat

under an umbrella with three of his successors on his right in a semi-circle and three on his left; the boy ruler, Subḥān-Qulī does not appear in the group. The words *Bara Malik* perhaps in the handwriting of Manucci himself, no doubt stand for *Baṛā Malik*, are inscribed just above the umbrella; for this epithet please see note 59 above.

The English translator of the work says in his Introduction (Vol. I, p. iii) that the portraits contained in the work are from the collection of portraits in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (*Cabinet des Estampes, O.D., No. 45 Reservé*). The volume is labelled outside, *Histoire de l'Inde depuis Tamerlenk jusqu'a Orangzeb, par Manuc i....* "The two pictures, one of the kings of Golkonda and the other of the kings of Bijapur, strike one as very lifelike and probably also authentic." As an introduction to these portraits Manucci says : "Before I left the Mughal dominions (that is, before 1686), to satisfy my curiosity, I caused portraits to be painted of all the kings and princes from Timur Leng to Aurangzeb . . . together with the portraits of the rulers over Bijapur and Golkondah. . . . The artist was a friend of mine, Mir Muhammad, an official of the household of Prince Shah Alam, and all were copied from the original in the royal palace." Blochet justly says in the *Catalogue des Manuscrits persans à la Bibliothèque Nationale* that the paintings are "d'une splendide exécution".

135. *Indian Art,* published by the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, 1954, Plate 22.

136. Goetz : "Notes on a collection of Historical Portraits from Golconda", *Indian Arts and Letters,* London, X, 1, 1936. It should be noted, however, that the caption, "Burhan Ali Barah Malik" under Sulṭān-Qulī's portrait, opposite p. 16 is wrong. See also Goetz : *Indian and Persian Miniature Painting in Rijkprenten Kabinet, Amsterdam,* 1958, p. 40. The learned author recounts the history of the Album in which this portrait and portraits of other Quṭb Shāhī kings and nobles are included, on pp. 30 and 31.

137. There is, however, significant epigraph at Koṇḍāpallī on a stone "which is reported as lying on the side of Malkapuram road". The epigraph is bilingual—Persian and Telugu—and is dated 29-3-945/25-8-1538. It speaks of Giparāju Mahāpatra the *sthailakarnam* (in the Telugu document) or *Sthalada* (in the Persian document) who had deviated from duty. This was represented to the master by the Na'ib Thānēdār of Koṇḍapallī. It also records the remission of the tax *Addi-santa-sunkani,* and the decision to set up a pillar recording this remission. It is interesting to note that in the Telugu version *"Aradasu"* is used for "Arẓdāsht"on the basis of which a *Kuracha Khattu* was issued. See *E.I., Arabic and Persian Supplement,* 1953-54, pp. 26 ff.

CHAPTER II

A PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTY, 1543-1550

Jamshīd, 2-9-1543—22-1-1550

Subḥān, 22-1-1550—27-7-1550

General Survey

The period of seven years which elapsed between Sulṭān-Qulī's murder on 2-6-950/2-9-1543 and the accession of Ibrāhīm Quṭd Shāh on 12-7-957/27-7-1550 was marked with a certain amount of uncertainty as to whether the new State would endure at all. The founder of the State had fallen to the dagger of an assassin. The new ruler, Jamshīd, did not succeed his father peacefully but began his reign by blinding one of his brothers and threatening to kill another, and he was further accused by some as a parricide.[1] The only Deccani potentate who congratulated him on his accession was Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar who sent Shāh Ṭahīr as his personal envoy to Gōlkonḍa,[2] while, as will be seen later, not only the Rāya of Vijayanagar but the rulers of Bidar and Bījāpūr were both at daggers drawn against him. They had as their pawn Jamshīd's younger brother Ibrāhīm who had fled to Vijayanagar, and it redounds to the strong foundations of the Tilangānā State laid by Sulṭān-Qulī that no attempt was made to put an end to the fabric but only to replace Jamshīd by Ibrāhīm. Even Jamshīd's ally Burhān took advantage of the uncertainty which he thought lurked in Jamshīd's mind, by offering the royal crown, but the strong-willed Jamshīd resolutely refused the offer.[3] We should here remember that Jamshīd is not called a king by most of the contemporary chronicles, and at least one of them, the metrical *Tārīk̲h-i Quṭbshāhī*, calls him simply Jamshīd Kh̲ān almost right through the reign, reserving the royal title for Ibrāhīm from the very outset after his father's murder.[4] We must also remember that Jamshīd's son Subḥān-

Qulī does not figure in any of the portraits of the rulers of Gōlkonḍa and that both Jamshīd's and Subḥan's graves are without epitaphs. The very fact that the crown was offered to Jamshīd and was refused by him shows that he had no pretensions to kingship, and the almost continuous battles which he had to fight for five years must have made him very uncertain of his own position. It may be noted here that the incessant wars in the Deccan were perhaps the result of the disintegration of the Bahmanī kingdom which had kept the balance between the elements inhabiting the tableland. The division of the kingdom into the predominantly Kannada 'Ādil Shāhi State, the Maharashtra Niẓam Shāhi Kingdom and the Telugu Tilang, resulted in never ending clashes for the rectification of the frontiers. Jamshīd rightly considered the need of a state, however small, which should act as a buffer between Tilang and the western States. It was for this reason that he insisted on the restitution of 'Alī Barīd to his state centered at Bidar, which was, incidentally, the meeting place of practically all the different languages spoken in the Deccan.

Ibrāhīm

The court was in deep mourning for three days after the late ruler's murder,[5] and it was only on the fourth day that Jamshīd held a darbār. He summoned all the military commanders and noblemen of the State and told them bluntly that he would not countenance even a murmur questioning his right to succeed his father as the ruler of Tilang, and would crush all the rebellious elements in the State. As if to anticipate a stray remark, he also told them that without doubt Ibrāhīm was his brother, but his was a recalcitrant nature and he was not at all happy with him,[6] and he expected the fullest support from all those who were present. It seems that not merely Jamshīd's two brothers but two of his cousins (*'ammzādah*) also were at Dēvarkonḍa at the time, and now Jamshīd sent word to them to present themselves at the capital. Ibrāhīm knew what would be in store for him if he were to abide by the order, and before he took any step he consulted some of

those who were with him, such as Ḥamīd Khān Ḥabashi, Saiyidjī Silahdar and Dilāwar Khān as to what they thought he should do. All of them with one voice advised him that he would be incurring a great risk if he were to go to Gōlkonḍa but that he should proceed to Muḥammādābād-Bidar instead and ask 'Ali Barīd to help him against the tyrant. Ibrāhīm agreed to this advice and he and the other princes left Dēvarkonḍa in the darkness of the night for Bidar, taking with them a few hundred horsemen, some elephants and a certain number of foot-soldiers. All this must have taken place immediately after Sulṭān-Qulī's murder, as it was only after these princes had reached Bidar that 'Alī Barīd came to know of the foul deed committed at the Jāmi' Masjid of Gōlkonḍa Fort.[7]

When 'Alī heard that Prince Ibrāhīm was approaching Bīdar he sent his son and many of his nobles to receive him at some distance from the capital. He was very kind and considerate to Ibrāhīm and requested him to take a few days' rest before proceeding to Gōlkonḍa to fight Jamshīd. He also offered to place a 'throne' on the back of an elephant so that Ibrāhīm might sit on it on the way to claim his patrimony, as, according to him, there was no one better fitted to sit on the throne of Tilangānā than Ibrāhīm. Acceding to the wish of his host he stayed at Bidar for a couple of weeks. Young though he was, he did not take any part in the festivities provided for him by his host, as he was greatly overcome by his father's death, and it is related that he was bemoaning the calamity night and day and appeared in public only in black mourning dress. At the end of two weeks 'Alī and Ibrāhīm left Bidar for Gōlkonḍa at the head of a large army.[8] Their progress was not interrupted till they were within a stone's throw of the great fort, and were met by Jamshīd's army about two miles from the fort (somewhere near the village of Nārsingī) where a hand to hand battle was fought resulting in numerous casualties on both sides. It was past noon when Jamshīd realised how unequal the struggle was, and, retreating to the fort, he shut himself within its walls. 'Alī Barīd and Ibrāhīm now laid siege to Gōlkonḍa. The siege protracted for more than three months,

and "when the sun had just entered the constellation of Leo" and the whole countryside was green with new foliage, Jamshīd had recourse to the new stratagem of demoralising the enemy. He sent a message to young Ibrāhīm reminding him that he was his elder brother and that it was not proper that Ibrāhīm should hanker after the throne which was his as of right. He also threw a kind of bribe to Ibrāhīm, saying that if he desisted from opposing him he would make him commander of the State army. But Ibrāhīm was adamant and replied that it was not Jamshīd but himself who had been appointed heir by their father, and that those who had been in the late ruler's entourage, could vouchsafe for the truth of the statement. Moreover he wanted the blood of the murderer of his late father and demanded that Jamshīd should hand over the culprit to him, and further that he should show himself on the battlements of the Fort.[9]

All these demands were rejected by Jamshīd. At the same time he felt that he was unequal to the task of carrying on the struggle with the besiegers single-handed, and now he sent word to Burhān Niẓām Shāh to come to his help. When Shāh Ṭāhir was at Gōlkonḍa to congratulate Jamshīd on his accession, he had persuaded him to swear to a close alliance with Aḥmadnagar. Burhān's main interest was the recovery of Sholapūr and the district of Panj Ṭappa or Five Heights on the Bijāpūr border and further to have the upper hand in the politics of western Deccan as against Bījāpūr. It was for that purpose that he had entered into what may be called a quadruple alliance with Daryā 'Imād Shāh, Jamshīd and Rāmarāj.[10] He persuaded Rāmarāj to attack Rāichūr which was ultimately captured by his brother Venkaṭādri, and while Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh was thus busy with the defence of his southern border, he had occupied Panj Ṭappa, invested Sholapūr and laid waste much territory belonging to the Bījāpūr kingdom. Jamshīd on his part took advantage of the vacuum on the Tilangānā border to construct a strong fort at Kakṇī and occupy the whole territory right up to the very gates of Gulbarga, including Yādgīr, Alank and Mōrchal.[11]

It was obviously in Burhān's own interest to march to Jamshīd's help, and probably it did not require much persuasion on the part of Shāh Ṭāhir, who had negotiated the treaty of friendship between Tilang and Aḥmadnagar, that he left his capital for Gōlkonḍa. On the way he managed to take Kōhīr within the Barīdī territory, and thus a mass of "gold, silver and jewels" which had been stored there since the days of the Bahmanī kingdom, fell into his hands.[12] When 'Ali Barīd came to know that Burhān was already within his territory he thought it more prudent to return home and save his own patrimony rather than support Ibrāhīm's cause with his communications entirely cut off by Burhān, and leaving Ibrāhīm in the lurch, he returned in Bidar. Now that Ibrāhīm was left alone and helpless, he made up his mind to leave the field and fled to Vijayanagar accompanied by Saiyidjī Silaḥdār, Ḥamīd Khān Ḥabashī and a Brahman sardar named Kānōjī (or Kabaji) along with four hundred cavalry, twenty elephants and one hundred horses. It is noteworthy that the young prince preferred to go to Vijayanagar rather than to Bījāpūr or to some other Sulṭānate, probably as Rāmarāj, who had been forced to restore the jāgīr granted to him by Sulṭān-Qulī, was now the virtual ruler of the southern kingdom. When Ibrāhīm crossed the Krishna, which formed the border between Tilang and Vijayanagar, his way was barred by one Narāyana Mannē who immediately conveyed the news to Jamshīd at Gōlkonḍa. Jamshīd rewarded the man for his exploit by the grant of a robe of honour, a couple of horses, an elephant and five thousand hons. When Rāmarāj heard that Ibrāhīm was coming to Vijayanagar in order to seek refuge from his elder brother he immediately ordered Narāyana to leave the road open, and on his arrival at the capital treated him right royally and gave him a fairly big jagir in addition.[13]

Ibrāhīm's sojourn at Vijayanagar lasted fully seven years and was, incidentally, a turning point in the cultural history of Tilang. Although there was a considerable amount of cooperation between the Hindus and Muslims of the State even in the time of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk, who actually

appointed Rāmarāj to the charge of a frontier district once belonging to Vijayanagar, and during the rule of Jamshīd who appointed another Hindu, Jagadēva Rao, to the command of another important outpost, Kaulās, we perceive little of a cultural cohesion before Ibrāhīm's reign. It was Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh who was the harbinger of a new era of cooperation between the different sections of the population of the kingdom which shone like a beacon to the other states of the Deccan, and it was there that the peculiar culture, which is sometimes called the *dakẖnī* culture, was developed and nurtured.

Offer of Kingship to Jamshīd

Anyhow, the disappearance of the princes from the State was a great moral victory for Jamshīd. He was naturally grateful to Burhān for what he had done for him and requested him to stay as his guest for a little time. Burhān consented and was at Gōlkonḍa for about a month. He was much impressed by the manner in which he was received. He expressed his wish that it was right and proper that Jamshīd should accept the royal umbrella and other diadems of royalty at his hands, and sent a message to his host to accept this.[14] But the self-willed potentate gave a categorical answer in the negative and said that his sole claim to authority and power rested not on any diadems but entirely on his own sword, that he was merely a pearl in the chain left by his father. Evidently he thought that if he were to accept the crown at Burhān's hands this might result in a kind of protectorate of Aḥmadnagar over Tilang. He considered it advisable to refuse the offer and sent a message to his ally that he wished to be excused the honour. Burhān was naturally unhappy over this turn and returned to Aḥmadnagar.

Coalition between Tilang, Aḥmadnagar and Berar

Burhān now sent a message to Jamshīd to help him against Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh for the possession of Shōlāpūr which had been a bone of contention between the two states for many decades, and Jamshīd had no alternative but to join Burhān

who had extricated him so recently from the grasp of his enemies. While the confederate forces were encircling Shōlāpūr, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil and 'Alī Barīd were marching on Parēnḍa, which was within Aḥmadnagar territory, by way of diversion. The two armies came face to face at the village of Khāṣpurī about three miles east of Parēnḍa. The battle raged the whole day, and when Jamshīd was tired of the stalemate, he recklessly jumped into the thick of the fight and by sheer hardihood broke the enemy's array. It is related that when night fell both Ibrāhīm and 'Alī fled into the jungle leaving everything on the battlefield. Jamshīd pursued them as far as the gates of Bidar and then returned home.

It was now 'Alī Barīd's turn. After staying at his capital for a while, he thought it best to return Jamshīd's visit as he would now be entirely without any outside help. Jamshīd was so sure of his position that he had disbanded his army on his return to Gōlkonḍa. 'Alī now set out from Bidar with eight thousand horse and numerous foot-soldiers and carabineers. It seems that his march was undertaken so quietly and with so little of the beat of drums that Jamshīd did not know of it till he had reached the village of Chilkūr in the vicinity of Gōlkonḍa itself. With just three thousand trained soldiers at his immediate command, Jamshīd thought it useless to face the invader, and leaving Gōlkonḍa in charge of some of his trusted officers, he quietly collected as many soldiers as possible and, acting on the old Deccani strategy, wheeled round to Bīdar. Bidar is barely eighty-two miles from Gōlkonḍa, and it was only when he had reached the tank at Kamthāna near Bidar that 'Alī came to know of the movement. Leaving the ramparts of Gōlkonḍa, he hurried back to his own capital. On his way he contacted Jamshīd's army at a place between Paṭancherū and Kalangūr. The fighting which ensued seems to have been indecisive and both the potentates repeated the oft-recurring scene of going back to their respective capitals.[15]

All these moves and counter-moves seem to have been a kind of reconnaissance for the final struggle between Tilang and Bidar.[16] After spending a few days in rejoicing and pleasure

in celebration of his victory, Jamshīd called his Advisory Council and asked them their opinion regarding his resolve to take possession of the insignia of royalty which originally belonged to the Bahmanī monarchs but which were now in the unworthy hands of the usurper 'Alī Barīd. Moreover, it was necessary to reoccupy the fort of Mēdak which was in the illegal possession of 'Alī, who had occupied it in return for forty elephants and sixty thousand hons passed to his brother Ibrāhīm as a bribe for conniving at the operation. The Council agreed and Jamshīd now marched north-west with a large army consisting of ten thousand archers, lancers and swordsmen and as many as eighty elephants. When 'Ali Barīd heard that Jamshīd was proceeding to attack his own capital, he immediately ordered the fortifications to be repaired, the moat filled and cannon mounted on the battlements. Then, in order to divert the attention of the invaders, he marched due north towards Kaulās, which was in Quṭb Shāhi territory, with eight thousand horsemen and numerous foot-soldiers.[17] He was successful in his strategy and Jamshīd had to wheel round to Kaulās, instead of heading towards Bīdar. The two armies came face to face at Narāyankhēṛā a little over twenty miles south Kaulās. Jamshīd now sent a message to 'Alī reminding him that the territory of Tilang belonged to him as of right and 'Alī should not therefore help Ibrāhīm against him. He also added that if 'Alī desisted from helping his enemies, he would not merely leave Bidar intact but perhaps hand over Kaulās to Barid as well.[18] But 'Alī was not the man to be cowed down like this, and he replied that the army of Bidar was far stronger than the raw levies of Tilangāna. These communications could only result in one thing, and it was the great battle which was fought on the fairly level ground between Narayankhēṛa and Kaulās.

The struggle between the two powers was protracted to many weeks[19] and consisted mainly of a continuous series of skirmishes with occasional pitched battles. The forces were so evenly balanced that neither party had the courage to launch a decisive offensive. This must have caused considerable hardship to the beleaguered garrison of Kaulās and led to the demoraliza-

tion of the Tilangānā army. Jamshīd now called a council of war and sought advice from his generals regarding the steps which might be taken to bring the prolonged struggle to a fruitful conclusion. One of these generals, Immadi Jagadēva Rāo Nāikwarī "who was full of wisdom and a man of quick decisions",[20] offered that if he was given the command of the forces and a free hand he would bring his own feudal levies to the battlefield and turn the scales. He insisted that no time should be lost to strengthen the position of the Tilangānā army, otherwise "the sun would enter the constellation of Libra" and operations made doubly difficult owing to the rainy season. He also advised Jamshīd that Kaulās should be defended with the utmost vigour. At the same time he insisted that the fort should not be allowed to be encircled by the enemy who should be met on the level ground outside the fort.[21]

'Ali Barīd, who was upset by this development, sent an express courier to Bījāpūr in which he begged Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh for immediate help. Ibrāhīm decided to accede to his request and forthwith ordered Khudāwand Khān Ḥabashī to go and help Barīd in his distress. Jamshīd now divided his army into three parts, ordering that the right and left wings should be manned by twenty elephants each and the centre by a serried rank of swordsmen and archers. Unscrupulous as he was, he jumped into the battle while fighting was going on saying that he would personally trample the Barīdī standard under his feet.[22] He first flung himself on the right flank of the enemy and then on the left, but the opposition was very stiff, and in spite of Jamshīd's nonchalance, the stalemate continued. It was only when the son of 'Ainu'l-mulk, one of the premier Barīdī noblemen, defalcated and went over to the Tilang army that the Barīdīs experienced the first great shock. 'Alī, however, continued to fight what probably turned out to be a kind of guerilla warfare. In the meantime Jagadēva, who had fully repaired the Kaulās fort, now marched out. In the fighting which ensued, however, it was 'Alī who was successful in forcing Jagadēva to shut himself in the fort, and this was precisely what he did not want. Strange as it might seem, 'Alī

did not follow up his gain and allowed Jamshīd to annex the whole territory round Kaulās, taking possession of Narāyankhēṛa, Ḥusnābād and other places. Jamshīd now appointed the hero of the campaign, Jagadeva Rāo, governor of the conquered district and himself returned to Gōlkonḍa.[23]

Thus ended the great battle between Tilang and Bidar which had been going on for nearly two months. There were two courses open to the victor, either to pursue the enemy further or else to return home to Gōlkonḍa. Victory had no doubt been achieved, but it must have cost Jamshīd a tremendous amount of money and energy, and he was advised not to pursue 'Alī just then. It was on his return to Gōlkonḍa that he is said to have been struck by remorse for his father's murder, and there is the whole story of how he sought out the murderer and had him executed. [24] Although Jamshīd had no intention of meeting 'Alī on the battlefield in the immediate future, the latter was suspicious of his intentions, and taking advantage of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh's antagonism to Burhān Niẓām Shāh on the question of the ownership of Shōlāpūr, he actually went to Bījāpūr and related to Ibrāhīm what had happened and how he was forced to retreat from Gōlkonḍa as a result of the help which Burhān had given to Jamshīd.

Jamshīd evidently took full advantage of these circumstances. He had been fighting with 'Ali Barīd for many months and had finally driven him out of Narāyankhēṛa and the country round. He parried 'Alī by writing to Burhān that it was time that they joined hands and put an end to that "cheat and fraud" that 'Alī Barīd was. Burhān immediately wrote back to Jamshīd that both 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Imād Shāh and himself were marching to Barīdī territory and that he should also cooperate with them and lose no time. Jamshīd now began to envelop the Barīdī country, but when he reached Ausa he found that the fort had already been besieged by his two allies of Aḥmadnagar and Berār. Mēdak was still in Barīd's possession, and it was decided that Jamshīd should first take this fort. The fort was immediately encircled, but the garrison put up a very stiff resistance, and it was only by assault and escalade that it was

actually taken. When it was being occupied by the Tilang forces, the defenders begged the conqueror's pardon, and Jamshīd was magnanimous enough to forgive them. Most of the vast amount of gold and silver found in the fort was distributed among the soldiers of Tilang army.

News was now brought that both Ausa and Udgīr had been taken by Burhān and 'Alāu'd-dīn.[25]

'Alī Barīd was now at his wit's ends. He appealed to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh for help. Ibrāhīm realised the straits to which 'Alī had been reduced and immediately sent Ikhlās Khān Ḥabashī with five thousand fully armed cavalry in response to the appeal. With this help 'Alī marched towards Kaulās, and while on his way, spent the night at Narāyankhēṛa, which was in Jamshīd's territory. The battle could not be delayed long, and the two armies came face to face the next day. Jamshīd put his right flank in charge of Saif Khān 'Ainu'l-mulk and the left in the charge of "Rāi A'ẓam" Jagadēva Rāo, while he kept full charge of the centre himself. Jagadēva was faced by the 'Ādil Shāhī commander Ikhlās Khān Ḥabashī and his troops, while 'Ainu'l-mulk was faced by 'Alī Barīd's brother Khān-i Jahān and the centre was commanded by 'Alī in person. Jamshīd followed his father's strategy and kept a possé of soldiers in reserve. Just when the two armies were in close grips this reserve was called in and, when the tide had begun to turn 'Ainu'l-mulk and Jagadēva also fell upon the enemy in full force, with the result that the defeat became a rout. As was usual in the Deccani wars of the period, the victor did not attempt to put an end to "the cheat and fraud" which 'Alī Barīd appeared to him, but each of the combatants returned to his own capital.

The End of the Coalition

All this was naturally very disconcerting to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, who now called Asad Khān Lārī, one of the most sagacious of the Bījāpūr officials, from Belgām and sought his advice as to what should be done. Asad Khān advised him that it was impossible to fight the powerful coalition which was

hemming in the Bījāpūrī territories on all sides and suggested that the two most potent members of the coalition, i.e., Burhān Niẓām Shāh and Rāmarāj of Vijayanagar, should be neutralised. He said that the king should forthwith cede the district of Panj Ṭappa which was the immediate bone of contention between Bījāpūr and Aḥmadnagar, while at the same time he should try and propitiate Rāmarāj, who was "a great potentate", by a suitable letter extending a hand of friendship to him and by rich presents. Being stationed on the borders of Vijayanagar, 'Asad Khān Lārī knew that "small concessions would suffice to ensure his forbearance," as his own country was as yet by no means in a settled state,[26] "and also, because he had in his capital Prince Ibrāhīm of Gōlkonḍa as a pawn in the game against Jamshīd. The king of Bījāpūr did as he was advised, and this move completely isolated Jamshīd.[27]

On hearing of the break-up of the coalition which had worked so well, Jamshīd wrote to Burhān protesting against his conduct in making peace with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil when he himself was in the field according to an agreed strategy, and his failure in even informing him (Jamshīd) of his intentions. To this Burhān quietly replied that it was mainly because the rainy season had set in that he had been forced to withdraw and to make peace with Bījāpūr which was really only a truce. He promised to come back and join the fray when the weather was more hospitable. He also tried to console Jamshīd that after Ibrāhīm had been defeated he himself would be content with the cession of Shōlāpūr and Naldrug to Aḥmadnagar dominions, while he would gladly allow the annexation of Gulbarga, Yādgīr and Sāgar to Tilangānā.[28]

Jamshīd was perhaps aware of the ruse which had been prepared for him by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil, and intrepid and daring as he was, prepared to face the struggle single-handed. Ibrāhīm put his army under the sole command of Asad Khān and ordered it to march into Jamshīd's territory forthwith. Asad soon forced him to raise the siege of Yādgīr which had been invested, and to quit Kakni, the fort of which was destroyed. Asad Khān now pursued him right up to the walls of Gōlkonḍa fort itself,

and it was in the battle which ensued that Jamshīd received a sword cut on his face which disfigured him for the rest of his life.[29] It was, however impossible for Asad Khān to force the impregnable defences of Gōlkonḍa, and he now retreated to Bījāpūr territory.

Jamshīd's Supremacy and Death

We have now definitely reached the end of the very crowded year, 951/1544, and some more time seems to have elapsed. Evidently there was peace all round and not one of the Deccan potentates felt himself strong enough to break it. Although that stormy petrel of the Deccan, 'Alī Barīd, had been defeated time and again, he was so restless that he would not accept defeat either at the hands of Jamshīd or of Burhān, who had incidentally occupied the great fort of Qandhār at the instance of Ibrāhīm himself.[30] But 'Alī was so sanguine regarding Ibrāhīm's ultimate attitude that he actually went to Bījāpūr to make a personal appeal to the Sulṭān against Jamshīd. On his arrival at Bījāpūr he told Ibrāhīm that when Jamshīd could plot against his own father and have him murdered, there should not be any hope of his being loyal to his undertakings. To this Ibrāhīm replied that there was no one who had broken his promises as much as 'Ali had, and whatever he was saying about Jamshīd being a parricide was entirely false. He was fully aware that Jamshīd was not implicated in the murder at all, and "the whole world knew" that the actual murderer had some personal complaint against Sulṭān-Qulī which had led him to commit the foul deed.[31] Seeing that this was a good opportunity to annex Bidar, he quietly put 'Alī in prison and himself marched into Vijayanagar territory "where he succeeded in adding many forts and provinces to his own dominions".[32]

But he had not counted on the old antagonism of Burhān Niẓām Shāh who had always considered the coveted district of Shōlāpūr as his patrimony.[33] Apart from this, Burhān did not like any great increase in the power of Ibrāhīm, and the victories of the latter in the southern sector seem to have opened his eyes to the dangerous situation. In 954/1547 he advanced

towards Shōlāpūr with a large army. Ibrāhīm had no recourse but to return post haste to Bījāpūr and to try and relieve Shōlāpūr.[34] There seems to have been a stalemate in the respective positions of the two combatants, and such was the position which Jamshīd had acquired "among the Sulṭāns of the Deccan"[35] that both Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and Burhān Niẓām Shāh sent messages to him to come to their help. Jamshīd now proceeded to Shōlāpūr with sixty thousand men, and on arrival there pitched his camp between the camps of the two combatants. He also received a secret message from 'Alī Barīd informing him of his sorry plight, begging him to forgive his past misdeeds and to exert his great influence to have him released.[36] Jamshīd is known in history for his vehemence of character,[37] but he was now magnanimous to a fault and forgave all that 'Alī had done against him. He called Ibrāhīm's chamberlain to his camp[38] and told him how surprised he was that 'Alī Barīd had been confined, and warned the king of Bījāpūr that in any case he should not set his eyes on Muḥammadābād-Bidar. As Ibrāhīm wanted Jamshīd's goodwill, he forthwith released 'Alī Barīd who seems to have moved on into Jamshīd's camp. As a token of sincerity, Ibrāhīm sent Jamshīd costly presents including a house named Ṣabaḥu'l-Khair, perhaps the best in the royal stables of Bījāpūr.[39] On hearing this, Burhān on his part sent "one lakh dirhams" to Jamshīd with the request that he should not throw in his weight on any side in the battle. Jamshīd now called his Council of Advisers and asked them what he should do. They said that the best policy under the circumstances would be to remain neutral and not to help either of the two combatants, but at the same time he should reinstate 'Alī Barīd on the *masnad* at Bidar.[40] Jamshīd thereupon left Sholāpūr in 'Alī's company for Bidar. When the cavalcade reached the city,[41] the first thing Jamshīd did was to reinstate 'Alī Barīd on the throne and it is said that the latter was so grateful for what Jamshīd had done for him that he presented him with one lakh dinars, one thousand rubies and much treasure, including certain precious articles which had

remained in the possession of the Barīdīs since the time of the Bahmanīs. There was much dancing and merry-making for three days, and it was only on the fourth day that Jamshīd was allowed by his host to proceed to Gōlkonḍa.

Jamshīd had thus raised the prestige of the state over which he ruled manifold by his courage, his diplomacy and tact as well as his great foresight. When he came to the throne there was hardly a Deccani monarch who was really friendly to him. His brother had fled to Bidar and had been received right royally by 'Alī Barīd who virtually proclaimed him king of Tilang there and then. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil was no friend of Jamshīd's, and Rāmarāj had given refuge to Prince Ibrāhīm at Vijayanagar. So far as Burhān was concerned, he pretended to be friendly to Jamshīd in the beginning, mainly because he wanted an ally against his inveterate enemy, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh; but when 'Ādil Shāh successfully broke up the coalition formed against him by dealing separately with Vijayanagar and Aḥmadnagar, Burhān, in a way, hit Jamshīd in the back and entered into a treaty with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh without so much as informing him of it. An ordinary ruler or statesman would have become despondent on being thus left alone in the field and would probably have given way. But Jamshīd was a man of entirely different calibre, and by his masterly stroke in the beginning of 955/1548, he demonstrated the supremacy of Tilangānā over his opponents and managed to reinstate his old antagonist 'Alī Barīd on the throne as a kind of buffer between himself and the powerful states in the west. He may not have been a good strategist like his father, but he certainly showed his mettle as a statesman, and it is remarkable that during the last two years of his life when he lay struck by a deadly disease, there was no one in the Deccan or at Vijayanagar who had the courage to attack his dominions. He could well have annexed Bidar and the territories dependent on it almost at any time during the later part of his reign, but he preferred to be content with a buffer, and this may be regarded as a master stroke on his part as a statesman.

It was now that Jamshīd began to suffer from cancer in the

back and was ailing from that wasting disease for two years. He died on 3-1-957/22-1-1550.[42]

Literary Aspects of the Reign

In Jamshīd's reign began a distinct literary trend which had its fullest development in later times, and this was the patronage given to Persian literature which blossomed forth later into the patronage of Telugu and Dakhni by the Court at Gōlkonḍa in the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and his successors. We have quite a few poetic compositions from the facile pen of Jamshīd in the *Tārīk̲h-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh,* full of romantic ideas dealing with love, the beloved, wine and women.[43] They seem to be just conventional lines though they certainly show the way later development was to take shape and the general propensities of the Court and the people of those days. Some of the characteristic lines may be quoted here:—

اے بتو ختم ملک زیبائی * کار عشق از تو یافت بالائی
کاکل و چین زلف وخال لبت * هر یکے در کمال رعنائی
در رہ عشق هر که پابنهاد * آخر او سر کشد برسوائی
آفتاب از برغ تو شرمنده * ابر کرد است پرده آرائی
من بدیوانگی شدم مشهور ز * تو بخوبی و عالم آرائی
خاکپائے ترا من مسکین * سرمه سازم به عین بینائی
تو همان آفتاب بے همتا * من همان عاشق تماشائی

بے لب لعل بتان باده حرام است مرا لب بیگون بنما چون سر جام است مرا
به سر کاکل تو مرغ دلم بند شد است خال تو دانهٔ آن زلف چو دام است مرا
ترک این کار نخواهم من بیدل کردن من که جمشیدم و این کار تمام است مرا

زندگی بے تو حرام است نمی خواهم عمر گر چنین می گذرد باقی عمر گذران
مرا ز درد ندارند بتان اے جمشید آه از ین بے خبران آه از ین بے خبران

بار جفائے جز تو نگاری نمی کشم غیر از جفاء و جور تو باری نمی کشم

Administrative Reforms

The last part of Jamshīd's reign, perhaps the period of his illness, probably saw the early development of the administration machinery into *sarkārs* or districts, which numbered twenty-two towards the end of the Quṭb-Shāhī period and of which the five Northern Sarkārs have left a permanent impress on the economy of the country.[44] As has been noted elsewhere, Sulṭān-Qulī succeeded to a *ṭaraf* or province of Gōlkonḍa, which soon came to be called Tilang, and the incessant wars he had to wage would not have left him much time to put the administration of the land on permanent foundations. Jamshīd had to fight almost for the life of the State during the first five years of his rule, and it must have been during the last two years, when there was no fighting within or on the borders of Tilang, that some kind of administration developed. Of course, the State had not reached its fullest growth yet, but the vast expanse of territory from the confines of Aḥmadnagar and Bījāpūr right up to the deltas of the Godavari and the Krishna must have required some definite organization.

Of one thing we are certain, and that is the increasing part which Hindus begin to play in the affairs of the State. We have already seen how Rāmarāj was appointed to the important charge of a newly conquered frontier district by the founder of the dynasty, and how "he gained first-hand knowledge of internal conditions of the Quṭb Shāhi Kingdom which enabled him later to wage a successful war against Gōlkonḍa."[45] Then we have the power of the Nāikwāṛīs (who were evidently small Hindu aristocrats), which was seen as early as the reign of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk and which was again to be seen to its best advantage during the small but crucial rule of Jamshīd's son, Subḥān. Jagadēva Rāo, "the most trustworthy of all the sardars",[46] still continues to pull the strings, and we further hear of Jagapat Rāo and others who are second to none in the power that they wield.[47]

Apart from this increasing control of government by all sections of the aristocracy we have an embryonic form of

governmental organization at the centre which must have been necessitated by the continuous danger which beset the State and the dynasty. There seems to have been a regent in the person of Syed Kamālu'd-dīn Ardistāni, entitled Mustafā Khān "a young man of great ability", who carried on governmental functions during the last days of Jamshīd's reign when he was on his sick bed.[48] We also hear of the offices of the *Vakīl, Peshwa* and *Mīr Jumlā* for the first time during the short but momentous reign of Subḥān-Qulī. So far as local affairs are concerned, the *thānedār* or the Police Commissioner of Golkonḍa, is so strong that he is put in complete control of the capital when it is denuded of practically all its fighting forces. Then we have a list of certain local officers like *Kārkuns* and Naikwāṛīs in the remarkable stone inscription in the Telugu language affixed by the side of the gateway on the first landing of the fort at Kōvilkonḍā. The inscription also records the interest which the common people of the locality, such as bandsmen, load-bearers, well-diggers and tenants had begun to take in the State and the need for efficiency at the centre which they had come to regard as the *sine qua non* for the welfare of the people.

Apart from all this, there is mentioned in clear phraseology a Council consisting of "commanders and nobles" who advised Jamshīd during the critical days at Shōlāpūr to remain neutral as between Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and Burhān Niẓām Shāh.[49] We already find an advisory Council being consulted a good many times in cases of emergency. Thus it is a Council of Advisers which is called just before the battle of Narāyankhēṛa and it was after it had given its advice that Jamshīd made up his mind to engage 'Alī Barīd's army and take into his possession the old emblems of royalty and treasure "which the Barīdīs had no business to keep", as well as the fort of Medak to which 'Alī was not legally entitled. It may be that the membership of this Council was not fixed, still its frequent mention by our authorities leads us to suppose that there was a body which Jamshīd used to consult whenever occasion arose, and that this Council consisted both of Muslim and non-Muslim nobles.

Subḥān-Qulī, Daulat Qulī and Ibrāhīm

On Jamshīd's death the nobles of Gōlkonḍa headed by Muṣṭafā Khān and Ṣalābat Khān placed the late ruler's infant son Subḥān-Qulī on the throne. But it seems that the Dowager Queen did not repose her confidence in these two officers, as she sent word to Saif Khān 'Ainu'l-mulk, who had fled to Aḥmadnagar during the later part of Jamshīd's rule, to come and act as the Vakīl and Pēshwa of the State. But there were elements which did not like a boy on the throne,[50] perhaps because they thought that the uncertainty of the very existence of an independent Tilang might again have to be faced if the ruler was a mere infant. Jagadēva Rao Naikwāṛī, the hero of Kaulās, was still in charge of the fort and the treasury which was deposited in that important stronghold, and he was in favour of calling the late king's younger brother Daulat Khān who had been confined in the Bhongīr fort, while some of nobles and even many common people wanted to recall Prince Ibrāhīm from Vijayanagar. Although Ibrāhīm was younger than Daulat, the latter was reputed to be of a weak mind, and as will be seen later, he was himself in favour of the throne passing to Ibrāhīm. There was thus every possibility of a long and protracted civil war, and had it not been for the popularity and ability of Ibrāhīm, a civil war might have meant the death-knell of the State.

We have already traced the story of Prince Ibrāhīm till his arrival at Vijayanagar. It is related that when he reached the outskirts of the southern capital, he was welcomed by Rāmarāj himself, who descended from his elephant and met the prince on foot. Rāmarāj assured him that it was Ibrāhīm whom he considered to be the rightful heir of his father and that his astrologers had already predicted that it was Ibrāhīm's and not Jamshīd's descendants who would sit on the throne at Gōlkonḍa The host and the guest proceeded to the palace on a road flanked by thousands of the citizens of Vijayanagar, and Ibrāhīm was the guest of the Rāya for three weeks; at the beginning of the fourth week he moved to a house which

had been lavishly furnished at state expense, and was also granted a jāgīr.[51]

It however seems that the jāgīr which was now granted to Ibrāhīm had already been granted to one 'Ambar Khan Ḥabashī who was no doubt one of the many Muslim refugees who had made Vijayanagar their home. The tenancy of the jāgīr seems to have been at will, and Ibrāhīm contended that it was within the power of the virtual ruler of Vijayanagar, Rāmarāj, to withdraw the tenancy and give it to whomever he liked. But while Ibrāhīm was dignified and reserved, 'Ambar would have none of it and he even began to use abusive language for him. A duel was fought and 'Ambar was killed in a fair fight. It is related that Ibrāhīm captured the ensign which 'Ambar carried on the occasion and made its sky-blue colour the emblem of State when time came for him to ascend the throne of Tilangānā.[52]

Apart from Subḥān-Qulī's infancy, one of the reasons why there was discontent in the State almost from the time Saīf Khān 'Ainu'l-mulk took over charge as Vakīl and Pēshwa, was his over-bearing demeanour which was perhaps caused by his feeling that he was indispensable to the State. It is mentioned that he was a young man "full of wisdom and intellect", and the fact that he was recalled from Aḥmadnagar by the Dowager Queen must have puffed up his pride.[53] Moreover the only disputants to the throne were far away. Daulaṭ Khān, reputed to be of unsound mind, was confined in the strong and almost inaccessible fort of Bhongīr, while Ibrāhīm, then a young man of twenty-one, had made Vijayanagar his home. But 'Ainu'l-mulk had not realised the power of Jagadēva Rao and other high officers of state nor the value of Ibrāhīm's reputation in Tilangānā. It seems that the Hindu element, centered mainly in the Uaikwāṛīs, who not in favour of maintaining Subḥān as the *roi fainéant with* 'Ainu'l-mulk as the virtual ruler of the country, and this element was supported by such influential persons as Baḥrī Khān, Jagapat Rao and Jumlatu'l-mulk. Unsettled as the conditions had suddenly become after Jamshīd's death, Jagadēva Rao, with the help of his Naikwāṛīs, proceeded

to Bhongīr, released Daulat and "took possession of most of the forts in the neighbourhood".[54] He also paid homage to Daulat as king and asked him to accompany him to Gōlkonḍa and place himself on his ancestral throne. But Daulat replied that there was no one who deserved to sit on the *masnad* more than his brother Ibrāhīm. To this Jagadēva Rao retorted that Ibrāhīm was at Vijayanagar, and by the time he returned to Gōlkonḍa there would be left neither a throne to sit on nor a royal cap (*kulāh*) to wear, for even a period of three weeks in which Ibrāhīm might be expected to arrive at Gōlkonḍa, would be enough to destroy the whole fabric of the State. Daulat thereupon said that he was willing to accompany Jagadēva to Gōlkonḍa, but would hold the State only in trust for Ibrāhīm, and would hand over charge when he arrived back from his exile at Vijayanagar.[55]

Jagadēva Rao knew that Saif Khān 'Ainu'l-mulk would oppose this move tooth and nail, and he immediately sent a message to Tufāl Khān, Prime Minister of Berar, for help. It was the policy of the rulers of the Deccan after the fall of the Bahmanī dynasty not to allow their neighbours to increase their power inordinately, and it was no doubt in pursuance of this policy that Tufāl Khān immediately sent three thousand Berari troops for Jagadēva's help.[56] 'Anu'l-mulk fully realised that this move was meant not so much against Subḥān-Qulī as against the authority which he himself wielded in the State. Jagadēva considered him as a *parvenu*, and it is possible that if he and not Saif had been asked to act as the Chief Minister by the Dowager Queen he would not have created any commotion in the State and would not have staked his all on Daulat Khān. He rightly thought that Daulat's release meant a stroke of the poniard in his own back and advanced to the north-west to bar the way of Tufāl Khān's army from reaching Bhongīr. It is very probable that when Jagadēva heard of 'Ainu'l-mulk's move he also advanced northwards in order to put up a united front to the enemy. The two armies became interlocked at the village of Sunigrām, which is situated about ninety miles from Bhongīr.[56] In the fight which ensued 'Ainu'l-

mulk was victorious and the defeated army had to retreat and shut itself up in the Bhongīr fort.

'Ainu'l-mulk now besieged Bhongīr fort itself. For three days there does not seem to have been any action, but on the fourth day 'Ainu'l-mulk sent an ultimatum to Jagadēva Rao to lay down his arms. Jagadēva promptly replied that he was not in a position to do so as he was holding his ground only in trust for Prince Ibrāhīm. The cordon round the fort was thereupon tightened and 'Ainu'l-mulk was able to starve the garrison to surrender. He now ordered that Daulat-Qulī should again be confined in thefort while Jagadēva Rao was sent to Gōlkonḍā under escort and imprisoned "on the top" of the great fortress.[58]

'Ainu'l-mulk had evidently got all that he wanted. He had broken the back of the powerful element in the State which was out to oust him from office, and by replacing Subḥān by the weak-minded Daulat-Qulī, to put an end to the authority which his patroness, the Dowager Queen, exercised. But he had not counted upon the increasing feeling of hostility which his overbearing behaviour had created not merely in the minds of such nobles as Muṣṭafā Khān and Ṣalābat Khān who had put the child Subḥān on the throne, but also lesser officials headed by the Nāikwāṛīs, who had been further alienated by the treatment accorded to their leader Jagadēva Rao. The tradition of loyalty which people had bequeathed to the founder of the State, Baṛē Malik, had not died down in spite of the uncertainties of the last reign, but they were not in a mood to accept orders from persons in whom they had no confidence. It is significant that the summons which were sent to Ibrāhīm at Vijayanagar were in the name of some of the very persons who had put Subḥān on the throne only a few weeks before, and they were backed, so it seems, by practically all who counted in the land."[59]

On receiving these summons Ibrāhīm took leave of his host, Rāmarāj, and proceeded northwards. Rāmarāj was very considerate and even offered to send an army under his brother Venkaṭādrī to assist him,[60] but Ibrāhīm evidently refused the

offer with thanks. Rāmarāj, however, insisted that he should accompany his guest at least up to the second halting station, i.e., about twenty-five miles. It was probably after Rāmarāj had left him that he was waylaid by one Nānappā, who may well have been an agent of 'Ainu'l-mulk sent on purpose to oppose him; but Nānappā was killed in a hand to hand scuffle with Ibrāhīm.[61] Ibrāhīm was met on the Tilangānā frontier by Mustafā Khān who was appointed Mīr Jumla of the Kingdom,[62] and was soon joined by Ṣalābat Khān as well with a possé of two or three thousand troops. The cavalcade marched first to Kōvilkonḍa which was reached about 7-7-957/22-7-1550.[63] Kōvilkonḍa was the stronghold of Ibrāhīm's partisans. Even when Ibrāhīm had not yet left Vijayanagar the army stationed there, including retinue and bandsmen, went in a body to the house of two local civil officers, named Pīrū Miyān and Syed 'Alī Miyān, and promised that they would support Ibrāhīm in the civil war which was going on. When Ibrāhīm reached Kōvilkonḍa, he was met by "the kārkuns, officers, Nāikwāṛīs, the army stationed there, blacksmiths, 'oddas', well-diggers, guards, loadbearers, bandsmen, tenants" and many other Hindus and Muslims of the locality, who waited on him and swore on their honour and their wives' honour that they would have nothing to do with "Daulat Qulī, Subḥān Qulī 'Ainu'l-mulk or any person other than Haẓrat Khwājābanda Musnad-i 'Āli Manṣab-i Ma'āli Malik Ibrāhīm Shāh Quṭbu'l-mulk Vōdeya."[64]

There was much commotion in Gōlkonḍa when news reached there that Ibrāhīm had already crossed the Tugabhadra. While a growing element of the population of the capital was siding with Ibrāhīm, 'Ainu'l-mulk and his group averred that Subḥān was the rightful heir to the *masnad* and that Ibrāhīm had no claim to the throne whatever. This group supported the legitimists' plea with the fact that it was 'Ainu'l-mulk who had charge of the treasury as well as of the army, and that with so many resources at his disposal death would be preferable to surrender. When 'Ainu'l-mulk got the information that Ibrāhīm's partisans had made Kōvilkonḍā their headquarters he called Khudāwand Khān *thānēdār* of the capital and said

that he was leaving for the south with the army and wished to keep him in charge of the city. The *thānēdār* was definitely against such a move and warned 'Ainu'l-mulk of the danger to the peace of the city if it were depleted of the military forces altogether. But 'Ainu'l-mulk would not hear such a plea and left for Kōvilkonḍa with the army.

There was turmoil in Gōlkonḍā almost the moment 'Ainu'l-mulk's back was turned. Jagadēva Rao, who was confined at Bālāhisar, Gōlkonḍā, somehow managed to show himself to the people from one of the battlements. There was great enthusiasm and hundreds declared that they wanted Ibrāhīm to come and ascend the throne. While all this was happening Khudā wand Khān was lying dead drunk, and it was too late when he came to his senses. There was free fight within the capital and the *thānēdār* was killed in the fray. Jagadēva Rao immediately proclaimed Ibrāhīm as king of Tilang.

When 'Ainu'l-mulk was informed what had happened, he knew that the die had been cast, and instead of returning to Gōlkonḍā, he took the road to Aḥmadnagar after conveying his respects and homage to Ibrāhīm through a messenger. Ibrāhīm was just three days at Kōvilkonḍā, and when he approached the capital, the entire population came out as one man to receive their new king and the people burst into song and dance. They had decorated the whole city to their heart's content and thousands crowded the main road on which the new King was to pass to welcome him.[65]

And a new vista dawned on the horizon of Gōlkonḍa.

NOTES

1. For Quṭbu'l-mulk's progeny see Ch. I, n. 107. *Burhān*, 314, makes Jamshīd the eldest son of his father, while it says that Ḥaidar Khān and Ibrāhīm, both of whom were younger than him, fled from Dēvarkonḍa to Bidar, and *T.Q.* agrees with this view. Manik Rao Vitthal Rao, *Bustān-i-Āṣafiyah*, I, 37, makes Yār-Qulī Jamshīd the eldest, but quotes no authority for this, while Sewell, both in his *Sketches of the Dynasties of South India*, p. 28, and his later work, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 410, enumerates only four sons of Sulṭān Qulī, viz., Quṭbu'd-dīn the eldest, Jamshīd, Ḥaidar and Ibrāhīm.

Muẓaffar Khāfī, *Tadhkiratu'l-mulūk*, 157 b, says that Jamshīd had Quṭbu'd-dīn blinded after his father's murder and does not mention the presence of Ḥaidar at Devarkonḍa. *Tārīkh-i Dakan, Silsila-i Āṣāfiyah*. III (i), 367, follows *Q.S.* in this as well in most other matters. I have a feeling that *Q.S.'s* version is correct and Ḥaidar was the eldest, as is evidenced by his being a constant companion of his father in his campaigns. It is possible that after Ḥaidar's death his father appointed his next son Quṭbu'd-dīn as his heir and that Jamshīd had him blinded on the first opportunity.

M.L., 373, says that Jamshīd ascended the throne "in the beginning of 951" but this is obviously incorrect.

2. For a short life of Shāh Ṭāhīr see Ch. I, n. 102 above Shāh Ṭāhīr was received by Jamshīd 16 kroh or about 25 miles from the capital and brought there in a royal singhāsan or mobile throne; *Fer.* II, 116, 118, 168. I regret I do not agree with the view expressed by the late Father Heras in his scholarly work, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, 77, that Shāh Ṭahir may have been appointed ambassador of Aḥmadnagar to Gōlkonḍa in 1544. He probably argues from the words "the next year" as in *Briggs*, III, 230, which would, of course, mean the next Hijri year after 949. Now 949 H. ended on 5-4-1543 and the "next year" would therefore commence on 6-4-1543. There seems no palpable reason why the mission should wait for 1544 to leave, especially as it was already many months since Sulṭān-Qulī's murder, Shāh Ṭāhir would therefore have been sent in any case within 1543.

3. *Q.S.*, 103 etc. It may be mentioned that *Burhān*, 316, gives a parallel version as well, namely that Burhān Niẓām Shāh actually invested Jamshīd with the robes and title of a King; but this story is not corroborated by any of our other chronicles. See n. 15 below.

4. *T.Q.*, 25 a.

5. *Ibid.*, 24 a. The order for court mourning could not have been given

if Jamshīd was directly involved in the murder or was present at the time of the murder. See also the opinion of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh regarding the matter under the heading "Jamshīd's supremacy" and *T.Q.*, 37 a.

6. *T.Q.*, 25 calls Ibrāhīm 'King of Tilangānā' from the very beginning, while Jamshīd is mentioned simply as 'Jamshīd Khān' right through. *Tadhkirah*, 56 b, significantly says "Jamshīd-Qulī succeeded his father and was called Quṭbu'l-mulk".

7. Thus in *T.Q.*, 26 a. Princes and nobles receive Ibrāhīm; *Q.S.*, 108. The fact that the first information of Sulṭān-Qulī's murder was conveyed to 'Alī Barīd by the princes on their arrival at Bīdar shows that the whole episode must have taken place within very few days after the event. Our authorities differ in the number of troops which accompanied the princes, but in any case they could not have been more than a few hundred and formed merely a kind of bodyguard. Names of advisers, *Q.S.*, 109.

8. It is only from *T.Q.* 26 b. that we learn that Ibrāhīm accompanied 'Alī to Gōlkonḍa; other chroniclers do not mention him in this connection at all. I am inclined to think that Ibrāhīm did go to Gōlkonḍa. It is most unlikely that a precocious youth like him should have allowed himself to be left behind.

Ibrāhīm was born on 1-10-936/29-5-1530 (*Q.S.*, 91) and was thus barely 14 at the time of his father's death.

9. Offer of army command to Ibrahim; *T.Q.*, 27 a.

Jamshīd's rule is a period of uncertainty in many ways, and one of these uncertainties is the chronological sequence. There are but scant references to dates in Ferishta in this connection, and *Q.S.*, has not mentioned any dates at all between Jamshīd's accession and death. The only certain dates are the siege of Gulbarga by Burhān Niẓām Shāh in 951/1544 (*Fer.*, II, 30), which date has been left out in *Briggs*, and the date of Shāh Ṭāhir's death in 953/1540 (*Burhān*, 325). The two dates are important in the history of Tilang as much action in connection of the alliance between Tilang, Aḥmadnagar and Vijayanagar on the one hand and 'Alī Barīd and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh on the other takes place within the intervening period. There is a wealth of detail in the period immediately following Sulṭan-Qulī's murder in *T.Q.*, but there the difficulty lies in the coordination of days and weeks given. There is no mention of months and there is a wide gap between the date of Jamshīd's message to Prince Ibrāhīm as computed according to the date supplied by *T.Q.*, and the apparent entry of the sun in the constellation of Leo when it was supposed to have sent. The line is

چو شد ماہ چارم نواند سپہر * ببرج اسد یافت آرام مہر

The time table as supplied by *T.Q.*, beginning with Sultān-Qulī's murder would be more or less as follows:

Jamshīd's accession	2-6-950/2-9-1543
Jamshīd's darbār	6-6-950/6-9-1543
Ibrāhīm reaches Bīdar	about 10-6-950/10-9-1543
Ibrāhīm at Bīdar	up to 25-6-950/25-9-1543
Jamshīd's message to Ibrāhīm	about 25-10-950/25-9-1543

Now the sun was supposed to enter the constellation of Leo two thousand years ago on July 21, but by the process of precession it would apparently enter that constellation in 1544 on August 11. The period of precession has been calculated comparatively recently, and we will have to suppose that the writer of *T.Q.* regarded the date corresponding to July 21 as the one when the sun apparently entered the constellation of Leo. This fits in fairly well with the description of greenery in the country as mentioned in *T.Q.*, 27 b. These details and even some of the facts are not found in any other chronicle. (Here I must confess my indebtedness to the Director of the Niẓāmiyah Observatory of Hyderabad for having furnished me with astronomical observations).

Another difficulty which besets a student of this period is that while certain facts connected with Tilangānā are found in *Burhān* up to Shāh Ṭāhir's death they are not found in any other authority, and in order to make history as objective as possible they have to be dovetailed with other facts with certain clues. *Q.S.* is very full, but the difficulty arises when some of the details given in it are not to be found elsewhere. I have tried my best to present the sequence as correctly as possible, but this has not been an easy matter.

Here it might be mentioned that the demand for surrender of Sulṭān-Qulī's murderer months after the foul deed had been committed runs counter to other accounts which tell us that the murderer was put to death almost immediately after Sulṭān-Qulī's murder. For different versions of the murder and evaluation of the same see Chapter 1, section 2, above.

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shahī, 1534-58.

Daryā 'Imād Shāh, 1529-1562.

So far as 'Ali Barīd Shāh is concerned, the dates of his rule as given in *Briggs*, III, 497-499, have to be corrected. *Briggs* is supposed to have translated Ferishta's account, but his calculation is wrong. Qāsim Barīd died in 910 H.; his successor, who is called in *Fer.*, II, 176 Amīr 'Alī Barīd and in *Briggs* Ameer Barīd, reigned for 40 years (not 45 years as in *Briggs*, III, 497), and this brings us to 950 H. He was succeeded by 'Alī Barīd Shāh whose epitaph says that he died in 987/1579 (Yazdani, *Antiquities of Bidar*, pp. 24-5). He therefore reigned from 950/1543 to 987/1579, not from 945/1549 to 990/1562 as in *Briggs*. A. M. Siddiqui, in his *Muqaddama-i Tārīkh-i Dakan*, p. 73, is generally correct in this

respect except that he makes Amīr Barīd reign up to 945 not 950; he has correctly put down 987/1579 as the date of 'Alī's death, which is, of course, different to that given by Ferishta, but he does not mention the epitaph and simply says that all the dates given in connection with the Barīdī dynasty are "according to those given by Ferishta".

10. See *Sewell*, 184; *Fer.* II, 29, 168.

11. *Fer.*, II, 29, 168. Kakni is not mentioned either in *Q.S.* or *T.Q.* Kakni and Nawankī were two villages which were occupied by the Bijāpūr forces in Sulṭān-Qulī's time just before his death. It seems that they were retaken by Jamshīd.

12. *Q.S.*, 108. Wealth, *T.Q.*, 28 b. This move on the part of Burhān is strangely enough not mentioned by Ferishta. It is interesting that hons are mentioned in this connection, and this brings us face to face with a problem with regard to early Quṭb Shāhi currency. As is well known, the *khuṭbah* and the *sikkah* or the right to have the name of the ruler mentioned in Friday prayers and the right to coin money, were regarded as emblems of sovereignty among independent Muslim Kings; for this see Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli* p. 72. As yet we have not come across a definite coin of any metal struck in the name of Sulṭān-Qulī, Jamshīd or Subḥān. In fact the first sure coin in the name of a ruler of medieval Tilang was struck by Ibrāhīm, the one who definitely proclaimed himself Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. Ibrāhīm's coinage as well as the coins struck by other kings of Golkonḍa will be discussed later. Here it may suffice to note that this is the first time the Vijayanagar coin, the hon, is mentioned after the fall of the Bahmanīs, and it may be presumed that it was current in Tilang about this time. We have already noticed in Ch. I, how the Friday *khuṭbah* contained the name of the Ṣafawī monarch after the introduction of Shī'ism into Tilang and this fact as well as the apparent lack of state coinage goes further to prove that the first ruler to proclaim his kingship was Ibrāhīm and not his father. See also n. 39 below.

13. *Q.S.*, 110-111. The statement in *Arvavidu*, 61, that Ibrāhīm and Ḥaidar Khān fled to Vijayanagar towards the end of Jamshīd's rule is obviously wrong. Rāmarāj, one of the most important figures in the later history of Vijayanagar, is called حاکم و صاحب سریر "a ruler and master of the throne" and Rāi A'ẓam in *Q.S.*, 110 (an epithet which has been translated by *Briggs* as "one who had ascended the throne of Vijayanagar", III, 389), and *Tadhkira*, 26, goes so far as to make him ascend the throne in 942/1536, while *Fer.*, II, 30 calls him بادشاہ عظیم الشان or "King of great Splendour". In point of fact, however, Rāmarāj never actually ascended the throne but was only the regent of Vijayanagar up to his death; Saletore, *Social and Political Life of the Vijayanagara Empire* I, 316. It

seems that he was "discovered" by Sulṭan-Qulī as one of the ablest of the royal family of Vijayanagar in his service. For his ancestry see *Saletore*, I, 264. When he subdued certain districts belonging to Vijayanagar (*Aravidu*, 25, *Briggs*, III, 380). Sulṭān-Qulī was so confident of his loyalty that he granted him the Jagīr of Mat-Sonti (Bilgrami, *Tārīkh-i Dakan*, *op. cit.*, III, 378 and actually put him in command of the conquered districts, a charge which he kept for three years. It was only when he was defeated at the hand of the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr in one of the numerous skirmishes which dot the annals of the Deccani Sulṭānates of the period, that he was dismissed (*Q.S.*, 109). It is said that "during the short period of his service under Quli Qutb Shah (*sic*), he gained a first hand knowledge of the internal conditions of the Qutb Shahi Kingdom which enabled him later to wage war successfully against the Sulṭān. Moreover he was able to acquire the friendship of a number of Hindu and Mussulman nobles who played an important part in the wars with the Mussulman rulers of the Deccan later. Of these Raja Immadi Jagadēva Rao was the most important"; *Further Sources*, I, 257-8. On his being dismissed from Quṭbu'l-mulk's service he treaded his way to Vijayanagar where he married Krishna Dēva Rāya's daughter Tirumalamba, and on his death, after a sharp struggle with Salakam Timma Rājū he finally became "The Protector of the Vijayanagar Kingdom" (*Aravidu*, 3-10 quoting *E. Ind.*, XIV, 353). *Tadhkira*, 26 b, says that (perhaps following the tradition of Dēva Rāya II, for which see *Bahmanis*, pp. 296-97) Rāmarāj caused a copy of the Qur'ān to be placed in his court on a high pedestal so that the Muslim officers of Vijayanagar should have no objection to bow before him. A shrewd diplomat, he entered into treaty relations with the Portuguese accepting the cession of Salsette and Bardēz to the King of Portugal on 26-2-1546, and it is remarkable how, with Prince Ibrāhīm under his protection, he joined in a quadruple alliance against Bijāpūr, and caused the Portuguese to exclude Burhān Niẓām Shāh in the treaty he signed with them "against all the kings and lords of India"; *Aravidu*, 61. The rest of the history of the southern kingdom is bound up with Rāmarāj, and its glory departs with his death in 1565. For his pompus titles and an enumeration of his victories as given in *Rāmarājyamu*, see *Sources* 183-184. See also n. 27 below.

14. *T.Q.*, 28 b, says that it was at Gōlkonḍa that the insignia of royalty was offered to Jamshīd by Burhān, *Q.S.*, is not absolutely clear on this point. *Briggs*, III, 382, says: "Jamsheed Kootb Shah marched to meet his ally. . . .". However that may be, it was now for the first time that Jamshīd was offered the royal umbrella and the crown; that he refused the offer is clear from the expressive line quoted in *Q.S.*, 113:

مرا نیست با چتر شاهی نیاز خطا ے نخواهم بعمر دراز

The motive for the refusal to accept the royal title at the hands of an ally seems that Burhān perhaps wanted him to hold the sceptre as a feudatory of Aḥmadnagar. *Burhān* gives two versions of the incident. (1) that Niẓām Shah actually invested 'Jamshīd Khān with kingship and gave him the title of Quṭb Shāh, and (2) although the robe, title and the emblem of royalty were offered by Burhān, Jamshīd "begged" him not to press the offer as he did not hanker after titles but "was content to act according to Burhān's guidance", and all he wanted was that the king of Aḥmadnagar should bring 'Alī Barīd to his senses. Here it might be mentioned that *Tadhkira*, 56 b., is clear that the only title Jamshīd bore was Quṭbu'l-mulk.

We come across a similar episode of the offer of a crown and the title of "Shāh" to Burhān Niẓām Shāh himself by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat; *Burhān*, 277-78. This must have been long before Jamshīd's accession as the date given for it is 926/1520. It may have seemed as a prototype of Burhān's offer to Jamshīd.

15. *Q.S.*, 113-15; *Burhān*, 316-19. The battle of Khāspurī is not mentioned in *T.Q.* or *Fer.* at all. *Sewell*, 184 ff. follows Briggs' translation of *Q.S.* but wrongly ascribes the narrative to *Ferishta*.

Parenda, for some time the capital of the Niẓām Shāhi kingdom, now a taluqa in the Osmanabad district, Maharashtra State; 18° 16′ N., 75° 27′ E.

Khāspurī or Khāsgaon, 3 miles east of Parēnḍā, 18° 15′ N., 75° 29′ E. *Chilkur*, about 8 miles to the west of Gōlkonḍa on the southernmost tip of what is now the Osmansagar; 17° 21′ N., 78° 18′ E. *Kamthana*, a small village, now in the Osmanabad district, Maharashtra State; 18° 52′ N., 77° 27′ E. *Paṭancherū*, in the Mēdak district,, Andhra Pradēsh; 17° 32′ No., 78° 16′ E. *Kulabgūr*, also in Mēdak district, 18° 41′ N., 78° 4′ E.

16. This is only a surmise which arises out of the facts of the case.

17. Advisory Council; *Q.S.*, 116. General description of the campaign; *Ibid.*, 114-18. Council of War; 116. Jagadēva Rāi is said to be از جملہ سرداراں معتبر بود i.e., in whom the ruler had the greatest confidence; *T.Q.*, does not mention Narāyankhēṛa but only Kaulās. The protraction of the fighting shows that it must have been a series of skirmishes on the fairly level ground which is studded with low mounds south of the fortress which was within Tilangānā territory. It was only when Jamshīd had been driven into the fortress that the final engagement must have taken place. The campaign is not mentioned in *Fer.* at all. See also *Briggs*, III, 385.

Narayankhēṛa, Mēdak district, 18° 21′ N., 77° 46′ E.

18. *T.Q.*, 31 a.

19. "Three weeks"; *T.Q.*, 32 a.

20. For Jagadēva Rao, see *Further Sources*, I, 258, where the learned authors say that he occupied "a most exalted position in the affairs of the kingdom." Also see *Q.S.*, 115 ff.

21. Constellation of Libra; *T.Q.*, 32 a. The sun's elliptic was supposed to cross the autumnal equinox about September 21.

22. *T.Q.*, 35 a. ff. Khudāw and Khān; *T.Q.*, 33 a.

23. *Q.S.*, 118.

24. *T.Q.*, 35 a. See Ch. I, part 3.

25. *Q.S.*, 119-122.

Ausa, headquarters of a taluqa in Osmanabad district, Maharashtra State, 18° 15′ n., 77° 30′ E.

26. *Briggs*, III, 93-94. Arvidu, 78, Rāmrāj had helped the allies by ordering an attack on Rāichūr and by actually defeating the Bijāpūr army on the Bhīma; *Narasabu Palaiyamu, Sources*, 224, referred to in *Aravidu*, above.

27. *Fer.*, II, 30. Cession of Panj Ṭappa to Burhān, *Fer.* II, 117.

There is much confusion with regard to dates. Syed 'Alī Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, I, 381, says that the treaty between Burhān and Ibrāhīm was signed in 951/1514, but I have not been able to find any authority for the state ment. Apart from the details of the early part of Jamshīd's rule as given in *T.Q.*, there is no mention of any date in our Persian authorities until we come to the attack on Gulbargā by Burhān in 951/1544 as given in *Fer.* II, 30, and the death of Shāh Ṭahir in 951/1546 as given in *Burhān* 326. There are, however, two further dates which have a certain bearing on the history of Tilang, and these occur in the history of the Portuguese colony of Goa., viz., the treaty signed on 26-2-1546 under which Rāmarāj confirmed the cession of Bardez and Salsettee (which should be distinguished from the island of the same name situated north of Bombay) to the King of Portugal, entailing a new offensive and defensive alliance between Portugal and Vijayanagar "to help each other with all the forces against all the kings and lords of India", with the exception of Burhān Niẓām Shāh; *Aravidu*, 61, 62. The cession of Bardez and Salsette was significantly confirmed by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh on 22-8-1546; (*Ibid.*, 61, n. 2), which meant that both the Portuguese colony and Vijayanagar were neutralised so far as Bijāpūr was concerned. This last date may well determine the period of the negotiations of Ibrāhīm 'Ādīl Shāh with Rāmarāj.

Thus the series of dates of certain events given in Siddiqui's *Tar. Gol.* seem to be wrong. He says on p. 79 that the attack on Shōlāpūr took place "probably in 951/1544", and on p. 40 that Medak was "probably

occupied in 953/1546; as a matter of fact both these events took place before the attack on Gulbarga by Burhān in 951/1544 (Fer., II, 29).

28. *Fer.*, 169; *Briggs*, III, 26.
Gulbarga, once the capital of the Bahmanī kingdom, now headquarters of a district, in the Mysore State; 17° 21′ N., 76° 51′ E. *Yādgīr*, sometimes called Etgīr in our chronicles; headquarters of a taluqa in the Gulbarga district; 16° 46′ N., 77° 9′ E. *Sāgar*, in the Shāhpūr taluqa of the Gulbarga district; 16° 37′ N., 76° 48′ E.

29. "Eleven parries in the hand to hand fight with Asad Khān"; *Fer.*, II, 169; "a tip of his nose and cheek and a part of his upper lip", *Briggs*, III, 326; "from nose to the lip", *M.L.*, 375, "the wound was such as to cause Jamshīd a great difficulty in eating and drinking for the rest of his life", *Basātīn*, 60. *Tar. Gol.* says that Ferishta has "exaggerated the whole episode" which "is not found in the histories of Gōlkonḍa", and seems to come to the conclusion that the story of Asad Khān's attack of Gōlkonḍa is false. It may be noted, however, that the break-up of the coalition between Rāmarāj, Burhān Niẓām Shāh and Jamshīd is fully corroborated by treaties between Rāmarāj and the Portuguese on the one hand and between Ibrāhīm and the Portuguese on the other, referred to in note 27 above. Moreover the kaleidescopic changes in the politics of medieval Deccan are matters of common occurrence owing primarily to the partition of the Deccan after the fall of the Bahmanīs. A further evidence of the campaign is furnished in *Basātīn*, 59, 60 and by *M.L.*, 375. It is not stated in *Tar. Gol.*, 44, what the learned author means by "histories written at Golkonda". Incidentally, Kakni is not "a fort in Konkan territory", but the name of a fort on the Tilang-Bijāpūr border; it has been referred to as early as the reign of Sulṭān-Qulī; *Q.S.*, 104.

30. *Q.S.*, 123, *Qandhār*, in the Nandēṛ district, now in Maharashtra State; 18° 23′ N., 77° 12′ E.

31. For this testimony of Jamshīd's innocence see *T.Q.*, 37 a. The testimony is the more remarkable as it comes from the pen of an author who is by no means favourably inclined towards Jamshīd. See Chapter I, section 2 above.

32. *Q.S.*, 123; *Briggs*, iii, 387. It may be noted here that this expedition is not mentioned either in *Further Sources* or in *Aravidu*. It is possible that *Q.S.*, gives an exaggerated view of Ibrāhīm's march towards the south which was probably cut short when he heard that Burhān was actually investing Shōlāpūr.

Sholāpūr, headquarters of a district in Maharashtra State; 18° 40′ N., 75° 55′ E.

33. A number of battles had been fought for Shōlāpūr between the rulers

of Aḥmadnagar and Bijāpūr, and the fort had evidently been in Ibrāhīm's possession from about the beginning of Jamshīd's rule at Gōlkonḍa; *Burhān*, 327-28.

34. Thus in *Q.S.*, *T.Q.*, 37 b, however, says that Shōlāpūr was in Burhān's possession about this time, but this is not correct; see previous note. Also see *C.H.I.*, III, 441, where it is rightly stated that in 1547 Burhān allied himself with Sadāsiva Rāya of Vijayanagar and besieged Shōlāpūr.

35. *Q.S.*, 124.

36. Thus in *T.Q.*, 39 b; *Q.S.*, 124 says that the message was conveyed to Jamshīd before he had left Bijāpūr, but this seems unlikely.

37. Thus in *M.L.*, 375.

38. Ibrāhīm's chamberlain (*ḥājib*); *Q.S.*, 125. The rest of the details are from *T.Q.*, 39 a, ff.

39. Thus in *Q.S.*, 125. *T.Q.*, 39 a, however says that these presents, amounting to one lakh dinars, as well as the horse, were extracted from Ibrāhīm as the result of an ultimatum which Jamshīd sent to him.

Dirhams and dinārs. As has been mentioned elsewhere we have not come across any definite coins struck by Sulṭān-Qulī. Jamshīd or Subḥān, and the first incontrovertible Quṭb Shāhī coins that we have known of are of the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. Then what is the significance of these dirhams and dinārs? It is interesting to note that Mada, Ruka, Minuku, Tankanu and Dinār are mentioned as current coins "during the Vijayanagar and Bahmanī periods"[1] of which Tankanu and Dinār were "the most costly coins"; Pratapa Reddi, *Andhra Sanghika Charitra*, p. 360. Tankanu or tanka was, of course the silver coin which was of nearly the same weight as that of the modern rupee and perhaps corresponded with the dirham of *T.Q.*, while the dinār was no doubt the gold tanka. There is little doubt that the coins which were sent to Jamshīd by Ibrāhīm, Burhān and 'Alī were Bahmanī coins struck during the later period of the Bahmanī rule. See Sherwani, Bahmanī coinage as the source of Deccan History, *Potdar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 204-18.

40. Jamshīd's policy of neutrality between the interests of Bijāpūr and Aḥmadnagar and of reinstating 'Alī Barīd at Bidar marks him as a statesman of the highest order and as one who had reclaimed the position of Gōlkonḍa which had become so critical on the death of his father. Ibrāhīm had been no friend of Tilangānā while Burhān had played false with him in entering into treaty relations with Ibrāhīm behind his back. Jamshīd first made his position strong by marching with a large army to Shōlāpūr, and there he entered into parleys not merely with the combatants but with the state prisoner (Alī Barīd as well. His neutrality and his insistence on 'Alī's release, without any thought of how the latter

had behaved, shows that what he wanted was a balance of power in the Deccan as well as a buffer between the growing power of Tilangānā on the one hand and Bijāpūr and Aḥmadnagar on the other. A short time before this, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh had been involved in a dynastic quarrel when his brother 'Abdu'l-lah claimed the Bijāpūr throne and fled to Goa to seek the protection of the Portuguese there. This was in 952/1545 according to *Fer.* II, 30. Syed 'Alī Bilgrāmī, *op. cit.*, III, 387 is wrong in placing the event in 954/1547. 'Abdu'l-lah had written both to Burhān and Jamshīd to help him in gaining the Bijāpūr throne. Jamshīd must have had the episode in view in dealing with Ibrāhīm. See *Briggs*, III, 96-100.

It may be mentioned here that the armed neutrality of Jamshīd in his dealings with two strong neighbouring states, which must have greatly raised the prestige of Tilangānā, is not mentioned either in *Burhān* or *Basātīn*. *Fer.*, II, 169 simply says that Jamshīd "concluded a peace with the Bijāpūr monarch" after Asad Khān's campaign.

41. Thus in *T.Q.*, 39 b, and 40 a. *Q.S.*, however, says that 'Alī accompanied Ibrāhīm to Gōlkonḍa and the presents were sent only on 'Alī's return to his capital.

42. "Cancer"; *Fer.*, II, 169; *Q.S.*, 128. "Deadly disease"; *T.Q.*, 47 b.

Date of Jamshīd's death : Ibrāhīm definitely assumed the crown on 12-7-957/27-7-1550. It is related in *T.Q.*, 47 b that Subḥān ruled for 7 months and 9 days, and calculating backwards we come to 3-1-957/22-1-1550 as the date of his accession which as we know, coincided with the date of Jamshīd's death. Jamshīd therefore ruled from 2-6-950/2-9-1543 to 3-1-957/22-1-1550.

43. There are 17 lines of an ode and 18 lines of bits of *ghazals* by Jamshīd included in *Q.S.*, 128-30. One of these lines has been quoted in Tafaẓẓul Ḥusain's *Tuḥfa-i Mukhtāri-yah*, Salar Jung Library, MSS. *Tarikh Farsi*, 143, and 16 have been quoted by Prof. A. M. Siddiqui in his article, "Advancement of Learning under the Qutub Shahi Kings". *Journal of Dakkan History and Culture*, January, 1956, pp. 48 and 49; the source given in print is "Tarike Qutub Shahi" by which is no doubt meant *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*.

The lines which have been quoted in the text may be freely rendered thus :

"Beloved ! the realm of beauty shows its completeness in thee and love attained its highest perfection through thee."

"The lock and curl of thy hair and the mole on thy lip are all the very quintessense of loveliness."

"Everyone who sets his pace on the path of love is bound to lead ultimately to disgrace in others' eyes."

"The sun is ashamed of the resplendence of thy face, and it is meet that clouds have drawn a veil over it."

"I am well known for my madness, and thou for thy beauty and thy poise."

"I, the downtrodden, prepare powder for the cure of my eyes out of the dust of thy feet."

"Thou art like the sun which has no equal, and I the lover who has always feasted his eyes on thee."

"Wine is forbidden to me without the sight of the red lips of the beautiful, so uncover thy wine-like lips as it is time to take a sip."

"The bird of my heart has been imprisoned in the cage of thy locks; and thy mole acts like the grain which draws a bird to the snare set for it.

"I, the inveterate lover, cannot possibly give up this habit of mine, for, Jamshīd as I am, I have excelled in the art."

"Life does not seem of any use for me now, and if the rest of my days pass like this then I do not desire to prolong the agony any more."

"O Jamshīd! the beloved have no patience for pangs of love! my heart goes to those who do not know; my heart goes to those who do not know."

"I would not bear the harshness of anyone's treatment except thee, my well-beloved, nor of any burden but that of the pangs of thy love."

44. Full list in Ratanlal's *Tuḥfa-i Dakan, MSS.*, Salar Jang Library No. 41. The list of the 22 sarkars is of the period of Abu'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shāh. The five Northern Sarkars have played a notable part in the later history of the Deccan, and even now form a distinct part of the modern Andhra Pradesh.

45. *Further Sources*, I, 257.

46. For this see *Q.S.*, 116.

47. *Q.S.*, 130-32.

48. *Taẕkira*, 586.

49. Advisory Council at Shōlāpūr, *Q.S.*, 126; at Narayanakhēṛa, *Ibid.*, 116. For the Kovilkonḍa inscription see, n. 65 below.

50. Subḥān's age at the time of accession: *Q.S.* 130, 7 years; *Fer.* II, 170, 2 years; *T.Q.*, 47 b, 3 years; not "10 years" as in *Aravidu*, 83; see also *Briggs*, III, 329.

I am inclined to accept *T.Q.'s* statement as the book is full of plausible details regarding the period of Subḥān's reign. *Mustafā Khān* and *Ṣalābat Khān; Fer.*, II, 170.

The honorific titles given in *Q.S.*, 130, to Jamshīd's widow, i.e., *Bilqis Zamānī* and *Khadīja-i-Dauran*, were probably not official titles, otherwise

there would have been no conjunction between the two epithets. We do not hear of the lady after this at all.

Tadhkira, 137 b. says that 'Ainu'l-mulk was appointed "Muhām-i Sulṭanat" but we find no corroboration for this.

51. Full details in *T.Q.*, 46 a.—47 a. If must be remembered that the poem was composed in the reign of Ibrāhīm's son Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, and the description of the reception of Ibrāhīm at Vijayanagar may well have been exaggerated by the poet. There is, however, no doubt that Ibrāhīm was honourably received, although the motives might have been mixed. *Further Sources* I, 258, say : "Rāmarāja's relations with Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh were at first friendly. When Ibrāhīm fled from the wrath of his brother to the court of Vijayanagar, Rāmarāja treated him kindly and showed him the honour that was due to his rank. When on the death of Jamshīd, Ibrāhīm started for Gōlkonḍa to seize the throne Rāmarāja offered to send an army under his brother, Venkaṭadri, to assist him. They continued to cherish feelings of friendship towards each other for some years after Ibrāhīm's accession to the throne of Golkonḍa; but owing to conflicting interests of their foreign policy they gradually drifted apart." *Aravidu*, 82, however, has the following : "Rama Raya, whose power had at this time considerably increased by reason of the imprisonment of Sadasiva, realised at once that his friendship with the brother of the Sulṭān of Golkonda, could be employed as a valuable means for attaining his political ends."

52. Thus in *Fer.*, II, 170. *Q.S.*, 111, gives a different, though similar story, in which Ibrāhīm's opponent is one 'Ainu'l-mulk Kan'āni, "a nobleman of Bijapur", who would not give way to Ibrāhīm while he was on the way to the Raya's palace. Ibrāhīm is not shown alone but in the company of two of his associates, Saiyedji and Ḥamīd Khān It is not of any great significance who Ibrāhīm's opponent was; but two things are clear: (i) that quite a number of nobles and other refugees from neighbouring states were given an asylum at Vijayanagar by Rāmarāj, who no doubt entertained them not from just altruistic motives but to know the inner politics of these states first-hand and to use this information when time permitted; (ii) although Ibrāhīm was received with much éclat in the beginning he did not have such an easy time at Vijayanagar as is sometimes imagined, and it is possible that this caused certain psychological reactions in him which might have led him later to join hands with other Sulṭāns in the overthrow of the southern kingdom.

53. There is no evidence that he belonged to the royal family as surmised by Siddiqui, *op. cit.*, 55. His "youth and wisdom", *T.Q.*, 55 a.

54. *Bhongīr*, headquarters of a taluqa in Nalgonḍa district, Andhra Pradesh. 17° 31′ N., 78° 53′ E. The fort is built on "an isolated rock, 2,000 feet

above the sea level, the eastern and southern sides of which are quite inaccessible"; *Imperial Gazetteer,* Hyderabad State, pp. 159-60.

The episode in *T.Q.,* 48 b. It must be confessed that the conversation is a little too novelesque but it is interesting as showing Daulat's inferiority complex and the reputation which Ibrāhīm must have acquired in the Deccan. The episode may well be compared to another which occurred 210 years previously. In 1347, when it became apparent that it would be impossible for Nāṣiru'd-dīn Ismā'īl, the first king of an independent medieval Deccan, to remain on the throne must longer in the face of Ẓafar Khān's popularity, he called the amīrs in council and told them that he had really kept the kingdom in trust for Ẓafar Khān for two years, and proclaimed his abdication; see *Bahmanis,* 36.

55. *Q.S.,* 131; *T.Q.,* 49 a. Tufāl Khān, Prime Minister of Daryā 'Imād Shāh (1529-62); he usurped the throne on Daryā's death and was the last ruler of independent Berar.

56. *Q.S.,* 131. *Sunigrām,* in the Karimnagar district, Andhra Pradesh; 18° 11′ N., 79° 1′ E. It is not mentioned in *Q.S.,* that Jagadēva Raṇ's forces also took part in the battle; but the event is said to be "unequalled in its ferocity in the annals of Sulṭāns and Kings", and even allowing for the exaggeration this could hardly be the description of the battle if there were just three thousand soldiers taking part in it on one side. Moreover it is mentioned that Jagadēva Rao and Daulat-Qulī shut themselves up in Bhongīr Fort as the result of the battle, and there was no reason why they should have done this without fighting. *T.Q.,* 49a is clear that Jagadēva Rao took part in the battle and there was great bloodshed on both sides.

57. Thus in *T.Q.* 49 b; battle rages "for three days". But *Q.S.* 132, says that the siege went on till conditions of famine appeared, Bhongīr Fort is such that an escalade would not be possible and the probability is that the garrison was starved to surrender.

Here it is interesting to note that Jagadēva Rao was now transferring his loyalty from Daulat-Qulī to Prince Ibrāhīm.

58. *Q.S.* 132.

59. *T.Q.,* 49b; *Fer.,* II, 170; *Briggs,* III, 329. *Fer.* says that Muṣṭafā Khān and Ṣalābat Khān wrote to Rāmarāj "to send Ibrāhīm"; but this seems improbable as Ibrāhīm had gone to Vijayanagar on his own account, and was at liberty to leave that city whenever he liked. Moreover his life at Vijayanagar shows that he was too dignified to be under anybody's orders.

60. *Further Sources,* 258.

61. Nānappa's episode; *T.Q.,* 51 a.

62. This is the first time we read of the office of a *Mīr Jumlā* at

Gōlkonḍa, an office which became the most important in the kingdom later on.

63. *T.Q.*, 53a, says that Ibrāhīm was at Kōvilkonḍā for three days before he left for the capital. As he definitely entered Gōlkonḍa in triumph on 12-7-957/27-7-1550, and a few days may well be allotted for the triumphal journey to the capital sixty miles away, it may be surmised that he arrived at Kōvilkonḍā on or about 7-7-957/22-7-1550. *T.Q.*, 48a, says that Subḥān was on the throne for 7 months and 9 days, and this more or less corresponds with this calculation.

64. This remarkable Telugu inscription is on a pillar on the first landing of the lofty fort at Kōvilkonḍā. The inscription was first deciphered and translated by N. Lakshminarayana Rao and is copied and translated on pp. 22-24 of *R.H.A.D.*, 1928-29, while the fort itself is fully described on pp. 1-4. It is evident that the movement for recalling Ibrāhīm to Tilangānā started when people had lost all hope of any good coming out of 'Ainu'l-mulk's regime. The inscription was no doubt put up by way of the commemoration of the event, as it is dated 12-1-1551. What is very remarkable is that all classes of the people, even the lowest on the social ladder, joined hands in this great political event against the interests of the powers that be.

Kovilkonḍa, Maḥbūbnagar district, a little over a mile east of the Ponḍa Vāgu stream, a tributary of the Krishna, on the straight road from Vijayanagar to Gōlkonḍa, almost exactly half way between the Krishna and the capital; 16° 48′ N., 77° 47′ E. Its half way position no doubt enhanced its importance.

65. Most interesting details of the entry of the new king, in *T.Q.*, 52 b, 53 b. Two of the beautiful lines which some might have sung on the occasion of the royal entry have been incorporated on fol. 55 b. of *T.Q.*:

ببرج شرف آفتاب آمده بغشکیده چوں باز آب آمده

ز بهر همه پاسبان آمده ز بهر همه سر شبان آمده

CHAPTER III

THE KINGDOM AT ITS HEIGHT

IBRĀHĪM QUṬB SHĀH

(27-7-1550—5-6-1580)

Section 1. *Diplomacy and Military Campaigns,* (1550-1565)

Ibrāhīm's Accession

Ibrāhīm was born on 1-10-936/29-5-1530, about the time when his father Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk had just been successful against Ismā'īl 'Ādil of Bijāpur outside Kōvilkonḍa.[1] He was the youngest of his children and he was barely fourteen when he had to fly to Vijayanagar for fear of his life at the hands of his unkind brother Jamshīd. He was the honoured guest of Rāmarāj at Vijayanagar for seven long years. Soon after Jamshīd's death he was invited to ascend the throne of Tilang, and when he reached Golkonḍa on 12-7-957/27-7-1550 he was welcomed by all sections of the populace such as no previous ruler had been. It was the first time after his father's murder that he had set his foot in his ancestral home, and the young man of twenty-one as he now was, he was so much agonised by the memories of his boyhood that he was in tears and was in deep mourning for two days, and it was only after this that he had the presence of mind to proceed to his father's tomb to offer prayers for the repose of his soul. It is related that the mausoleum was lit with thousands of golden lamps and while he was there largesse was distributed to the poor and the indigent to the tune of two thousand hons.[2] On the third day he dreamt that his father was standing at his bedside and the advice he gave to his son was that now that he was taking charge of his ancestral State he should under no circumstances move an iota from the path of justice.[3] Such was the affluence of the state treasury that in spite of almost incessant wars to which

Tilangana had been subjected, there were in the Coronation procession seven hundred Arab horses and two hundred war elephants all fully caparisoned in the cloth of gold. When the cavalcade was ready, those in command came to Ibrāhīm and requested him to lead the procession. But the King excused himself and said that the first thing he had to do was to pray to God for His mercy and benevolence. With great humility he prayed that the Almighty may grant him power to rule the land with justice and according to Divine Will and that he should be granted the knowledge to distinguish the good from evil and right from wrong. It was only after this that he consented to proceed to the ceremonies attending the Coronation.[4]

The Sulṭān was crowned on a golden throne flanked on either side by a chair of gold, while a lion and an elephant, also made of gold, were placed on the right and left of these chairs, perhaps representing the might and majesty of the State. While Ibrāhīm was still an exile at Vijayanagar he had to fight a duel with one 'Ambar Khān as he had shown disrespect to the exiled prince, and had wrested from him his ensign which was sky-blue in colour; Ibrāhīm now adopted this sky-blue as the official colour of Tilang. When the Coronation ceremonies were ended he called together an assembly of poets and *litterateurs* at which, among other compositions, poems were recited praying for the long life and prosperity of the youthful monarch.[5]

Ibrāhīm's general Policy

Habituated as he was to hard work, Ibrāhīm lost no time to give some kind of order to the riot-ridden state. It seems that the virtual interregnum of the few months of Subḥān's "reign" and the civil war and treason which were then the order of the day, had completely unhinged the administration of the country. Ibrāhīm laid a heavy hand on those who in any way broke the peace of the Kingdom. He sent express orders to all local officers in the districts to see that full justice was imparted to those who were wronged, and to leave no stone unturned to put down thieves, marauders and highwaymen who infested

the land. It is said that there were thieves who were so adept in their nefarious art that they "would even remove a nose from between the two eyes"! With Ibrāhīm's permission his officers adjudged maximum punishment even in cases when the accused was guilty of only a trivial theft, and sometimes ordered the amputations of hands, legs, noses and ears. This may seem hard today, but an initial hardship on offenders resulted in peace and plenty, and it was not long before that there were no marauders and highwaymen to be accounted for. When once there was peace and security Ibrāhīm could give his fullest attention to the patronage of literature and art and lay the foundation of the greatness of Tilang with its centre at Golkonḍa which was destined to become a byword for the peace and prosperity of practically the whole sub-continent.[6]

In many matters Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's reign is unique in the history of Tilang. He is the first ruler who is definitely called a king by his contemporaries, the first to whom at least some coins can be definitely traced, the first who is given a royal name on his tombstone and the first who patronised Telugu learning such as few other potentates have done since.

In his foreign policy Ibrāhīm always tried to steer a middle course, and it was seldom if ever that he attempted to extend his dominion beyond the confines of the country where Telugu was spoken by the majority of the population. There are some historians who impute weakness, fruitlessness and even supineness to Ibrāhīm's foreign policy,[7] but if we probe into it and take a long view we would find him essentially a man of peace surrounded by warlike neighbours, one who abhorred turmoil and was always ready to try and curb the causes of war even when he was dragged into it. Times were such that it was the fashion to go on fighting with one's neighbours, but at least in the first part of his reign Ibrāhīm would be found to discount war as much as possible even on pain of being accused of treachery by his friends.

Alliance with Aḥmadnagar

Although the rulers of the Deccan were ambitious in their

own way and perhaps believed in keeping themselves fit by carrying on incessant wars, one of them, Burhān Niẓām Shāh, who had come to the throne of Aḥmadnagar in 911/1505 and was thus the seniormost in point of age, was also the most restless. Aḥmadnagar and Bijāpūr were always at daggers drawn, and Aḥmadnagar sought help sometimes from Tilang and at other times from Vijayanagar against its rival. It was through diplomacy born of strength that Jamshīd had curbed the power both of Aḥmadnagar and Bijāpūr during the last months of his rule, and had been successful, without firing a single shot, not merely in freeing 'Alī Barīd from his Bijāpūr prison but in restoring him to the throne of Bidar and thus re-establishing a buffer between Tilang on the one hand and Aḥmadnagar and Bijāpūr on the other. Realising the strength of Tilang, Burhān sought to bring Ibrāhīm to his side, and among the envoys from different states of south India who came to felicitate him on his accession was "one of the confidantes" of the king of Aḥmadnagar who came to Golkonḍa with costly presents from his master. It seems that Ibrāhīm was inclined towards Aḥmadnagar from the beginning, and the envoy was showered with costly robes of state and reciprocal presents by the Sulṭān. Ibrāhīm followed up by sending one of the most astute of his ministers (who had incidentally married his sister), Muṣṭafā Khān, who had already made a mark by his diplomatic talent. Burhan had always an eye on Gulbarga, which was within 'Ādil Shāhī territory, and a treaty was arranged under which both the Sulṭāns agreed to join hands in conquering Gulbarga and Yādgīr, after which the former would be taken over by Aḥmadnagar and the latter annexed to Tilang. A seal was put on this treaty by its confirmation through the envoy of Aḥmadnagar, Ḥakīm Qāsim Bēg Shīrāzī who held the high office of Wakīl and Pēshwa there.

The two kings, Burhān's successor, Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and Ibrāhīm now proceeded to Gulbarga in 965/1557 with large forces and invested it from the direction of Aland and Siba.[8] Ḥusain ordered his Masters of artillery, Rūmī Khān and Mādhava Rām, to move their cannon, including the huge

piece named Qil'ah Kushā ("Opener of Forts"), to the edge of the moat, but the fortifications were so strong that it took a whole month to effect any breeches in the ramparts. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh was greatly perturbed at the turn of events and sent an envoy with costly presents to Rāmarāj at Vijayanagar beseeching him for help, and himself moved to Gulbarga with a large army. Rāmarāj, who was a past master in the diplomatic art now took advantage of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's obligations to him and wrote to him to desist from helping Burhān whose sole aim was to wrest Gulbarga from Bijāpūr and annex it to his dominions.[9] Simultaneously Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh also wrote an appealing letter to his youthful namesake of Golkonḍa. Ibrāhīm now summoned his Council of Advisers consisting of "ministers and amīrs" and consulted them as to what policy should be pursued. The Council was unanimous in reminding the Sulṭān that there was a common frontier between Vijayanagar and Tilang running to hundreds of miles, and this was without doubt very vulnerable against the might of the southern kingdom; they also suggested that it was just as well that it was 'Ādil Shāh who was appealing to the Sulṭān for peace, and full advantage should be taken of this.[10] They therefore advised the monarch that he should not be a party to further bloodshed. The envoys from the Bijāpūr camp were treated well and returned with assurances of friendship, while Ibrāhīm broke his camp in the middle of the night and returned home.

It was about this time that Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh died and was succeeded by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh on the Bijāpūr throne. 'Alī began his reign by sending costly presents to Rāmarāj and an offer to renew the alliance between the two states. But Rāmarāj was too haughty to pay any heed to these demonstrations of friendship, and 'Alī had to go personally to the capital of the southern kingdom and beg Rāmarāj to agree to a treaty of friendship with him. It was probably now that intelligence was brought to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh that the 'Ādil Shāhī and Vijayanagari troops had invaded Tilang, that Rāmarāj had commissioned Timmarāja "to subjugate Quṭb Shāhī territory" and the general was accompanied by certain Bijāpūrī Commanders as well.

When they entered the Quṭb Shāhī territory they were said to have destroyed all that came in their way. As the capital was practically denuded of troops it was feared that if events were allowed to take their shape then the worst might well happen.[11]

Against the perfidious conduct of those who had so recently entered into agreement with him Ibrāhīm thought it best to approach Burhān again. When the two monarchs met it was considered advisable that they should arrange a meeting with 'Ādil Shāh and Rāmarāj as the two seemed too powerful to be opposed at the time. Ibrāhīm was all for peace, and when the four chief actors met at the confluence of the Krishna and the Bhīma he was successful in persuading all participants to the Conference to return home while he himself retraced his steps towards Golkonḍa.[12]

This peace proved to be distinctly to Rāmarāj's advantage, for even while negotiations were going on he was informed that his two brothers, Khēmārāj and Gōvindarāj, who were in charge of the fort at Adoni, had risen in revolt and had taken possession of certain other forts in the neighbourhood in their own names. Ibrāhīm had hardly reached his capital when he received a message from Rāmarāj asking his help against his unkind brothers. The Sulṭān, whose policy was essentially one of peace with the neighbouring states, sent a large army consisting of 6,000 horse, 12,000 infantry, and many pieces of artillery, under Qubūl Khān, Sarnaubat Ẓahīrul'l-mulk Ḥamīd Khān and many other nobles and generals. The army of Tilang was received by Rāmarāj with open arms and he distributed robes of state to the generals in command. It proceeded to Adoni with a possé of Vijayanagari troops among whom the names of Muslims like Tajallī Khān and Nūr Khān are worth noting. The rebels had made up their minds to defend the fort of Adoni, "one of the largest in the Vijayanagar Empire", to the best of their ability and gathered together all the engines of defence that they could command. Sorties were attempted, hand to hand battles raged, and much bloodshed ensued. The fort withstood the siege for six long months when the rebels sent a message to Rāmarāj accepting defeat and offering homage to him. As

it was through the efforts of the Tilang army that victory had been achieved, Rāmarāj conveyed his thanks to the Tilangana generals. On his side Ibrāhīm was so pleased with the work of his commander, Qubūl Khān, that he invested him with the title of Mujāhid Khān 'Ainu'l-mulk (a title by which he was known in later life) and promoted other officers as well.[13]

Jagadēva Rao's Flight

This action on the part of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh clearly demonstrates that he was devoted to peace and hated disorder and conspiracy wherever he found it, and that he wanted to have the best of relations with Rāmarāj in spite of the bad faith which he had shown in sending raiders to Tilangana after the settlement arrived at between the parties on the Krishna. But disillusionment came soon, and that was in the shape of the conspiracy of Rāmarāj's close friend, Jagadēva Rao Nāyakwāṛi. What Jagadēva Rao wanted was to replace Ibrāhīm's brother Daulat-Qulī as king. The strangest part of the story is that it was Jagadēva who was instrumental in recalling Ibrāhīm from Vijayanagar and putting him on the throne only a few years earlier, and now he wished to act the king-maker again and place Daulat on the throne although he was not of a perfectly sound mind and was nicknamed "the Mad" even in the lifetime of his father, Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk. It may be supposed from what followed and from the asylum given to Jagadēva by Rāmarāj, that the latter wanted someone on the throne at Golkonḍa who would be more pliable than Ibrāhīm and be under his influence.[14]

As has been related elsewhere, Jagadēva Rao was definitely the most powerful man in the kingdom after Ibrāhīm, and although the Sulṭān had full confidence in him he would not be cajoled by anyone. Taking advantage of his position as the foremost nobleman in the state he began to issue independent orders even to such high officials as Mustafā Khān and Ḥamīd Khān. This conduct was naturally not to the liking of a disciplinarian like Ibrāhīm, but when he was further informed of Jagadēva's intention to dethrone him he laid strong hands

on some of the conspirators. Fearing his own life Jagadēva fled to Elgandal which he now made the centre of his operations against the monarch. Not finding much support in the country, however, he traced his steps to the court of Daryā 'Imād Shāh at Ellichpūr. There was no war going on between Berar and Tilang, and the normal course should have been the expulsion of the leader of the treasonable conspiracy against a friendly monarch; but perhaps Daryā thought that it was a good opportunity to hit a potential rival in the back, and he not merely received the rebel with open arms but actually granted him large jāgīrs and accorded him much honour and power. In the beginning Jagadēva served 'Imād Shāh well and was not merely in the forefront of the battles against the ruler of Khāndēsh but "actually brought many Rajas under the sovereignty of Berar". When, however, honour and authority were heaped on him he became so overbearing that it was feared that he would repeat the story of Golkonda at Ellichpūr and perhaps put an end to the tottering authority of the Sulṭān. Daryā therefore ordered that he should leave Berar forthwith, and like one who had already delineated his programme, he set out for Elgandal again, a place which had recently been the centre of his activities. Here he managed to collect a vast army of mercenaries, both Hindu and Muslim, consisting, among other, of Afghans, Arabs, Ḥabashīs and Dakhnīs, as well as hundreds of elephants. On hearing that Jagadēva had returned, Ibrāhīm ordered Muṣṭafā Khān and Mujāhid Khān 'Ainu'l-mulk to go and put an end to this dangerous situation. Muṣṭafā Khān first of all sent an ultimatum to Jagadēva reminding him of his intimate connection with the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty in general and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh in particular. But Jagadēva did not pay any heed to this and instead attacked the royal troops in full force. In the severe action which followed there were hundreds killed on both sides, and among the officers of Jagadēva's army who lost their lives at Elgandal were Shaikh Fāẓil 'Arab, Shaikh 'Alī Jalwānī, Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm, Shaikh Ibrāhīm and his own brother Venkaṭa Rao, Jagadeva Rao was defeated and finally took the road to Vijayanagar, while immense

booty fell into the hands of the Quṭb Shāhī soldiers. When the victorious cavalcade reached Golkonḍa the King was well pleased at what seemed to be the final end of his arch enemy and showered honours on Mujāhid Khān, 'Ainu'l-mulk, 'Alī Khān and other commanders, while Musṭafā Khān "was raised above all the *amīrs* and *Khāns* of the Kingdom."[15]

The Two Sieges of Aḥmadnagar

The episode of Jagadēva Rao's defection and ultimate flight to Vijayanagar must have left a deep impression on Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, and he must have begun to wonder whether it was worth while taking sides with his erstwhile friend Rāmarāj any longer. The occasion for a change in his policy arrived with the death of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and the accession of the youthful and rather impetuous 'Alī on the throne of Bijāpūr. In the very first year of his reign, i.e., in 965/1557, 'Alī made up his mind to recover Sholapūr and Kalyāni, which had been two bones of contention between the two states for a long time. While on the one hand he sent envoys to Aḥmadnagar to demand their restitution, on the other he sent a strong embassy to negotiate a close alliance with Rāmarāj which had as its object the coercion of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh to concede his demands. Rāmarāj now moved to Aḥmadnagar in full force, but at the same time sent a letter to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh reminding him of the close relations with him and appealing to him to join the coalition. On receiving this message from a potentate who had so recently given asylum to his bitter enemy, Ibrāhīm convened his Advisory Council and consulted them regarding the policy which he should pursue. The Council, which was led by the Chief Minister, Musṭafā Khān, was of opinion that if Tilang were to join Vijayanagar and Bijāpūr there would be no doubt about the outcome of the campaign, and the fall of Aḥmadnagar might well spell the fall of Golkonda as well. But perhaps feeling that a refusal to respond to the appeal might precipitate a crisis it was decided to join the coalition but at the same time to keep some kind of contact with the beleaguered garrison as well. It was with these motives

that Ibrāhīm joined hands with 'Alī and Rāmarāj, and the armies of the three states reached the ramparts of Aḥmadnagar Fort. This was in 966/1559.

Before they had reached their destination, however, Ḥusain has already taken a grave decision. He rightly realised that it was no use risking a final defeat at the gates of the capital and sought the advice of "the amīrs and other officers of state" regarding his next move. They agreed with him that it was not possible to oppose the might of the enemy and it was better to retreat to a safer place. They said that the rainy season was fast approaching and the mobility of the enemy was bound to be affected by it. He was aware that the fort of Aḥmadnagar was well supplied with food and ammunitions. He therefore ordered that the fort of Kalyānī should be given in the charge of Bhōpāl Rai, and after stationing some other officers of confidence in the capital he himself moved to Paiṭhan on the Godavari.[16]

The progress of Rāmarāj from the south seems to have been marked with considerable bloodshed and looting, and Sadāsiva Nāyak was expressly commissioned "to harry the country as far as the Godavari". In this context it is well to quote the version of Briggs, the translator of Ferishta; he says:

> "In the year 966 Ali Adil Shah, having invited Ramaraj to join him, these two monarchs invaded the territory of Hoosein Nizam Shah and laid it waste so thoroughly that from Parenda to Joonere and from Ahmudnuggur to Dowlatabad not a vestige of population was left. The infidels of Beejanuggur, who for many years had been wishing for such an opportunity, left no cruelty unpracticed. They insulted the honour of Mussalman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not respect the sacred Koran."[17]

We are well aware of the gross exaggerations to which Ferishta is prone, especially when it comes to a high-handed treatment of the Muslims at the hands of non-Muslims, and it is possible that the account given here is exaggerated. It is hardly thinkable that with 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh as an ally and colleague there should have been desecration of mosques and of the Qur'ān at

the hands of Rāmarāj's soldiers, especially when the progress of the armies was in the dominions of a fellow Shī'ah monarch. What, however, seems to be certain is that there was a vast amount of depredation affected in the Aḥmadnagar territory at the instance of Rāmarāj and with the possible connivance of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh.

Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh took full advantage of the wrong which had been done to the people of the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom in order to promote his policy of inter-statal peace. He sent a secret message to Ḥusain at Paiṭhan that he had already put a brake on the killings perpetrated by the two invading armies from the south, and that he would try to make them retrace their steps home as soon as possible. He also assured the Queen Mother, Malika-i Jahān Āmnā Khātūn, (who was still within the Aḥmadnagar fort) of his services. The siege went on for two months resulting in the appearance of conditions of famine in the city. Ibrāhīm now went personally to Rāmarāj and represented to him that as it was long since their armies had been fighting and there was no indication as to when the conflict might cease, it would be advisable to give up the idea of the conquest of Aḥmadnagar. At the same time the officers of Rāmarāj's camp also petitioned to him, possibly with the connivance of Ibrāhīm, that the rainy season was fast approaching and it was possible that the rivers might become unfordable. These arguments had the desired effect on Rāmarāj who now wished to raise the siege; but his ally, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, came in the way and told him that the enemy was almost on the point of laying down his arms and it was best to wait at least for another month. Within the citadel, provisions were fast running short, and now the Queen Mother of Aḥmadnagar begged Ibrāhīm to bring about an end to the hostilities somehow or other. While Ibrāhīm managed to send provisions surreptitiously to the beleaguered garrison he also sent his minister Muṣṭafā Khān to Rāmarāj with certain definite conditions of peace. He told the Regent of Vijayanagar that Niẓām Shāh had approached the Sulṭān of Gujarat and the ruler of Khāndēsh for help, and their armies were already on the way.[18] Muṣṭafā Khān also promised on

behalf of his master that if the siege were raised he would cede Kondāpalli-Musṭafānagar, "one of the largest forts in Tilangana", to Vijayanagar. This offer was accepted, the siege was raised, and the enveloping armies returned home.[19]

This was certainly a very great diplomatic victory for Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, for by his political manoeuvres he had been able to bring about an agreed peace between the belligerents. It also shows how eager he was to effect this, as for the sake of peace he had ceded one of his most cherished possessions, the great fort of Kondāpalli to Vijayanagar. But it was not all well with Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, for not only had he to face a serious loss by the defection of Bhōpāl Rai, commandant of Kalyānī, but had also accepted certain ignominious conditions including that of the execution of his boon companion Jahāngīr Khān and the insult of having to kiss Rāmarāj's hand. He, however, knew that his troubles had not ended, and when he returned to Aḥmadnagar from Paiṭhan one of the first things that he did was to strengthen the ramparts of Aḥmadnagar and to have a deep moat dug right round in order to face the storm which he knew would burst sooner or later.[20]

Before proceeding any further it would be appropriate to mention a small interlude which only demonstrated the strength of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and the tottering condition of the neighbouring State of Berar where the Prime Minister and Regent, Tufāl Khān was supreme. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh was unable to bring Daryā 'Imād Shāh to his side when he was forced to quit his capital in the last campaign, and now Tufāl Khān thought that Ibrāhīm was probably none too ready to oppose him after what had happened at Aḥmadnagar. He therefore crossed into Tilang with four thousand horse and challenged Ibrāhīm. It was in accordance with Rāmarāj's policy that he made an offer of help to Ibrāhīm and said that he would be most willing to send his forces to help him in driving out the invaders from Quṭb Shāhī territory. Ibrāhīm had learnt much regarding Rāmarāj's sincerity or otherwise, and replied with a polite message that he was able to cope with the situation single-handed and would not require any external help. He com-

manded Dastūr Khān to take with him just a thousand picked troops against the invading army. The commander proceeded northwards by forced marches regardless of the small number of troops at his disposal, and worsted Tufāl Khān in the decisive engagement at Bhīmkal forcing him to fly back to Berar. It is significant that Ibrāhīm did not order the chase of Tufāl Khān after his rout, and this shows that he was not in favour of extending his dominions beyond the natural frontiers of Tilang.[31]

While Konḍāpallī was ceded to Rāmarāj by Ibrāhīm as a price of peace, Kalyānī had been traitorously handed over to the enemy by Bhōpāl Rai. Ḥusain was naturally too upset over the devastation of his territory at the hands of the enemy to think of regaining Kalyānī immediately, and waited for three or four years during which he made his position strong. It was early in 970/1562 that he sent Maulana 'Ināyatu'l-lā, who was his Prime Minister ("Wakīl-o Pēshwa-i Muṭlaq"), to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh with presents and an autograph letter in which he enumerated the tyrannical deeds perpetrated by the captors of Kalyānī and invited Ibrāhīm to meet him outside the ramparts of that fort.[32] 'Ināyatu'l-lā must also have brought some kind of message indicating the willingness of the Sulṭān of Aḥmadnagar to give his daughter Jamāl Bībī in marriage to the Sulṭān of Golkonḍa. For we find the Pēshwa of Tilang, Muṣṭafā Khān, persuading Ibrāhīm to consent to this matrimonial alliance and praising before him the beauty and fine qualities of the Princess. Both sides were agreeable to the marriage and the nuptials were celebrated in 1563. There were great rejoicings in both the capitals lasting a whole month.[33] This event put a seal on the close relations between the courts of Golkonḍa and Aḥmadnagar and paved the way for their increased co-operation in the international field. The immediate effect of this was that the two armies now invested Kalyānī which was occupied by the Bijāpūrī garrison. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh rightly felt that it was impossible to face the allies single-handed and again proceeded to Vijayanagar to seek the aid of Rāmarāj. Not much persuasion was required to make him move, for

he accompanied 'Alī with a large army towards Kalyānī and was joined on the way by 'Alī Barīd of Bidar and Tufāl Khān of Berar. When the serious news was brought to the notice of Ibrāhīm he immediately conveyed it to his father-in-law Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, and both agreed that it was necessary that the siege of Kalyānī he raised and both the armies withdrawn to their respective states.[34]

On reaching Aḥmadnagar Ḥusain found his capital to be vulnerable and later, removing his family to Ossa under the care of his son Prince Murtāẓā and his son-in-law Jamālu'd-dīn Ḥusain, he and Ibrāhīm proceeded to meet the enemy with seven hundred cannon of various types and five hundred elephants of war. As ill luck would have it, however, there was a downpour of rain "which turned the whole land into a vast sea", with the result that the gun carriages stuck firmly in the mud. It was with the greatest difficulty that Ḥusain could escape to Aḥmadnagar with just forty pieces of ordnance. 'Alī took advantage of the predicament and attacked the Quṭb Shāhī forces, while Ḥusain thought it was futile to carry on the struggle even with a strengthened Aḥmadnagar, and retired to the ancient seat of the Niẓāmshāhī Kingdom, Junaīr.[35]

In the meantime the enemy had reached the ramparts of Aḥmadnagar and invested the city. It is related that the army of Vijayanagar, led by Rāmarāj, again perpetrated every possible atrocity on the people, laid waste the countryside and did not spare even mosques. Naturally it was not to the liking of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh that the crimes committed on the occasion of the first invasion of Aḥmadnagar should be repeated, and this time he had allied with Rāmarāj on the express condition that mosques and other sacred edifices should not be desecrated.[36]

Ascendency of Rāmarāj

The events after the second siege of Aḥmadnagar are obscure, but it seems certain that it was with difficulty that Ibrāhīm could reach Golkonḍa from his venture at Kalyānī. Rāmarāj and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had, evidently after retiring from Aḥmadnagar at the instance of the latter, penetrated as far as the

village of Taṛpalli which is only a few miles from Golkonḍa. Fighting in the vicinity of the capital went on for days, resulting in serious casualties on both sides. It was perhaps now, late in 1563, that Rāmarāj had recourse to a strategic move, and he commissioned his brother Venkaṭādrī, Jagadēva Rao, 'Ainu'l-mulk Kan'āni and others against Ibrāhīm with a formidable force of fifteen thousand horse and thirty thousand foot-soldiers to harass the southern districts of the kingdom. But this proved of no avail and they had to fight a losing battle against Ibrāhīm's troops. Rāmarāj now attempted to turn the scales by ordering Siddirājā Timmappa, governor of Konḍāvīḍu, to attack Konḍapallī and Masulipatam with fifty-thousand horse, and Dēwarkonḍa and Indarkonḍa with another twenty-thousand. But Ibrāhīm's forces were able to cross the Krishna and reach Konḍavīḍu, while Muṣṭafā Khān was successful in fomenting trouble in the Karnūl area among the Bōyas and the Chenchūs. This last manoeuvre was not successful, as Gani Tamma Nayudu is said to have defeated the Quṭb Shāhī forces. On his part Jagadēva Rao was able to induce the friendly Nāyakwāṛīs of the neighbourhood, and those in command at Panagal, Kōvilkonḍa, Ghanpura and other strongholds to hand over their forts to the Vijayanagar army. In the same way Kēsava Rao, the Nāyakwāṛī of Indarkonḍa, transferred his allegiance to Rāmarāj. The invaders also found Sītapati, alias Shitāb Khān, and Vidyādhar useful instruments of revolt in the east and the south, and they now laid siege to Rajahmundri and Ellore. Thus the whole of Tilang from the capital to the sea was in a most precarious condition.[37]

But Ibrāhīm was not to be cowed down. He convened his Council "consisting of *amīrs* and *khāns*" and frankly told them that fighting had been going on for months on end and the situation was deteriorating. He put it before them that there was no alternative left for him except to leave his fortress palace and fight in the open country once for all. The Council was greatly impressed by what the King told them. They, however, expressed the opinion that the army of the enemy far exceeded the royal army, and further, as the rivers were full

of rain water and were not fordable, it would be most difficult to chase him. They therefore suggested that it would be far better if His Majesty sent an envoy to the enemy to enter into pourparlers with him and perhaps end the campaign.[28]

But luck now seemed to favour Ibrāhīm's cause, and while he was perhaps deliberating on the personnel of the embassy he might send to Rāmarāj he received a secret message from 'Alī Barīd informing him of the concern of both 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and himself at the augmentation of Rāmarāj's power at the expense of Ibrāhīm, and also that Rāmarāj himself was prone to receive an envoy from him. It was also suggested that Ibrāhīm should send Muṣṭafā Khān. The Khān had to accept the indignity of having to approach Jagadēva Rao in the first instance and persuade him to accompany him to the "Rai A'ẓam" as Rāmarāj is almost invariably entitled in the Persian chronicles at this stage. A treaty was entered into by which it was agreed that Panagal and Ghanpura should be ceded to Vijayanagar while Rāmarāj should quit the other forts which were still occupied by his troops or his feudatories. The result of this treaty was that the regent of Vijayanagar stood supreme in the whole of the Deccan; he had cowed down his ally 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, had completely eliminated the power of Ḥusain Niẓam Shāh and had now taken possession of two of the important forts of Tilang.[29]

It was now that Muṣṭafā Khān suggested to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh that the country was surrounded by the enemies of the kingdom and it was necessary that the fortifications of the capital should be strengthened and widened. Ibrāhīm, therefore, ordered the extension of the fortifications, and the noble walls and moat of the great fortress-city of Golkonḍa as they exist now took their shape. The high officers and jagirdars of the state took advantage of the security offered by the ramparts of the extended fortifications and built their own palaces within the walls, and the city became replenished with gardens, ḥammāms, fine wide streets, shops belonging to various trades, and other works of public utility.[30]

In spite of the treaty entered into by Rāmarāj he managed to

foment insurrection in the country wherever possible. Indarkonḍa was still occupied by Kēsava Rāo who had put Maulānā Muḥammad Amīn, the *ḥawaladār* of the fort, in confinement. Ibrāhīm was greatly upset by the continued imprisonment of the Maulānā (who is called *ustād* or preceptor and who had perhaps been Ibrāhīm's teacher once), and wanted to proceed there to set him free. But Muṣṭafā Khān begged him not to go himself but allow him to proceed to the fort. On reaching the vicinity he first cleared the jungle round about and then invested it. It was not long before the fort was retaken and the Maulānā was sent back to Golkonḍa with rich presents for the king. But the trouble did not end here. The Nāyakwāṛīs, of whom Kēsava Rao was probably one, were seething with ideas of revolt, and Ibrāhīm made up his mind to break the strength of this element which was like a sore in the body of the State. The occasion was not long off when Sūria Rao, the chief of the Nāyakwāṛīs of the capital, entered into a nefarious conspiracy with his brother Nāyakwāṛīs elsewhere that at the appointed time, when the Sulṭān went out on a shooting trip, they should all seize the forts in which they were stationed, on their own account and should take over the respective treasuries and do away with the royal officers. They should then try and hold on till help arrived from Vijayanagar. So when the king had left for *shikār* and had moved to a spacious camp outside the walls of the capital, he received the news that the Nāyakwāṛīs had closed the gates and were already attacking the royal officers who were left behind. Ibrāhīm immediately postponed his departure and ordered that the troops should surround the walls. The rebels now sent a message to the king that what they wanted was that Muṣṭafā Khān should be handed over to them as he had maltreated the Nāyakwāṛīs all over the kingdom. Naturally Ibrāhīm would on no account hand over his brother-in-law and Prime Minister to the insurgents and instead ordered the Nāyakwāṛīs to lay down their arms. When they were adamant he forced them to surrender. Sūria Rao, the chief of the traitors, who had put to death many loyal citizens of the State, as well as other chief

conspirators, were beheaded and thus an example was set to other Nāyakwāṛīs of Tilangana.[31]

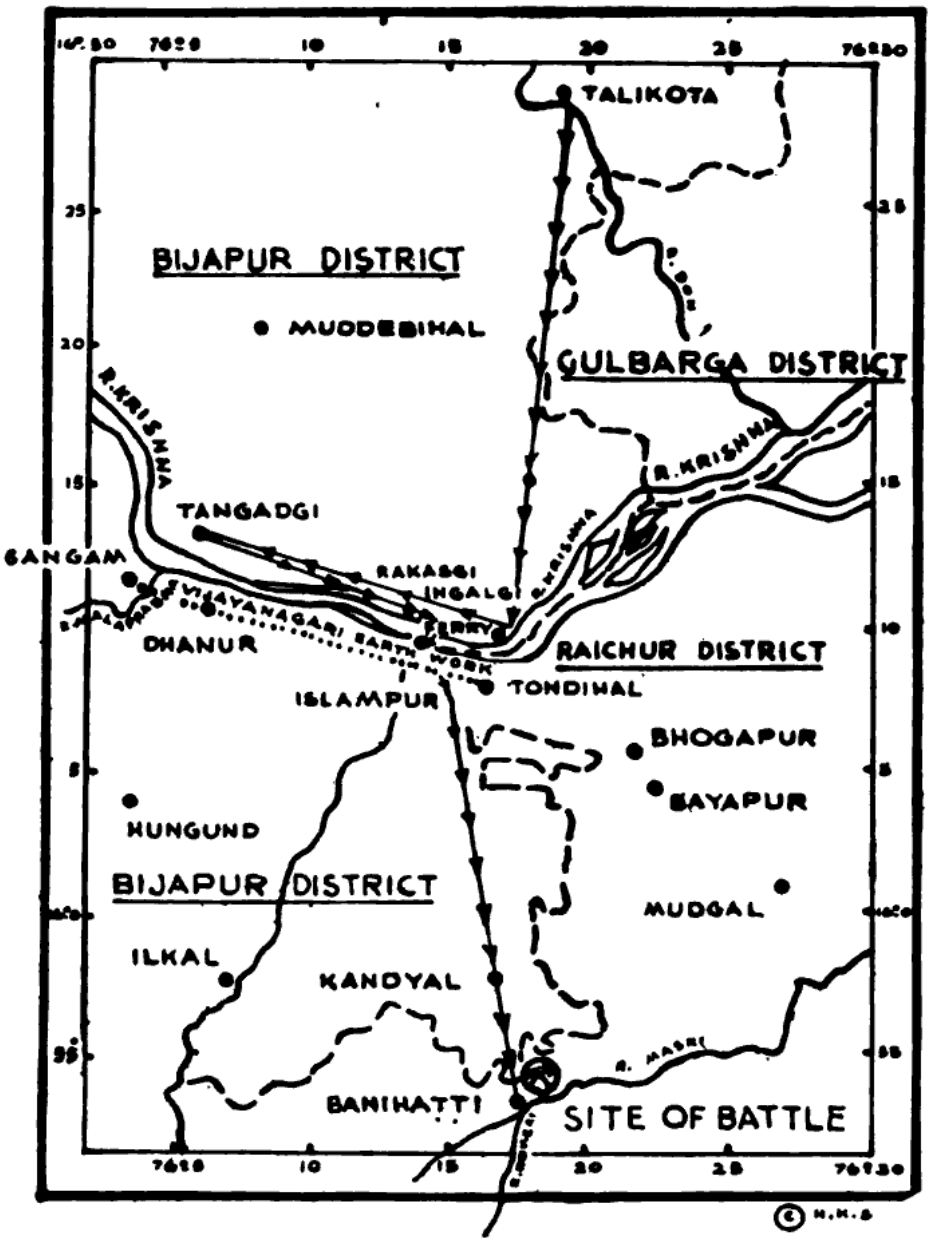
After crushing this widespread conspiracy, which was secretly instigated by Rāmarāj, Ibrāhīm turned towards the eastern portion of the kingdom where Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhar were creating havoc.[32] They had besieged Ellore when the armies of Vijayanagar and Bijapur were engaging the Tilangana forces at Taṛpallī, but the qil'ahdār of Ellore, Dilāwar Khān, had gallantly defended the fort. On the other hand the insurgents had been able to occupy Rajahmundri. The Sulṭān now commanded Raf'at Khān Lārī (whom he appointed Malik Nā'ib), 'Azīzu'l-mulk and some other generals, to proceed to the scene of the insurrection. Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhar now called the rajas and zamindars of the locality to join hands in repelling the army of Tilang, and thus was able to gather together a very large army. The opposing forces met at the village of Barapallī. The day ended in the victory of the army of the Sulṭān and the flight of Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhar to the fort of Rajahmundrī. The victorious Malik Nā'ib now advanced to the fort of Dowlēshwar which was barely two krohs from the citadel, and after capturing it he moved to Tatpak and took that fort as well. As the rainy season had now set in the army spent it at Dowlēshwar. The remaining forts round about Rajahmundri were evidently taken after the rains had ceased. Now that all approaches to the citadel had been secured it would not have been difficult for the royal army to take possession of it as well. But the time had arrived for a far more important venture, namely the subjugation of Vijayanagar itself, and the Sulṭān ordered that the attack on Rajahmundri be postponed for the time.[33]

This campaign is remarkable for the strategy of Malik Nā'ib who proved to be a fine general working at considerable distance from the capital and surrounded by the territory which was in the occupation of the insurgents. He must have found some loyal friends in the neighbourhood like Peddiraja,[34] who were out to help him against Shitāb Khān. He must also have kept his communications with Golkonḍa absolutely clear otherwise

SITE OF THE BATTLE OF BANIHAṬṬI JANUARY, 1565

THE SOUTHWARD MARCH OF THE ALLIES
MARKED WITH ARROW HEADS

SCALE : 1"=8 Miles



(to face p. 137.)

he would have been isolated. The building of a fort near Ellore and the enveloping movement resulting in the capture of the forts guarding the approach of Rajahmundri must have required a considerable amount of vision and foresight. The campaign was successful to the extent that when the time arrived for an onslaught on Rajahmundri its capture proved only a matter of days.

Section 2. *Battle of Bannihaṭṭī*, 23.1.1565.[35]

(i) *Introduction*

The year 972/1564-65 may be regarded as one of the most important in the history of South India, if not in the history of the whole country. It was the first time after the downfall of the Bahmanī kingdom that its succession states sheathed their swords which they had been continuously sharpening against one another, and not merely entered into treaties but actually sealed them by matrimonial alliances between their ruling families. Even longstanding feuds, such as that concerning Shōlāpūr, were settled at least for the time being, and in spite of differing temperaments of the rulers and differing interests of the states it was resolved once for all to join hands in order to put an end to the pretensions of the southern empire.[36] As among themselves the Sulṭāns agreed on a policy which may be termed that of co-existence. It is still a moot point whether all the Sulṭāns joined hands or not; but what is absolutely clear is that if there were any among them who did not send their soldiers to the battlefield *against* Rāmarāj they did not have the courage or the moral urge to help him in the struggle either.

No doubt the battle did not eliminate the Vijayanagar State and only the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab and certain other districts were taken away from it; still the fact remains that the might and the splendour of the Empire simply faded away. The kingdom of Vijayanagar still remained with its capital shifted first to Penugonḍa and later to Chandragiri further south, but the shock it suffered really broke its back, and it was only a question of time that the State was eliminated.

The result of this was the partition of practically the whole of Peninsular India between Golkonḍa and Bijāpūr and the simplification of the political map of Southern India. Had it not been for the stiffness of the opposition on the part of Aḥmadnagar under the vigorous leadership of Chānd Sulṭānā and Malik 'Ambar, and the rise of the Marathas under Shivājī over the ashes of that kingdom, the unification of South India under one flag would have been achieved much earlier as the result of the battle fought on 22-5-972/23-1-1565.

(ii) *Immediate Causes*

No state had suffered more than Aḥmadnagar at the hands of the armies of the southern Empire, for "they polluted the mosques and dishonoured women and put to fire and sword everything and every person who came in their way". The two sieges of Aḥmadnagar had left the whole country round in a state of utter ruin. Again, though fate had dragged 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh towards Rāmarāj, he took strong exception to the atrocities committed by the Vijayanagari soldiers in Aḥmadnagar territory. However opposed he might have been to Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh's pretensions he could not see eye to eye with Rāmarāj's men who had "committed great outrages at Ahmudnuggur, and omitted no mark of disrespect to the religion of the faithful, singing and performing...their worship in every mosque". When 'Alī had asked Rāmarāj's help against Ḥusain he had made him promise that the army would not do any harm to Muslim places of worship and would not cause wanton destruction to Muslim property, but all this was of no avail. 'Alī was galled at the behaviour of the army of his ally, and to make matters still worse, when the campaign was over, Rāmarāj actually despatched his troops to the frontiers both of 'Ādil Shāh and Quṭb Shāh, and 'Alī was forced to purchase peace by the cession of Bāgalkōṭ and Yādgīr. To add insult to injury Rāmarāj began to treat the envoys of the Sulṭāns with scant respect, and was thus, in a way, breaking all international traditions. Thus he would not even allow the envoys to take a seat in his presence. In fact when 'Ālī sent

a message to Rāmarāj on the eve of the hostilities which were to cost him his life, he had the 'Ādil Shāhī envoy expelled from Vijayanagar.[37]

As regards Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, we have already seen how he had to change from one who had implicit faith in Rāmarāj to one who began to consider him as his bitterest enemy. The conspiracy of Jagadēva Rao to unseat Ibrāhīm, his battles against Tilangana forces, his ultimate flight to Vijayanagar where he was received as an honoured guest and given high command, the rebellion of the Nāyakwaṛīs in which the hand of Rāmarāj clearly showed itself, the invasion of the Quṭb Shāhī territory by Rāmarāj himself after the second siege of Aḥmadnagar resulting in the forced cession of Kōvilkonḍa and Panagal, all this must have had a deciding effect on the policy of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.

It is absolutely clear that about this time Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh were the three personalities which mattered in the Bahmanī succession states. There was, of course the kingdom of Berar, but it was on its downward path and was soon to be absorbed in the Niẓām Shāhi kingdom. The child, Burhān 'Imād Shāh was on the throne for barely two years, and the real power lay with the minister, Tufāl Khān who, however, could not keep the State independent for long. The fifth Bahmanī succession state, Bidar, was still ruled by the intrepid 'Alī Barīd, but it had almost ceased to have an independent policy of its own.

Besides the Deccan Sulṭāns, an extraordinary personage is brought into the forum by the Telugu *kaifiyat* of Guṭṭi, which says that the "Delhi Sulṭān" also participated in the battle, and this statement is further glossed over by *Rāmarājana Baḵhair* which "identifies the Sultan of Delhi with the Mughal Emperor Jalaluddin Akbar, who is, however, said to be the ruler of Jalnapura"![38] This, of course, makes no sense at all, and only leads us to the conclusion that we should not put too much faith in these village records so far as historical facts of a general nature are concerned, as they are at best, records based

on hearsay and of far off events both in point of time and of place.

(iii) *League of the Four Sulṭāns.*

It has already been noticed that Bijāpūr and Aḥmadnagar had been opposed to each other almost from the time of the dissolution of the Bahmanī State, and the Sulṭāns of Aḥmadnagar sought help sometimes from Tilang and at other times from Vijayanagar against their rival. We have also seen that Rāmarāj was a past master in the art of diplomacy and played one Sulṭān against another in order to weaken all of them, and it was mainly through these tactics that he was able to gain supremacy practically over the whole of Southern India. Ibrāhīm had also been lured into the internecine feuds, but he was essentially a man of peace and was never happy to carry on an offensive campaign. Even Ferishta, who wrote down his chronicle at Bijāpūr and always blamed Ibrāhīm of treachery to his allies in the middle of a battle, recognises his diplomatic talent when he says that it was through the diplomacy of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh that peace was made while the siege of Aḥmadnagar was in progress about 971/1564.[39] Ibrāhīm had already put a seal on the alliance of Tilang with Aḥmadnagar by marrying Ḥusain's daughter Jamāl Bībī in 1562. There was however, no certainty regarding the policy and behaviour of 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh as time and again he was being cajoled by Rāmarāj. Thus when 'Alī paid a condolence visit to Vijayanagar on the death of Rāmarāj's son, his wife actually adopted him as her own son.[40] But now, even 'Alī was disgusted with the behaviour of Vijayanagar troops followed by the wanton attack of his own territory by Rāmarāj. The time seemed to be ripe for the formation of a league of the Sulṭāns all round.

We have already seen how 'Alī had to purchase peace from Rāmarāj by the cession of Yādgīr and Bāgalkōṭ. While still at Naldrug he convened his *Majlis-i Kingāsh* or Advisory Council to give him a lead what should be done to save the kingdom from the danger which beset it. Two of the prominent members of this council, Kishwar Khān and Abū Turāb

Shīrāzī, spoke out and told the King that while it was necessary that Rāmarāj's power should be curbed, nothing was possible without a close alliance with the Sulṭāns of the Deccan, for Bijāpūr could not hope to win against a vast empire like Vijayanagar.[41]

The question as to who took the initiative in bringing about an all-round alliance of the Sulṭāns is immaterial, and what is important is that such an alliance was entered into. Ferishta says that it was 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh who took the initiative and sent an envoy to Ibrāhīm to act as an intermediary between Niẓām Shāh and himself; Mīrza Ibrāhīm Zubairī reports that both Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, and Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh sent their emissaries to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, while 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā, the author of *Tārikh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* and Diego de Couto attribute the initiative to Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh. There is, however, nothing radically "contradictory" in these accounts. It was the realisation of the danger from the south on the part of all the three sulṭāns whose territory was vulnerable, that something must be done to obviate the danger, and the only way to do this appeared to be to join hands in the first place. Ibrāhīm was a traditional friend of the King of Aḥmadnagar and his kingdom had lately been ransacked by the agents of Rāmarāj. It is therefore not unlikely that while the need for joint action was felt simultaneously by all the three sulṭāns it was Ibrāhīm who was asked to act as the intermediary between the erstwhile warring kingdoms of Aḥmadnagar and Bijāpūr.

The question remains whether the all-powerful minister of Berar, Tufāl Khān, was party to the League as the representative of his young master, Burhān 'Imād Shāh. We have seen that Tufāl Khān was defeated not so long ago by Ibrāhīm and it is perhaps natural that the army of Berar is not mentioned in the context of the great battle which followed. Ferishta is explicit that Burhān 'Imād Shāh did not join the alliance, while other authorities say that only four Sulṭāns took part in the battle, of whom 'Alī Barīd was certainly one. The league, therefore, may well be called the League of the Four Sulṭāns.[42]

Tarikh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh gives a graphic account of

the negotiations. Perhaps in response to a note from Aḥmadnagar, Muṣṭafā Khān was sent there in order to negotiate a treaty which should put an end to the power of Vijayanagar once for all. When the first part of the mission was fulfilled he was to go to Bijāpūr and sound 'Alī. Ḥusain not merely sent his good wishes to 'Alī but commissioned Ḥakīm Qāsim Bēg to accompany Muṣṭafā Khān to Bijāpūr. When the two envoys were received in audience by the Sulṭān they reminded him that the sulṭānates of the Deccan were all off-shoots of the old Bahmanī kingdom, and now it was incumbent on the Sulṭāns to join hands and halt Rāmarāj's power. He also begged His Majesty to change enmity into love for his brother kings. 'Alī was greatly impressed by this argument and it was decided that there should be a double marriage linking the courts of Bijāpūr and Aḥmadnagar, that 'Alī should marry Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh's daughter Chānd Bībī while 'Alī's sister Princess Hadiya Sulṭānā should be married to Ḥusain's son Prince Murtaẓā. The two marriages were celebrated with great rejoicings in both the capitals, and in order to put an end to an old feud, Ḥusain transferred the citadel of Shōlāpūr to 'Alī as a part of his daughter's dowry. The three kings now met near Shōlāpūr and swore that they would have a complete unity of purpose against Rāmarāj.[44]

(iv) *War*

(a) PREPARATIONS

The stage was now set for a decisive conflict between Vijayanagar and the allies who considered themselves to be grossly wronged by their southern neighbour. It was 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh who took the initiative by sending an ultimatum to Rāmarāj to restore Yādgīr and Bāgalkōt which had been occupied by him and also to evacuate Rāichūr and Mudgal.The Bijāpūr envoy was received in audience by the Regent, and when he presented his demands it is related that Rāmarāj disdainfully smiled at the affront and ordered the envoy to leave the capital immediately.[45] There was nothing left for the allies except to prepare for the fray in right earnest. As the allied armies were

in the Bijāpūr territory it was up to 'Alī to arrange for the supplies.[46] This must have been a gigantic task as the army which was to march southwards consisted of lakhs of men, horses and elephants, and it shows that the kingdom had an excellent commissariat organization, otherwise it would have been almost impossible to cope with this.

From Shōlāpūr the allies first marched to Bijāpūr where they stayed a short while, and then they marched on to Talikoṭa which is twenty-two miles from the north bank of the Krishna.[47] 'Alī 'Ādil was so keen on pleasing his new friends that he told them that they should consider themselves as his guests and that he would gladly arrange for supplies for them as well as for their armies and attendants. On his part, when Rāmarāj heard that the allies were almost on his doorsteps he sent word to all his governors and feudatories "as far south as Ceylon" to send troops, supplies and arms to fight the enemy. He also ordered that the bastions of the capital be strengthened and appointed Krishnappa Nāyaka, the head of the Belūr family and titular Betel-leaf Bearer of the Emperor Sadāśiva, to complete the work under his supervision. The army which was mobilised and which now started northwards consisted of mercenaries belonging to practically all the linguistic and racial elements which went to form the Vijayanagar Empire; there were Kannadigas, Telugūs of the border, Mysoreans and Malayālis, Tamils and Muslims from the south. All this vast army was under the command of the Regent and under him, of his two younger brothers Venkaṭādri and Timmappa or Timmarāja.[49]

It appears that the allies tarried too long on the way from Shōlāpūr and Bijāpūr to the border, for, when they reached the Krishna they found that all the known ferries and shallow fords had already been occupied by the enemy who had found time even to build high ramparts on the other side of the river and mount cannon on them. They had started from Bijāpūr on 20-5-972/24-12-1564,[50] and as the great battle which decided the fate of the southern Empire took place on 20-6-972/23-1-1565 it must have taken fully four weeks to cover a distance

of a little more than a hundred miles.[51] It is possible that the delay was due to lack of mobility on the part of a huge army, but one of the factors must have been an overconfidence on the part of the allies. We should remember that the army which was mobilised by Rāmarāj to face them was no whit less clumsy than their army, and further, the time at the disposal of Rāmarāj was considerably less. It therefore goes to his credit that he could reach the river long before the allies.

(b) SITE OF THE BATTLE

The problem which has so far defied solution is that of the actual site of the battle which is usually called the battle of Tālikoṭa after the village of that name situated twenty-two miles north of the Krishna, where the concentration of the armies of the allied Sulṭāns took place.[52] It is nowhere mentioned that there was any fighting at Tālikoṭā, for when the armies had been mobilised and commissariat arrangements had been made they were ordered to proceed southwards at once. It is only by a mere convention that the battle was named after the village. But there is so much divergence in the theories concerning the site of the actual battle that the best way to get at the probable truth would be, firstly to set out these theories, and then to discuss them.

Our Persian chronicles are not clear about the site of the battle, but they are unanimous that the engagement took place south of the Krishna. They are also fairly unanimous in the description of the earlier contacts. When the allies reached the northern bank of the river, which formed the boundary between the Bijāpūr and the Vijayanagar states, they found the route blocked, for Rāmarāj had already constructed a huge wall, two or three *gaz* in length, along the whole waterfront on the south bank of the river, and mounted pieces of artillery on it blocking practically all the fordable approaches of the allied army.[53] The allies were much perplexed, and there was a stalemate lasting several days, for neither side had the courage to strike first. The Sulṭāns now held a Council of War which decided that they must have recourse to a ruse, and the whole

army should strike camp and move upstream to a point further than the fortifications put up by Rāmarāj. As the allied forces marched westward by the northern bank they were followed by the Vijayanagar army on the southern bank. The Vijayanagar commanders were in fact deluded that the allies wanted to cross the river beyond the earthworks erected by them. The allied armies marched leisurely for two or three days, closely followed by the Vijayanagar forces. They now suddenly stopped, left forty thousand soldiers to fight a rear-guard action if necessary, turned round, and managed to cover the whole distance in a single night. When they reached the original ford they found it undefended. The great crossing was led by the Sulṭāns themselves. In the morning Rāmarāj knew that he had been hoodwinked, and when he himself reached the original ford he was greatly perturbed to find that the allies had already crossed into his territory. It is related that they continued their march till they reached the Hukērī river situated six *kos* or about twelve miles from the Krishna, and it was then that fighting began.[54]

Perhaps the first attempt to explore the site of the battle by a modern writer was made by J. A. Campbell, the author of *Bijapur District Gazetteer*. He says that the battle was fought on the right bank of the Krishna "about thirty miles south of Tālīkōṭā" (which he calls Talikoti), and six miles from Nalatvad. The ford by which the allied army crossed was at Ingalgi on the left bank, while remains of the earthworks erected by Rāmarāj were still visible on the left bank near Ṭonḍihāl village. The allies manoeuvred as if they would cross by the Dhanūr ford ten miles higher up. They marched leisurely on the northern bank westward for three days in the direction of Dhanūr and then marched back suddenly to the Ingulgi ford and crossed.[55]

Sewell has another theory to offer. He says that there is no available information regarding the site of the battle, but it was probably in the plains about "the village of Bāyāpūr or Bhōgāpūr" on the road leading from Ingalgi to Mudgal.[56]

All these theories have been discussed by Prof. Nilakanta

Sastri and Dr. Venkata Ramanayya in their comprehensive work, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, along with information contained in the Telugu *Kaifiyats* of a number of villages and towns, as well as in *Rāmarājana Bakhair*.[57] They brush aside the evidence of "Muhammadan historians" who "state that the battle in which the Deccani Sultans overthrew Ramaraja was fought in Talikotā".[58] They then go on to say that "the place of the famous battle has been correctly described in the Hindu records". They first take their stand on *Rāmarājana Bakhair* which "locates the camp of Rāmarāj in the plain between the villages of Raksasi and Tangadi.... This is confirmed in the village *Kaifiyats* several of which allude to the event". Further on they state that "the majority of the *Kaifiyats* merely assert that Rāmarāja the Great perished with all his army near the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇa and Malapahari (the modern Mālaprabha). One of them, the *Kaifiyat* of Nandiyala, says.... that the Muhammadans....put Aliya Rāmārāja together with his army to death at Raksasi-Tangadī in the pargana of Honugunḍa near the confluence of the rivers Kṛṣṇa and Malaprabha". Thus "these accounts contradict the accounts of the Muhammadan historians". Yet, in spite of the assertion that the battle has been correctly described in the Telugu records referred to, the learned authors are not fully convinced of their veracity and close the discussion with the ominous query, "Where does the truth lie?"[59]

Before proceeding to discuss the various data contained in the statements before us, it is well to understand the topography of the locality. To begin with, Tālīkōṭā is situated on the river Don twenty-two miles from the northern bank of the Krishna. The land lying between the village and the river is absolutely flat, and there is still a cartway from it leading to the river and passing through the town of Nalatvaḍ which is six miles from the nearest point on the southward curve of the river. Ingalgi is a village about half a mile from the north bank practically on the straight line from Tālīkōṭā southwards, while Tonḍihal, where the remains of earthworks were noticed by Campbell, is almost exactly opposite Ingalgi on the south bank.

These earthworks extended to a distance of about ten miles westwards. There is a local tradition that the battle was fought at a village called Islāmpūr half a mile south of the Krishna near the place where the Ilkal joins it. It should be noted that the Krishna has a very narrow bed here and there is a ferry which takes passengers from the bank opposite Rakasgi to the bank opposite Islāmpūr. The site of the battle indicated in the Survey of India 2 inch map is fully three miles east of Islāmpūr, quite a distance from where the limits of the earthworks were seen by Campbell, and it is not known why the site of the battle was indicated there. If we suppose the Vijayanagari wall to commence at Tonḍihal it would pass through Islāmpūr and extend westwards to Dhanūr ford about thirteen miles from Tonḍihal and a couple of miles from the sangam of the Mālaprabha and the Krishna. Hukēri river joins the Maski twelve miles south of the Krishna which corresponds to the site of the battle given by Ferishta. Bāyāpur and Bhōgāpūr are the names of two distinct hamlets south-east of Ingalgī on the road to Mudgal, and are separated from each other by about a mile and a half. In the same way Rakasgi and Tangadgi, which are doubtless, the real names of the villages mentioned in the Telugu documents as Raksagi and Tangadi, are two distinct places on the northern or left side of the river, both half a mile north of the Krishna but separated from each other by nine miles.[89]

Now if we look at this topography objectively and picture to ourselves the probable movement of troops, it would appear that the invading army proceeded due south from Tālīkōṭā towards Vijayanagar territory, especially as it would then pass through the friendly town of Nalatvaḍ, and then reach the northern or left bank of the river which is but six miles from it. On reaching Ingalgi it would have the earthworks in full view just twelve furlongs away on the southern or the right bank at Tonḍihal. These earthworks must have followed the present straight path from Tonḍihal to Dhanūr and the sangam of Mālaprabha and the Krishna. The invading army adopted the ruse of leaving the Ingulgi ford, passed by Rakasgi to Tangadgi (which is almost opposite Dhanūr as Tonḍihal is to Ingulgi);

then it suddenly turned back and marching during the night, reached Ingulgi, which is twelve miles distant from Tangadgi, and crossed the ford when there was hardly anyone to oppose it. It is possible that some Vijayanagar troops were left to guard the place where the Ilkal joins the Krishna which later came to be known as Islāmpūr, and an engagement took place there between the opposing armies. As the main Vijayanagar army was some miles distant it must have been a walkover on the part of the allied forces, and after this initial advantage they must have moved on to the south till they reached Banihaṭṭi on the confluence of the Maski with its southern tributary. There is no doubt that by this time the main Vijayanagar army had reached Banihaṭṭi as well and the two main armies came to grips. There is no reason why the allied armies should have waited at Ṭondihal and not taken advantage of the open ground to push forward [a]

There is not much to be said in favour of the battle having taken place between Rakasgi and Ṭangadgi on the northern or left bank of the Krishna, and even the protagonists of the theory are not certain of it. *Rāmarājana Bakhair* on which a stand may be taken, is full of the most absurd details in regard to the battle as well as other matters. Thus "Akbar Jalalu'd-din Mughal Padshah, the king of Jahalnapur" is made to take part in the fight with two and a half crores of foot-soldiers, one lac elephants, two lac camels and many others; the weight of the gunpowder carried by the Vijayanagar troops is said to come to nearly ten crores of maunds, the number of cannon balls in the army reached the astronomical figure of nearly ten thousand billions! Obviously it is difficult to put any reliance on a document like this. The same highly exaggerated account of the battle is given in the *Kaifiyat of* Nandiyāla as well as some other *Kaifiyats,* where it is related that "the Muhammadans who invaded (the country) put Aliya Rāmarāja with his army to death at Raksasi-Tangadgi." Now an "invasion" of the Vijayanagar country was possible only after the enemy had crossed the Krishna and not otherwise. There is absolutely no evidence to show that Rāmarāj crossed the river at all. We must also

remember that the place where the Vijayanagar army was routed was, according to the *Kaifiyats,* near the confluence of Mālaprabha and the Krishna, and this confluence is on the southern bank of the Krishna. The two villages, Rakasgi and Tangadgi are separated by no less than nine miles, and yet they been hyphenated together as if they formed one unit, and placed near the Sangam! It is related by Ferishta that the allies left forty thousand soldiers at the furthest point they reached in the strategic movement westwards, which would be near Tangadgi, and it is possible that some kind of rear-guard action took place there; but it could not have been a major action as the Vijayanagar army must have set upon the pursuit of the main allied army which had marched southwards. There could have been no need on the part of Rāmarāj to cross over when the enemy was already within the Vijayanagar territory ready to give battle. It is strange that even the late Father Heras, who was always in search of objective realities, accepted "Raksas-Tagdi" as the scene of the battle, and further tried to coordinate the Persian chronicles with Telugu documents by placing the two villages south of the Krishna![63]

Thus, with the historical, topographical and documentary data at our disposal we must reach the conclusion that the so-called battle of Tālīkōṭā or Raksagi-Tangadi was fought twelve miles south of the Krishna at Bannihaṭṭi on the sangam of the Maski river and its southern tributary the Hukēri.

(c) *The opposing forces :*

The allies did not begin to attack the Vijayanagar forces immediately, but, instead, sent a message to Rāmarāj that if he were to restore the territory which originally belonged to Bijapur and Tilang then the allied Sulṭāns would evacuate the Vijayanagar territory and retire to their own kingdoms. But Rāmarāj was too puffed up to accept these terms and prepared to face the enemy with forces collected from all parts of the Empire, under his own command with his brothers Venkaṭādri and Timmarāja in subordinate commands.[64]

It is hardly necessary to discuss here the number of the soldiers who now came to grips near the southern banks of the Krishna, as they have been discussed threadbare elsewhere. While the Telugu documents estimate the number of the soldiers under the Vijayanagar banner to reach millions and millions there is no estimate of the allied armies given in the *Kaifiyats* at all. The estimate of the losses sustained by the Vijayanagar army also varies considerably. The Persian authorities say that these losses were about a lac of soldiers and certainly not more than three lacs, while some of the Telugu *Kaifiyats* say that the allies killed Rāmarāj "and all his troops" during the battle.[64] There is no doubt that here the totality would mean only the majority of the combatants, for a large part of the army must have been successful in leaving the battle-fields, otherwise there was no reason why the allies did not trample upon the whole empire then and there. Again, we know that the Emperor Sadāśiva, who had been left in confinement by Rāmarāj and his brothers, was taken to Penukoṇḍa with practically the whole of the treasury, and this could hardly have been done without the strongest possible military guard, especially as "the roads were infested by thieves and robbers" after the battle.[65] It is therefore very likely that the estimate of those killed in battle as given by the Persian authorities is more or less correct, and the defeat must have resulted in the flight of a considerable number of soldiers after Rāmarāj's death, though it cannot be said how many of them were still a part of the effective disciplined army.

(d) *Duration:*

Some doubt has been cast whether "this mighty host of seasoned warriors. . .was annihilated. . .within less than four hours".[66] There is nothing strange in the phenomenon, for even in comparatively recent times wars have consisted mostly of a single battle, and fates of countries and nations have generally hung on the outcome of a single pitched action. As a matter of fact almost every battle worth remembering was successful in turning the scale of fortune one way or other. Practically every

important battle even of the nineteenth century comes under this category, and in our own country Plassey, Baksar, Seringapatam, Laswāri, 'Aligaṛh and Shakar Khēṛa, to name only a few, are all cases in point. That was natural in the days when countries were ruled by autocrats, and when the autocrat fell or was defeated there was nothing left for the mercenaries except to leave the battlefield in disorder. Thus, the statement that such large masses of troops such as those collected by Rāmarāj could not have been subdued so soon, does not hold ground.[67]

As regards the duration of the conflict, the struggle was certainly long drawn, and it is not a mere coincidence that the period of time from the mobilisation of the allied army on 24-12-1564 to the day the battle was fought, i.e. 23-1-1565, which amounts to thirtythree days, coincides with the period of the war as given by most of our Telugu documents. It is plain that the battle was not the only pitched engagement of the war, and it is not necessary to prolong the conflict to April, 1565, on scanty evidence, especially when there is a corroboration on the part of *Keladinṛpavijayam* that Rāmarāj lost his life in January, 1565.[68] The preliminary engagement, which is said to have lasted three days, may have been with the 40,000 troops left by the allies to guard the northern banks of the Krishna, while the final battle on the Maski was fought thirty-three days after the virtual declaration of war.

Again, in spite of what may be said to the contrary, the war was certainly not a communal war. Caesar Fredericke, who visited Vijayanagar immediately after the conflict, definitely says that the Rāya of Vijayaṇagar had two prominent captains or commanders in the army who were "Moores" or Muslims, and each of them had as many as sixty to eighty thousand men under his command.[69] We are also told that there were "several Maratha detachments" which had joined the allied forces, and "shortly after we find a body of six thousand Maratha cavalry in the army of Bijapur.[70] It is plain that, with thousands of Muslims in the Vijayanagar army and thousands of Hindus in the army of the allied forces, the war must have lost its com-

munal sting if such a thing ever existed. This fact must be borne in mind when we come to evaluate the causes and results of the war.

(e) *The Action :*

Coming to the actual action on the Maski which decided the fate of the Empire of Vijayanagar in the long run, we find that it was not long that the two armies were in grips. Our authorities are almost unanimous that the great battle was fought on 20-6-972/23-1-1565, but its duration needs a little more consideration.[71] The line of battle adopted on both sides has also been repeated by a number of chronicles and may be said to be correct. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, who was the prime mover of the League of the Sulṭāns, was in the centre and was opposed by his great enemy, Rāmarāj; on his right was 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, who faced Timmarāja, and on his left were Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and 'Alī Barīd who were opposed by Venkaṭādri. Rāmarāj was so sure of his success that he issued an order of the day that while an attempt should be made to capture 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh alive, he wanted that it should be the head of Ḥusain Niẓam Shāh which should be brought to him, for while he had some regard for Ibrāhīm and 'Alī he did not want Ḥusain to live for another day.[72]

The first onslaught was made by the fifty thousand rocket-throwers of the Vijayanagar army which showered numerous rockets on the allies and "attacked them with swords and guns" right and left till they were forced to give way. It is interesting to note that Rāmarāj had warned his brother Venkaṭādri, who was facing Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, that the grit and hardihood of the soldiers of Tilangāna knew no bounds and that they should face them with fortitude.[73] It was, however, this wing which was forced to retire after a terrible hand to hand fight, while the wing commanded by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh also gave way. The allies "were completely over-powered by the numerous soldiers of Vijayanagar".[74] But then the ranks of the army of Tilang were again formed and they launched a severe attack on the enemy in which Venkaṭādri perhaps lost his life. On

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's front also the Vijayanagar army sustained a loss by the retirement of Timmarāja who was blinded by an arrow.[75] But it was the allied centre under Ḥusain's command which had to bear the main brunt of the enemy attacks, and it was chiefly the bowmen under Ikhtaṣ Khān and the artillery under the Turkish artillery officer Chelepi Rūmī Khān which was keeping it from annihilation. Rūmī Khān had placed his guns in serried rows according to their calibre, and he was constantly firing cylinders and boxes full of gunpowder towards the enemy.[76] But evidently they were of no avail. The aged Rāmarāj was seated in a beautiful *singāsan* or moveable throne put in the middle of his *dihlīz* or shāmiāna made of the most costly cloth embroidered in gold and scented with sandalwood and other substances, and with "mountains of gold and silver" placed on either side which he wanted to be distributed among those who fought in the battle with distinction.[77]

It was when all efforts to overpower the Vijayanagar centre had failed that Kishwar Khān Lārī had recourse to a new artifice. Perhaps at the instance of Niẓām Shāh himself, he got the famous *Malik-i Maidān* cannon and other pieces stuffed with copper coins and then fired them, with the result that lacs and lacs of heavy, flat, expanding shot fell on the enemy killing thousands and creating a veritable havoc in the enemy lines.[78] And just then the Niẓam Shāhī troops appeared from the rear, and along with Kishwar Khān Lārī, who had advanced with seven or eight thousand 'Ādil Shāhī troops, fell upon the enemy.

While there is no doubt that Rāmarāj lost his life on that fateful day, there is much variation among our sources about the way in which he met his death. There is the rather interesting but most improbable story that he was decapitated by his friend 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh in order that he might not fall in the hands of his enemies of Aḥmadnagar and be dishonoured! There is then the story of his having been left sitting on his moveable throne by the throne-bearers in the mélée which ensued the firing of brass coins, that he was lifted bodily by the trunk of an elephant and brought to Ḥusain Niẓam Shāh who had him

beheaded. Another variation of the same story is that Rūmī Khān wanted to kill Rāmarāj when he was captured but his friend Dalpat Rao said that it was the great Rāmarāj himself whom Rūmī had captured, and that if his life were spared Rūmī was sure to be rewarded with favours and with the grant of jāgīr; but he would have none of it and forthwith carried him to his master the Sulṭān. Ḥusain had him seated opposite him and began to ask him questions about himself when one of his courtiers warned him that if he were to be spared for a few more minutes then 'Alī would know of the capture and the prize would slip off; on which Ḥusain ordered his decapitation There is then the version of the death of Rāmarāj in actual battle, and this is the most likely of all. It is that Rāmarāj was struck by a cannon-ball from the Aḥmadnagar lines which were directly opposite and was killed on the spot. It seems most unlikely that Rāmarāj should have lived on through the whole battle when he was sitting in state directly opposite his sworn enemy Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, and that he should have been brought alive to be killed by 'Alī or Ḥusain.[79]

It is truly remarkable that in the whole episode of Rāmarāj's death we do not find Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's name being mentioned even once; this only shows that while the King of Tilang was valiant in battle and a disciplined and seasoned soldier he would not allow himself to be a party to the killing of an enemy after he had been taken prisoner.

As was the case with all medieval battles, the death of the leader meant the rout of the enemy, and when Rāmarāj's head was raised on a spear and shown to the Vijayanagar army the disciplined forces became a mere rabble, and whoever could escape saved his life by flying from the battlefield.

The Battle of Bannihaṭṭī was one of the shortest battles which have ever decided the fates of kingdoms and empires. There is a version that the battle lasted for "two days and two nights", but most of our authorities are unanimous that the fighting started at midday and stopped at about four in the afternoon[80] The continuous chain of events beginning with

the weakening of the allied flanks, advance of the strong centre backed by heavy bombardment, firing of thousands and thousands of brass pieces by Ḥusain's artillery, and finally the death of Rāmarāj and the complete rout of the enemy—all those closely woven facts could hardly have left a breathing space for the parties to have tarried for many days before the end came. Scales therefore seem to turn in favour of the single day theory.

(f) *After the Battle :*

There is also some difference of opinion regarding the period of time the allied monarchs stayed in their camps on the battle-field before they moved on to Vijayanagar, and this ranges from three to ten days.[81] We, however, know that the interregnum at Vijayanagar lasted long enough for Tirumala taking with him to Panukonḍa, "1550 elephants laden with gold, diamonds and precious stones valued at more than one hundred million sterling, the state insignia and the celebrated jewelled throne of the kings . . . under the convoy of soldiers who remained true to the Crown", and we are forced to conclude that these varied arrangements must have taken more than three days. And that was not all. For "the next day the place became a prey to the robber tribes and jungle people of the neighbourhood. Hordes of Brinjāris, Lambādis, Kurubas and the like, pounced upon the hapless city and looted the stores and shops".[82] That was only natural, for the nominal Emperor, Sadāśiva, who had been in close confinement ever since Rāmarāj took over the government of Vijayanagar, was also removed to Penūkonḍa, and there was no government functioning in the city. There could not have been much left at Vijayanagar when the four Sulṭāns arrived there in triumph and pitched their camp outside the city walls. Although it is said that the Niẓām Shāhī soldiers, whose homes had been put to so much havoc only a few months previously, wanted to take revenge on the Vijayanagarīs, the city must have been depleted of its wealth and its population already.[83]

The Sulṭāns remained at Vijayanāgar for a few months[83] and

left it after the promise of the Penukonḍa government that they would restore the districts of Tilang and Bijāpūr lately annexed by Rāmarāj.

Section 3. *Diplomacy and Military Campaign, 1565-1580.*

Vijayanagar after 1565

The general effect of the Battle of Bannihaṭṭi on the fortunes of the Empire of Vijayanagar was without doubt disastrous; but Ferishta's dictum that when "the advance troops had penetrated to Beejanuggur they razed the chief buildings to the ground" and that "the efforts of the conquerors were directed to the plunder of the country and the destruction of the stone temples" is an instance of the usual exaggeration on the part of the author whenever he finds the Sulṭāns gaining ground. Apart from the fact that many temples of renown are still standing and that a number of royal palaces and bazaars are still the showplaces of Hampi, modern researches on the subject have belied this statement. Caesar Fredericke who visited Vijayanagar a few months after the great battle and who was there for seven months, says that the allied Sulṭāns, meaning, of course the officers appointed by them, spent the period of their stay at the capital "searching under houses in all places for money and other things that were hidden". He is quite clear that "the city of Bezenagar is not altogether destroyed .... yet the houses are empty and none but the tigers and beasts live there". He visited the city after the return of the court and found that the Palace was still standing in all its glory; and its five great gates guarded by soldiers. It seems that when Tirumala, who now controlled the destinies of the Empire, attempted to repopulate the city, the first phase of plunder by robbers and dacoits was already over and that "the Porṭuguese merchants slept in the city and in the porches of houses" in perfect safety. But even this was a passing phase, and the great city was reduced to a mere provincial town when the capital was finally removed to Penukonḍa a couple of years after the Battle of Bannihaṭṭī.[88]

So much for the capital city. There is no doubt that the Vijayanagar State continued to exist in some form or other for a few more decades till it finally faded away. But the power and glory of the Empire vanished on the battlefield near the Krishna. A modern protagonist of the continued existence of the might of Vijayanagar, at least till the first decade of the seventeenth century, has to accept the fact that "some of the results of Talikota could not be undone. The capital was irretrievably lost and the door open to Muslim penetration further south".[86] The precipitate downfall of the Empire was aggravated by dynastic quarrels among the members of the ruling classes and by the very policy of Rāmarāj. There is no doubt that Rāmarāj has earned a niche for himself in the history of the Southern Empire, but it must be accepted that he was a self-centred ruler and an autocrat, and his government was marked by "destruction of civil service and the inordinate exaltation of his relations and his dependents".[87] As is the case with all such rulers the sheer incapacity of those whom he had promoted spelt the doom of governmental organisation and the gradual disintegration of the Empire. The battle of Bannihaṭṭī was followed by the return of the Rāichūr doāb to the Sulṭānate of Bijapur and the restitution of all forts taken from Tilang by Rāmarāj such as Panagal, Kovilkonḍa and Ghanpura. Civil commotion inevitably led to anarchy in the northern sector, and the chiefs of Adoni, Belgām and Dhārwāṛ became virtually independent of the central authority and soon fell a prey to the Sulṭāns. In the south the Nāyaka fiefholders also became restive and there was almost a continuous civil war there till the lord of Madura became the claimant of political power over the whole area south of the Kāvērī.[88] The flower of the Vijayanagar army had ceased to exist and the duality of government at Penukonḍa, centred in both the rightful monarch Sadāśiva, and Rāmarāj's brother Tirumala, further weakened authority. Even the murder of Sadāśiva and the accession of Tirumala as the sole monarch did not end the squabbles for power, and the State had fallen so low that the factions which fought for ascendency at Penukonḍa

were not averse to seek help from the very Sulṭāns who had so lately destroyed its military might.

The Break-up of the League

This process was facilitated by the break-up of the League of the Four Sulṭāns immediately after the Battle of Banihaṭṭī. The League was formed for the attainment of a certain objective, namely, the elimination of the power of the Southern Empire which had proved such a great danger to the Sulṭānates, and that objective had now been achieved. It would have been a great blessing to the Deccan if a permanent *modus vivendi* had been agreed to and the wound of the disintegration of the table-land healed; but it was not to be, and the rift came earlier than was expected. It has been mentioned above that it was agreed that the Krishna-Tungabhadra doāb should be restored by the Southern Empire to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and, perhaps in order to demonstrate the unity of purpose, the Sulṭāns sent Muṣṭafā Khān of Tilang, Maulana 'Ināyatu'l-lah of Aḥmadnagar and Kishwar Khān of Bijāpūr to take possession of Rāichūr and Mudgal, the key towns of the doāb. It was only natural that once the two towns had been occupied they should be handed over to the representatives of Bijāpūr. But in taking this step Muṣṭafā Khān did not take the trouble of informing Ibrāhīm and Ḥusain, and he did so either unintentionally or, as is quite possible, in response to a hint thrown by 'Alī himself. Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh was touched to the quick. He was perhaps reminded of the havoc caused in his kingdom not so long ago under the very eyes of the Sulṭān of Bijāpūr. It is not known whether he wanted to take possession of Rāichūr and Mudgal himself, but he certainly did send a strongly worded message to Ibrāhīm that it was against all etiquette that Muṣṭafā Khān should hand over the territory to the representatives of Bijāpūr without their knowledge, and that he was not fit to continue to have the Sulṭān's confidence. Ibrāhīm thereupon called Muṣṭafā Khān and reprimanded him that although he had committed an act of treason he would be pardoned his life and limb and be

permitted to proceed to Mecca. It is possible that Ibrāhīm realised his helplessness in the face of Ḥusain's insistence, and he did an act of kindness to his minister by allowing him to carry property worth lacs with him. And when Muṣṭafā Khān treaded to Bijāpūr instead of towards Mecca, Ibrāhīm kept quiet over it and contented himself by razing his house to the ground.[89]

This episode, which had important repercussions, was soon followed by Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh's death and the accession of his sixteen-year old son Murtaẓā on the throne.[90]

Probably the first campaign which was led after the Battle of Bannihaṭṭī was in 974/1566 against Tufāl Khān the virtual ruler of Berar, who had failed to join the alliance against Rāmarāj. The attack on Berar was made by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh. Tufāl did not feel equal to the task of joining battle with the army of the two Sulṭāns and thought it more prudent to buy them off by sending valuable presents to them.[91] As will be seen later this policy did not ensure peace for very long and Tufāl had soon to surrender all that he had to the invaders. The remarkable thing about the short campaign is that, from the accounts that have been handed over to us, Ibrāhīm was not a party to it. He had proved his loyalty to the League and the cause of the independence of the Deccan by joining even those who had not been friendly to him; but once the objective had been reached he reiterated his policy of not taking an offensive against any of his brother Sulṭāns as far as possible.

But rifts soon appeared among the allies. 'Alī thought that the accession of the young Murtaẓā to the throne of Aḥmadnagar was a good opportunity to avenge the slight he had experienced in the matter of Rāichūr and Mudgal, especially as Murtaẓā was reputed to be of a weak mind and there was already an apparent rift between him and his mother, the Dowager Queen Khūnzā Humāyūn. In this scheme of an attack on Aḥmadnagar 'Alī was abetted by his Pēshwā, Kishwar Khān. When news was brought to Aḥmadnagar in 975/1568 that 'Alī was going to launch an attack, Murtaẓā sought the advice of his Council,

which reminded him that there had been bonds of friendship between Aḥmadnagar and Tilang, and the best way to get out of the impasse would be to appeal to Ibrāhīm for help. At the same time the Dowager Queen, who was acting as the Regent ever since her husband's death, sent word to Tufāl Khān to render help against the common enemy, and when no reply was received for some time she herself proceeded to Ellichpūr with her son. Tufāl, Murtaẓā and the Queen now moved to a place between Qandhār and Kaulās on the frontier where they were joined by Ibrāhīm who had marched from Golkondā in response to the appeal from Murtaẓā. 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh was taken aback by this development and retreated to Bijapur. The allies now advanced into Bijapur territory itself, forcing 'Alī to take refuge in the plains of the Konkan. He then sent messages to Ibrāhīm to desist from doing further harm to his territory, and Ibrāhīm, pursuing his old policy of not allowing any of the Sulṭāns to upset the balance in the Deccan, persuaded Murtaẓā to cease fire, and realising that enough punishment had been meted out to 'Alī, both retraced their steps homewards.[92]

But peace was not to last very long and 'Alī was again in the field in 977/1569, i.e., two years after the last campaign. Things were not very happy at Aḥmadnagar, and the entourage of the weakminded young Murtaẓā had incensed him against his mother, the Dowager Queen, for having promoted her two brothers Amīnu'l-Mulk and Tāj Khān against his wishes. Both these uncles of the King saw that Aḥmadnagar was not a safe place for them, and while Amīnu'l-Mulk fled to Gujarat, Tāj Khān betook himself to his kinsman Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh A surprising thing happened now. While Tāj Khān was still at Golkonḍa a messenger arrived from Murtaẓā himself seeking Ibrāhīm's help against the army of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh which had crossed the frontier and occupied Dhārūr. Such was the accepted position which Ibrāhīm had created for himself in the Deccan that both the antagonistic parties were seeking his help, one against the royal entourage and the other against the invading foreigner. But it so happened that before help could arrive from Tilangana, Dhārūr had been reoccupied by

Ahmadnagar troops and Kishwar Khān, the Pēshwā of Bijapur, had been killed in a skirmish at Gulbarga. Ibrāhīm and Murtaẓā now marched right into Bijapur territory once more. The crafty 'Alī now had recourse to a ruse. He sent his new Mīr Jumlā, Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan, who happened to be the son of Murtaẓā's religious preceptor, to him and conveyed to him that it was the alliance between Bijapur and Aḥmadnagar which had borne so much fruit in the time of His Majesty's father, and it was not well that His Majesty should now side with the ruler of Tilang to destroy Bijapur. At the same time 'Alī was in correspondence with Ibrāhīm himself whose letter was 'intercepted' by Murtaẓā's men and brought before him. On seeing this Murtaẓā was so upset that he ordered some of his commanders to make short work of Ibrāhīm's army which had come all the way in response to his appeal. Ibrāhīm had now to fly to Golkonda, and in the fighting which ensued it is said that Murtaẓa's captains captured one hundred and fifty elephants belonging to the army of Tilang.[93]

Further Decline of Vijayanagar

We have noticed time and again how Ibrāhīm was inclined towards the maintenance of Vijayanagar, and now that the capital had been shifted to Penukonḍā it had lost its sting and seemed to be a valuable buffer between Bijapur and Tilang much in the same way as Bidar was a buffer between Tilang and Aḥmadnagar. It was therefore with a certain amount of trepidation that Ibrāhīm was viewing the increase in the area controlled by Bijapur. The Rāichūr doāb had been annexed by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh after the Battle of Bannihaṭṭī; now, fortified by this great gain which exposed the city of Vijayanagar itself to its guns, he had invaded Adōnī, which was held by Rāmarāj's nephew Koneṭi Konḍamarājū, in 478/1568 and taken it after a siege lasting more than two years.[94] This was followed by the capture of Tōrgul in 981/1573 and of Dhārwāṛ, while Bankāpūr was also annexed after a certain amount of struggle. The siege of Bankāpūr is remarkable for the evidence of the utter helplessness of the Penukonḍā authorities, for when its chief Velupa

Rao appealed to them for help their reply was very disappointing and he had no alternative except to lay down his arms.[95]

Turning to the internal history of the Vijayanagar Empire, so far as it affected the history of Tilang, we find that decay had set in all round. Not only the Nāyaks of the far south assumed virtual independence but the Empire had lost its unitary strength by its division into the three viceroyalties centred at Penukoṇḍā, Seringāpaṭam and Chandragiri, ruled by three sons of Tirumala. Although Sadāśiva was still alive till 1576, Tirumala was formally crowned Rāya in 1570, but he retired from public life the very next year at the advanced age of ninety and was succeeded by his son Sri Ranga I, the Viceroy of Penugoṇḍa.[96]

It was the apparent revival of the Empire as well as the inordinate increase in the power of Bijapur which made Ibrāhīm join hands with Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and the Rāya of Vijayanagar against 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. Ibrāhīm suggested that Murtaẓā and himself should move towards the Krishna where they should meet Tirumala. On reaching the *rendezvous* the three potentates decided that they should advance into Bijapur territory forthwith. But it so happened that before any action could be taken a demand was made by Murtaẓā that the Rāya should pay two lacs of hons to him for help to be given by Aḥmadnagar against the pretentions of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. Although Ibrāhīm had made a promise on behalf of Vijayanagar to Murtaẓā for a much larger sum of money he considered it highly impolitic on Murtaẓā's part to demand a sum of money when no action had yet been taken, especially when 'Alī was a common enemy of all the three. When attempts at conciliation proved futile all he could do was to persuade the ruler of Penukoṇḍā to return home, and to do likewise himself. Naturally this was not to the liking of the Sulṭān of Aḥmadnagar, and while going back he ravaged the part of Tilang through which he marched, especially Kovilkoṇḍā and Ghanpura. When news of these depredations was brought to Ibrāhīm he ordered Ṣalābat Khān, Muqarrab Khān and others with twenty thousand horse, to chase the Aḥmadnagar forces across the border, and sent urgent orders to village officials to do everything to keep

the life and property of the people safe. In the struggle which followed, the Niẓām Shāhī forces suffered defeat and had to retire across the Bidar border.[97]

We have seen that before the Battle of Bannihaṭṭī Raf'at Khān Lārī had subjugated the forts round about Rājahmundri, and had it not been for the formation of the League of the Four Sulṭāns which overthrew the power of Rāmarāj, that city would have been annexed to Tilang even before 1565. The authority of Vijayanagar had long ceased to be effective in this part of the country and the area had been parcelled out among a number of petty rajas and chiefs the most prominent of whom were Sītāpati alias Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhar. Moreover the once powerful kingdom of Orissa, which might have stopped the onrush of the invader, had become impotent by its division into two parts which were independent of each other. It was about 875/1572 that Ibrāhīm sent Malik Nā'ib again towards the north-east with three thousand horse commanded by distinguished generals like 'Ainu'l-Mulk, Ṣalābat Khān and others.[98] The Tilangana army marched straight on Dowlēshwar without encountering any opposition, but was blocked there by Sītāpati who was in possession of the forts of Paṭnāpūr and Rājāpunḍī, and "was in constant communication with the defenders of Rājahmundri". Malik Nā'ib rightly thought that it was Sītāpatī who was the stormy petrel of the district and who wanted to increase his hold to the detriment of ultimate peace. He therefore gave battle to Sītāpatī who was forced to shut himself up within the fort of Paṭnāpūr, and when this fort was taken by escalade he fled into the stronghold of Rājāpunḍī. Malik Nā'ib now left Paṭnāpūr in charge of a commander and hurried towards Rājāpunḍī. This fort was surrounded by extremely thick jungle and it was only at the rate of three or four miles per day that the army of Tilang could penetrate into the jungle. Rājāpunḍī could not hold out long and it was also captured.[99]

The conquest of the forts lying in the vicinity of the great city of Rājahmundri caused the chiefs of the neighbourhood to join hands against the common enemy, and they collected as

many as three thousand horse, thirty thousand foot lancers and a vast amount of musketeers. In the fighting which ensued the initial success lay with the confederates who forced the right wing of the Tilangana lines to fall back. Just then Syed Maḥmūd and Syed Mubārak fell on the centre led by Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhar forcing them to leave the open field of battle and fly to the main citadel. Rājahmundri was now invested. The fort was well defended and it was nearly four months before the defences gave way through bombardment of the battlements which caused a breach of forty yards in the wall. The beleaguered garrison was hard pressed and saw the end of all resistance. They therefore sent envoys to Malik Nā'ib and Mulla Khiyālī, and sued for peace. It is remarkable that it was a Brahman, Yālū Panḍit who was sent as the Tilangana envoy to hold parleys with the garrison inside the fort. Shitāb Khān begged him that he should be allowed safe conduct for himself as well as for his family, which was granted. He now sent the keys of the fort to Malik Nā'ib and himself proceeded to Penukonḍā, the capital of Vijayanagar.

Subjugation of Southern Orissa

Shitāb Khān had left with a proper passport for safe conduct; but Vidyādhar had fled to Qāsimkoṭā which was within easy reach of Rājahmundri, and Ibrāhīm now ordered Malik Nā'ib that he should be pursued. The Malik could easily have marched along the Bay littoral, but he wisely took the risk of marching inland, a step which was strategically sounder as it precluded any possibility of being surrounded by the enemy or perhaps being cut off from the base. His earliest encounter was with a chief named Venkaṭarāj who had come to help the local chiefs with twenty thousand troops, but who had under his command a rabble "as numerous as ants and locusts", and it was with a certain amount of difficulty that Venkaṭa had been put to flight. Malik Nā'ib now followed the strategy in which he had been so eminently successful before Rājahmundri, and instead of quietly encircling Qāsimkoṭā he first of all invested the forts like Gopālapallī and Viraghaṭṭam, and after

subduing them proceeded to invest Qāsimkoṭā. On reaching the place he met the emissaries of two chiefs, Sarvarāja and Bahubalendra who thought further struggle futile and offered their submission. It was agreed that Sarvarāja should proceed to Golkonda and remain there as a member of the royal court while Bahubalendra, who was the older of the two, should remain in full possession of his territory as a feudatory of the Sulṭān. After taking possession of Qāsimkoṭā, the army marched right into Orissa to a place called Chandrabār where two brothers named Narasing and Sūrsing had entrenched themselves between two hills. Malik Nā'ib subjected their battlements to intense bombardment which resulted in the subjugation of the stronghold and the imprisonment of the two brothers.[100] His progress must have been rather slow, as we are told that the campaign took fully two years to close, and it was only in 1574 that Chandrabār was conquered.

But this was not all; for there was still great chief Vasnadeo to be reckoned with. His territory must have been situated right on the Bengal border, and he was well known for his vast riches as well as for the elephants at his command. One of his most prominent forts was Poṭnūr, but it was occupied without much difficulty and this was followed by the fall of the fort of Dewānapallī where the chief was defeated after a pitched battle. Vasnadeo now sent his own son as an envoy to Malik Nā'ib with costly presents, and conveyed to him that he was willing to send to the Sulṭān an annual tribute of thirty thousand hons and forty elephants and the promise that he would always remain loyal to the Sulṭān provided his state was restored to him. As the Malik had plenipotentiary powers on behalf of the Sulṭān he agreed to these terms and left for Golkonda after appointing a royal commissioner to supervise the arrangements. This was the furthest limit to the hegemony of Tilang-Andhra in the north-east.[101]

Elimination of the Kingdom of Berar

While the territory under the rule of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was being enlarged in the north-east, Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh was

extending his hold beyond his northern border. He was so much elated by his success against Ibrāhīm that he only awaited some excuse to annex the kingdom of Berar. There the sole monarch now was the minister Tufāl Khān who had imprisoned the rightful sovereign Burhān 'Imād Shāh, incidentally Murtaẓa's cousin, and seized the reins of government himself. It was in 980/1572 that Murtaẓā sent Ḥaidar Khān with an ultimatum to Tufāl Khān to release Burhān and hand over authority to him. No doubt it was against inter-statal conduct for Murtaẓā to interfere in the internal affairs of a neighbouring state, but the past conduct of Tufāl Khān in saving Berar by means of costly presents to the invader had made the state the virtual protectorate of Aḥmadnagar. Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, who had proved time and again how much he was jealous of the balance of power in the Deccan, and to what extent he was against the policy of the aggrandisement of one Sulṭānate at the expense of another, now wished to join hands with 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh to stop Murtaẓā from further aggression. He sent a special emissary to Tufāl Khān promising him help, to which Tufāl reciprocated by sending his own son Shamshīru'l-Mulk to Gōlkonḍa. Ibrāhīm met him at some distance from the capital at a place between Kaulās and Bidar. In the same way 'Alī Barid also sent his envoy to Ibrāhīm and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh requesting an alliance as he felt he was not equal to the task of repelling an attack from Aḥmadnagar singlehanded. But the dream of a tripartite alliance between Bidar, Bījāpūr and Tilang-Andhra was never realised. For Murtaẓā proved to be more alert than 'Alī Barīd. He sent his capable minister Changīz Khān to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, who was then camping at Naldrug, to keep him from joining the coalition. This was followed by a meeting between Murtaẓā and 'Alī at Kālā Chabūtra and a treaty between the two powers. They agreed that the armies of Aḥmadnagar and Bijapur should conquer Berar in unison, and while Murtaẓā should lead his troops into Berar and Tilang, 'Alī should be at liberty to carve as much of Vijayanagar territory as would yield a revenue equal to the revenue of the districts annexed by Aḥmadnagar.[103]

This was a great set-back to Ibrāhīm's policy and the scheme he had nurtured fell to the ground. He now sent an emissary to Bidar advising 'Alī Barīd to strengthen the defences of the citadel. But against all calculations the enemy forces began by attacking Tilangānā first, and the army which was commanded by Murtaẓā and 'Alī in person reached as far as Kamthāna tank without much opposition. In spite of this sudden onslaught Ibrāhīm was so sure of his ultimate success that he ordered the battlements of the Golkonḍa fort to be spread over with the richest brocade, and shamianas set up made of "European velvet and Khotan silks" and that the dance and song parties should be held. At the same time he dispatched Ṣalābat Khān and Ḥabash Khān with four thousand horse and ten thousand foot soldiers to oppose the enemy. The Tilang army was successful in pushing back the enemy, and as the two kings who were leading their forces into Tilangānā feared that this might be followed by an advance of the army from Golkonḍa into their territories they retreated to their respective capitals. A picked army of thirty thousand was, however, left behind under the Bijapurī generals Kāmil Khān and Yār-Qulī Bēg and the Aḥmadnagar generals Yādgār and Ḥaidar Sulṭān to guard the frontiers of the two kingdoms.[108]

These troops began to create havoc round the Tilang stronghold of Kaulās. Ibrāhīm appointed Shāh Muḥammad Injū, his own cousin Ḥusain Bēg and Amīr Shāh Muḥammad with eight thousand horse to drive out the enemy. They immediately marched to a point between Kaulās and Deglūr which was occupied by the Niẓām Shāhī army. It was defeated and Deglūr occupied. The Tilang army now marched towards another Niẓām Shāhī stronghold of Qandhār which was defended by Balwant Rao, Vishwa Rao and Gōpī Rao on behalf of Murtaẓā with a garrison of six thousand which was augmented by another eight thousand from Bijapur and Aḥmadnagar. Fighting for the citadel went on for three days, and it was only on the third day that the enemy was subdued. This was, however, not the end, as the Tilang army had to face guerilla

warfare which went on for a whole month, at the end of which the Quṭb Shāhī forces seem to have returned home.

While Ibrāhīm was concentrating on the defence of his kingdom Murtaẓā was leading a direct attack on Berar. As the Aḥmadnagar army penetrated into Berar the inhabitants of some of the towns took to flight for fear of their lives; but the sagacious Changīz produced a royal *farman* that the lives, honour and property of the Berārīs would be safe in any case, and this timely announcement eased the whole situation. While the invaders were marching into Berar, the Berārī army under Tufāl's son Shamshīru'l-Mulk was wheeling round to the Niẓām Shāhī fort, Qandhār, but he proved unequal to the task and Tufāl had to retreat to Mahūr which was also captured by the Niẓām Shāhīs.[104]

In the meantime news arrived that Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh had defeated the Niẓām Shāhī forces which were originally sent to relieve Qandhār. Murtaẓā thereupon ordered Baḥrī Khān, to hurry back and dislodge Ibrāhīm. The Quṭb Shāhī army was then encamped at the village of Tamarni, but when they heard that Baḥrī Khān was approaching the place it retreated to Kaulās. It was followed by the Niẓām Shāhīs and the two came to grips at Kaulās on 9-1-981/11-5-1573. In the battle that ensued the Quṭb Shāhī army was defeated and the invaders burnt out Kaulās and then retreated.[105] Ibrāhīm had thus suffered a diplomatic defeat as well as a military setback, and had it not been for the inclemency of the weather even the capital would have been endangered. In Berar also Tufāl Khān had a bad time. He had to give up his capital Ellichpur after a hard fight with the invaders, and the vacuum was naturally filled by Murtaẓa who distributed robes of honour as well as valuable presents to Berari jagirdars and other highly placed persons.

But Tufāl was not to take his defeat lying down, and in his adversity he appealed to the Emperor Akbar for help against Aḥmadnagar. But time had not arrived for the Mughals to interfere effectively in the affairs of the Deccan, and before any reply was received from the Imperial Camp the final act

in the drama of Berar had already begun. Pressed on all sides by Murtaẓā's army, Tufāl had to shut himself up at Narnālā while his son Shamshīru'l-Mulk had to take refuge in the stronghold of Gāwil. Murtaẓā sent Asad Khān to Narnālā, and when the siege was protracted beyond expectation he sent more troops which arrived on the scene on 4-1-982/26-4-1574. It is related that the defence of Narnālā was so stiff that Changīz had recourse to underhand methods and bribe the commanders, with the result that a very large part of the garrison actually changed sides and went over to the invading army. At lāst the garrisons of both the forts laid down their arms, and Tufāl, his son and his family as well as Burhān 'Imād Shāh, for whom the war had been waged, fell into Murtaẓā's hands and were imprisoned. The whole country was now annexed to Niẓām Shāhī dominions.[106]

The conquest of Berar was a great blow to Ibrāhīm's policy and prestige. Apart from this it dawned upon him what a great power the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar had become, for when "a fort-ridden kingdom like Berar with twenty thousand well-trained horsemen could be subdued outright without much effort, and if, according to programme even Bidar was to be annexed" it would be a mere question of days before Murtaẓā marched into Quṭb Shāhī territory. Ibrāhīm therefore sent a secret message to Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh Fārūqī of Khāndēsh impressing upon him the necessity to preserve Berar intact otherwise the situation would become highly explosive. He also sent word to him that if he were to invade Berar and oust the Niẓām Shāhīs from there he would not come in the way of the annexation of Berar to the kingdom of Khāndēsh. But Changīz again proved to be a more astute diplomat, and the message which was being sent to Burhānpūr was intercepted on the way and made known to Murtaẓā. Ibrāhīm was now forced to deal with Murtaẓā direct and sent his envoy, Mīr Zainal to enter into pourparlers with him. In the meantime Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh had already invaded Berar. Now also Murtaẓā was victorious and he not only managed to oust the ruler of Khāndēsh from Berar but actually chased him right up to his own capital

and made him agree to the payment of a large indemnity.[107] Ibrāhīm had to bow to the inevitable and he now sent Shāh Mīr Ṭabāṭābā with costly presents to Murtaẓā and the message that if the latter led a campaign against 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, who was making considerable progress in Karnatak, he would pay him a sum of five thousand hons per day while the campaign lasted, and that the Rāya himself was willing to pay him seven lacs of hons for defraying the cost of his march into 'Ādil Shāhī territory.[108]

Ibrāhīm's Last Days

So far as diplomatic and military affairs are concerned these were taken up to a large extent with the relations of Tilang with the effete government of Penukoṇḍa, and with a certain amount of interstatal conflict. Sri Ranga had succeeded Tirumala in 1572, but it was an uncomfortable patrimony which he had inherited. As has been noted above, the Vijayanagar Empire had been divided into three great Viceroyalties centered at Penukoṇḍa, Chandragiri and Seringāpaṭam, and although the Viceroys of the last two centres accepted Srī Ranga as their overlord he had really no power to exercise any authority over any part of the Empire except over his own immediate charge. The palaigars of the south were also restive, and the provinces of the Empire adjacent to Tilang-Andhra in the north-east and to Bijapur in the north-west were in the process of disintegration. The north-eastern portion, with which we are directly concerned, was split up into a number of chieftainships each of which had become virtually independent of the authority which the central government exercised over them.[109]

So when 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh made a sweep over the western districts of the Empire according to the arrangement agreed to with Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh he was able to take one fort after another including the great forts of Tōrgul and Adōni in 981/1573 and to invade the capital Penukoṇḍa itself, five years later. He had the active help of one of the powerful chiefs, Handḗ Timma Nāyak. The government of Penukoṇḍa was so hard pressed that it actually offered a large bribe to the Nāyak and

won him over to its side. In the meantime Srī Ranga explored the soft corner Ibrāhīm had in his heart for the southern Empire, and when he was approached by the ruler he not only gave him a moral backing but actually sent him material help. He was aware that this move on his part would enrage his brother Sulṭāns specially 'Alī, but Ibrāhīm asserted that the invasion of the Vijayanagar territory by 'Alī was against the accepted usage and tradition that no action should be taken by any Sulṭān against Vijayanagar without first informing the others. This was, of course an enunciation of a doctrine which would hardly hold water, and Ibrāhīm helped Srī Ranga not because 'Alī was guilty of any *faux pas* against an ancient usage but because he did not want any inordinate expansion in the power of an individual Deccan State. He sent Shāh Muḥammad Injū with an army across the Bijapur border in order to weaken 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's rearguard and at the same time he sent Faẓl Khān son of Amīn Khān to Penukoṇḍa to ask the Rāya to meet him on the Quṭb Shāhī border. The news of the meeting of the two monarchs seems to have unnerved 'Alī who had been besieging Penukoṇḍa for three long months. He was defeated by Chenappa Nāyaka and forced to raise the siege on 21-12-1576.[110]

The hollowness of Ibrāhīm's appeal to the so-called ancient tradition of a unison in the matter of dealing with Vijayanagar was soon evidenced by his own action. The first expedition led by him was to the town of Ahobalam in S.S. 1500/1578-79 perhaps at the instance of Handḗ Malakappa Nayuḍu who had no love lost for Srī Ranga, and who accompanied the Sulṭān in the campaign. It was not with much difficulty that the town was occupied and the religious teacher Satgopalaswami complained to Srī Ranga later that the shrine of Ahobalēśwara was also despoiled. The district was handed over by the Sulṭān to Malakappa Nayuḍu, but he could not keep it long. At the instance of Satgopalaswami Srī Ranga sent Koṇḍaraju Venkaṭarāju with an army to retake Ahobalam, which he did. Two years later, in 1502 S.S./1580-81 Ibrāhīm proceeded to Udayagiri, the capital of the Vijayanagar province of that name, drove out

Venkaṭapatī, who was Sri Ranga's younger brother and was destined to be his successor, and occupied the citadel.[111]

These two moves were, however, strategically wrong, as the large district with Koṇḍavīḍu as capital was left behind. This district was studded with a number of forts which served as a guard for Koṇḍavīḍu. Ibrāhīm had a personal interest in the venture as it was his father, Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk, who had annexed it to his dominions. Ibrāhīm had already the experience of reducing the smaller forts first in the case of the conquest of Rājahmundri, and he now repeated it. He commissioned the Tilangānā general Amīr 'Imādu'd-din Shīrāzī, entitled Ḥaidaru'l-Mulk, and Rāya Rao to cross the Krishna and invade the petty states which only nominally acknowledged the sway of Penukoṇḍa Ḥaidaru'l-Mulk started from Golkonda on 29-3-1579, reduced Vinukoṇḍa, Kacharlakoṭa and Kumbum with little difficulty. It was only when the great fort of Koṇḍavīdu had been completely encircled by the occupation of outlying forts that he laid siege to it. Koṇḍaviḍu was under the command of Rāmarāj's nephew Timmarāj, and he had an army of thirty thousand. It was strongly defended and it seemed very difficult to take it by purely military means. So a ruse was employed and a royal *farmān* produced ordering the raising of the siege. On receiving the news the garrison made a sortie resulting in a terrible hand to hand fight; but all that the royal army could do was to subdue some adjacent forts including the fort of Gurram. It was now plain to Ibrāhīm that the conquest of Koṇḍavīḍu was a difficult matter, and he now replaced Ḥaidaru'l-Mulk by Syed Shāh Taqī entitled Mīr Shāh Mīr and ordered him to proceed to the front with troops picked from the royal bodyguard and the silaḥdārs. When Shāh Mīr arrived before Koṇḍavīḍu he saw that the defenders were ready to oppose him, and the fighting which ensued went on for a number of days. The Quṭb Shāhī commander had now to order intense bombardment of the ramparts. This also went on for a number of days before the wall was at last breached and royal army was able to make its entry on the month of Ṣafar 987/April, 1579. The fall of Koṇḍavīḍu is significant as it once

more brought practically the whole of the Telugu speaking country under one aegis.[112]

The few months still left for Ibrāhīm were taken up by the renewal of the alliance with Aḥmadnagar and the recrudescence of the struggle with Bijapur. This was motivated to a large extent by the murder of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh on 23-1-987/21-4-1579, i.e., just after the surrender of Koṇḍavīḍu to Quṭb Shāhī arms. As 'Alī had no issue he had nominated his nephew Ibrāhīm, then a boy of nine, to succeed him. The removal of the strong hand of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was a calamity to the Bijapur government, for it was followed by a recurring series of most unseemly feuds among the nobles for the highest office in the State, and they took advantage of the extreme youth of the new ruler and the inexperience of the Dowager Queen, Chānd Bībī Sulṭān. It was Kāmil Khān Dakhnī who seized the reins of government but he could keep them in his hands for barely four months and twelve days. He was followed by Kishwar Khān who managed to put an end to that able minister Muṣṭafā Khān Ardistānī during his short term of office, and he was followed by a series of ministers who held office one after another, and this went on for a number of years till the accession of Ikhlaṣ Khān to power.[113]

On 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's death Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh launched an attack on Bidar and appointed a number of Hindu and Muslim commanders to undertake the campaign. The commotion at Bijapur was a natural incentive on the part of Aḥmadnagar to attack its territory. Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh simply acted on the notorious tradition of the Deccani Sulṭāns, and appointed his *sar-naubat,* Malik Bihzād, entitled Bihzādu'l-Mulk, to proceed to Sholapur and invest that bone of contention between Bijapur and Aḥmadnagar which had been recently allotted to 'Alī as a dowry of Princess Chānd Bībī. Bijapur replied by sending a strong army against the intruders, and this managed to penetrate into Aḥmadnagar territory and join hands with the army of Bidar which consisted of thirty thousand well-trained soldiers. It was probably now that Murtaẓā sent an envoy

to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh appealing to him to renew the old alliance. Evidently Bihzād could not reach Sholapur but was defeated at Dārāsun which is situated between Naldrug and Sholapur. Thus Murtaẓā's calculations were all upset and he tried to save the situation by replacing Bihzād with his adversary, Amīru'l-Umarā Syed Murtaẓā of Berar.

In the meantime help arrived from Gōlkonḍa in the shape of a large army under Mīr Shāh Mīr of Konḍavīḍu fame. The allies now marched to the stronghold of Naldrug which was well defended by the 'Ādil Shāhī troops. There was a engagement in the open country lasting a whole day, at the end of which the 'Ādil Shāhī forces had to shut themselves up within the fort. The fort was invested, but it was of not much avail; so the allied commanders decided to move on immediately to Bijapur itself and invest it. The allied calculations were correct to the extent that there was no opposition offered till they had reached Shāhpūr, which is a suburb of Bijapur. But on reaching there they found to their great concern that the 'Ādil Shāhī troops had stolen a march on them and practically the whole of the Naldrug garrison was already on the defensive in Bijapur itself! The result was a battle outside the ramparts, in which, it is specially related, the Quṭb Shāhī troops fought with rare vigour, and the 'Ādil Shāhī army was forced to betake themselves within the citadel much in the same way as they had done at Naldrug.[114]

Probably elated at the series of victories and with the desire of putting an end to Bijapur once for all, Ibrāhīm sent another army under Mīr Zainal to open a second front. The excuse was the continued occupation of the district of Kaknī and Navalkī which were a part of Tilang in the time of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk but which had been occupied by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh since,[115] and now the Sulṭān ordered that Zainal should proceed westward along with 'Ālam Khān, Kishwar Khān and Ḥaidar Khān It was without much opposition that the second Quṭb Shāhī army was able to occupy the coveted district, and Zainal was so confident of his success that he appointed civil thānēdars in all the towns recovered by him. He then besieged Kilgūr which

was also occupied. He was now intercepted by the Bijapuri officer Ashraf and his three thousand Maratha cavalry, but he was driven back with great loss. This was a signal for the subjugation of a number of Bijapuri forts including Sāgar and Yādgīr. A pitched battle was now fought at the village of Ulmila as the result of which the 'Ādil Shāhī army left the field and hurriedly retreated to the capital.

The great danger which loomed large on the Bijapur horizon was the possibility of Mīr Zainal reaching the allied army outside the ramparts of Bijapur. It was probably felt that when Shāh Mīr's army and Mīr Zainal's army could individually inflict such a series of defeats on the armies of Bijapur, how much more powerful would the enemy become if both were to join hands. The Bijapuri generals now detached a strong army from their main forces and this made a night attack on the enemy, but this was also repulsed with great loss. There was nothing to keep back the two armies of the allies from joining hands now, and a union of the two was effected just outside the ramparts of the citadel of Bijapur.

As has been related above, one of the causes of the weakness of the Bijapuri position was the civil strife which was going on in the capital ever since the death of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. Just then it was the Abyssinian party which was in the ascendant, and it was known that they would brook no opposition. The Abyssinians went so far as to imprison the Dowager Queen Chānd Bībī at Satara. This alienated two high dignitaries of Bijapur, Kishwar Khān and 'Ainu'l-Mulk who crossed the line and joined the invaders.[116] This defection must have greatly heartened the invading armies. The party in power in the beleaguered city now had recourse to underhand dealings. They sent an envoy to the Aḥmadnagar commander, Syed Murtaẓā with a message that they were willing to make his friend Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan son of Shāh Ṭāhir the *pēshwa* of the Kingdom provided Syed Murtaẓā was to attack the Quṭb Shāhī forces. But the matter could not be kept secret, and Syed Murtaẓā had to bow low before Mīr Shāh Mīr and offer his apologies for what he had promised the enemy.[117]

It was now the month of Muḥarram, 988/February, 1580, and the Bijapuris, who had been hoodwinked, had recourse to guerilla warfare by ten thousand light Maratha cavalry which successfully cut off the supplies of the allies and almost put them to the wall by continuous engagements on open ground. The Golkonḍa and Aḥmadnagar armies had no alternative left except to raise the siege of Bijapur and spread out in the Bijapur country ravaging everything that came in their way. After playing havoc on Miraj, Rāibagẖ, Satārā, Gulbarga and a number of other places they advanced to besiege Naldrug once again. As there was a likelihood of the collapse of the military structure of Bijapur the allied commanders decided on petitioning Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh to come to Naldrug himself and direct the attack. But this was not to be, for news arrived from Gōlkonḍa that Ibrāhīm had expired on 21-4-988/5-6-1580.[118]

The circumstances of Ibrāhīm's sudden death, as reported to us, are rather strange. It seems that simultaneously with the appointment of Mīr Shāh Mīr as the supreme commander of the first Quṭb Shāhī army Ibrāhīm had delegated practically all civil authority to Murahari Rao, a Brahman, "who was unsurpassed in an abundance of commonsense and was also handsome of face", and ordered that 'Azīzu'l-Mulk, Sharīfu'l-Mulk, Barlās Khān and Afẓal Khān should act under him. He also ordered that the Rao should be attended by one-thousand foot-soldiers and followers, and that "half a seer of musk, amber and frankincense and two maunds of sandalwood should be provided him every day". He was "in every respect the second person in the Kingdom, not excepting the princes of the blood royal". With such a vast increase in his power the Rao became high-handed and tyrannical in his behaviour, and even took upon himself to sack the famous temple of Adoni and remove the idol which was made of gold and silver and studded with rubies. It is said that when he brought the idol before Ibrāhīm the Sulṭān was seized by a violent type of typhoid and never recovered.[119]

Section 4. *Ibrahim the Ruler: A Retrospect*

Ibrāhīm was born on 1-10-936/29-5-1530 and ascended the

throne on 12-7-957/27-7-1550; he had reigned just under thirty-one lunar years when he died. He was essentially a man of peace, a quality which was rare among the potentates of the Deccan of his epoch, and it is perhaps only on two occasions when he may be said to have looked beyond the natural border of the Telugu speaking area, namely on the occasion of the advance of Malik Nā'ib into Orissa and the war on Bijapur towards the end of his life. The attack on Orissa was stimulated mainly because the conditions there were extremely disturbed causing the division of the state into a number of warring factions, while chiefs like Shitāb Khān and Vidyādhar had become a danger to the peace and security of the kingdom. It may be noted that when Orissa was occupied by Malik Nā'ib it was not annexed to Tilang-Andhra but was restored to Vasnadeo and the stormy petrel of the eastern coast, Shitāb Khān was given a passport with the liberty to cross into Vijayanagar territory. In the case of the march on Bijapur as an ally of Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh there is no evidence to show that Ibrāhīm wanted to annex any part of Bijapur kingdom except Kakni and Nawalkī which he considered his patrimony. In any case these two campaigns were undertaken during the last months on his life and may be regarded as exceptions to his general policy of peace.

We may contrast Ibrāhīm's policy with that of his father, Sulṭān-Qulī, for while the long reign of the latter was taken up with the attempted extension of the area of the State to cover the totality of the Telugu speaking parts of the land, Ibrāhīm was for the consolidation of these gains into a loyal and prosperous State. He had such an inclination for peace that he would carry on negotiations with the enemy even when the actual fighting was going on. He is variously dubbed a turncoat, a traitor to his friends and even a coward, but a close analysis of his foreign policy would lead us to the conclusion that it was his craving for peace that made him act even at the risk of his international reputation.

But when it came to actual fighting he was a strict disciplinarian and did not swerve an inch from what he regarded as his

duty as a soldier. We see him join hands with his brother Sulṭāns in order to eliminate the power of Vijayanagar as a disturbing element in the Deccan; and yet not one act of wanton cruelty in the campaign ending in the Battle of Banihaṭṭī can be attributed to him with any sense of justice. This campaign was one of the few in which he fought in person, for in other cases when it was necessary to support his allies and friends it was his generals who fought his battles.

On the other hand he was extremely strict in the internal pacification of the State. It is related that when he came to the throne the kingdom was full of highway robbers and thiefs, and there was no security of life and property. This state of affairs was probably the consequence of the unsettled conditions which followed Jamshīd's death. Ibrāhīm was hard on marauders and ordered the severest punishments for the most trivial offences. However barbarous the amputation of limbs and the cutting off of ears and noses of offenders might seem, the fact remains that his reign saw complete peace and security in the kingdom, for "an old woman might pass with a tray of gold on her head from Golconda to Bengal, to Beejapoor and to Ahmudnugger without fear of molestation."[120] He adopted two methods to achieve this object. Firstly he instituted an organisation of informers, and it is said, with a certain amount of exaggeration, that even the most private and intimate conversation which was carried on between two persons was reported to him provided that it concerned the safety of the State. He also established schools not only at the headquarters of each administrative unit but in almost all villages, and made instruction compulsory at least for the Muslim children of the locality. He was a student all his life and liked to have learned men by his elbow even when he left the capital on a military campaign or for pleasure.[121] While on the one hand he patronised the Telugu language such as few other Sulṭāns have done, he attracted learned men from beyond the sea, and the capital, Gōlkoṇḍa, became so crowded that an outlet had to be provided for the growing population of the city by a suburb on the other side of the Mūsī river and constructing a wide bridge over it.

So far as literature and art are concerned it may be said that it was Ibrāhīm who laid the foundation of that great cultural edifice which attained such towering heights during the reign of his successor, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

Section 5. *Culture and Administrative Set-up*

Title and Coinage:—

Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was the first ruler of medieval Tilang who may be definitely said to have assumed a royal title, and at least one of our authorities, the metrical *Tawārīkh-i Quṭb Shāhī*, mentions him with this title right from the time of the death of his father. Apart from this he is the first monarch of medieval Tilang who is called a king on his tombstone, and he was so recognised by all Hindus and Muslims who came in contact with him.[122] He is also the first scion of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty whose coins are extant. While we have gold, silver and copper coins of the Bahmanī kings in many collections, and much historical material can be gleaned from them,[123] we do not possess a single definite coin of any metal of the time of Sulṭān-Qulī, Jamshīd or Subḥān, and the first ruler of the dynasty whose coins may be said to be extant—albeit very few of them—is Ibrahim.[124] Of course, the absence of such coins today does not necessarily mean that they were not struck, but we can naturally argue only from such data as we actually possess, and the probability that neither the founder of the dynasty nor his two successors ever proclaimed their kingship leads us to the conclusion that they did not strike any coins in their names.

This brings us to the interesting question of the coins current in Gōlkonḍa before and even during the region of Ibrāhīm. Dr. P.M. Joshi, in his paper on *Coins current in the Kingdom of Golkonda*, quotes Ferishta that during the sixteenth century the kings of Gōlkonḍa as well as of the other Bahmanī Succession States did not strike gold and silver coins and that in the beginning of that century *hons* and *pratāps* were current in these states.[125] Although Ferishta is not a very reliable authority

in numismatic matters in general,[126] at least in this particular instance he seems to be correct. Whatever Gōlkonda coins of the sixteenth century we possess (and they are but too few) are all copper coins, and there is little doubt that the coins current in Tilang-Andhra in Ibrāhīm's reign were mostly those of the Vijayanagar stamp. The matter becomes doubly complicated when we know that the Vijayanagar coins were by no means uniform. Even the names of similar coins were not identical, for we find that the gold coins named Gadyana, Varaha, Pon, Pagoda or Hon were more or less of the same value, while coins of lower value like Pratāps and Mada or Madai were also made of gold. 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, the famous envoy of the Sulṭān of Hirāt to the Vijayanagar court, who was there in 1543, says that two Pratāps equalled one Vahara while there were ten Fānams in each Pratāp.[127] It seems that Vijayanagar gold coins were current not merely in the southern kingdoms but actually found their way to other parts of India as well, so that they must have been minted in abundance for that purpose. Moreover, as they were coins of pure gold, there was no danger of inflation and their intrinsic value must have been determined by the current market price of their metallic content. It is interesting to read that the term *dīnār* was current in the south along with ṭankamma, ṭanka and other coins.[128]

Literature

1. *Telugu*

We have little data regarding the interstate trade and commerce between Vijayanagar and Tilangānā at this early period, but it must have been considerable, otherwise it would not have been possible to import the "hard currency" of Vijayanagar into the Sulṭānates.[129] We are, however, fully aware of the intimate social relations between the two states, and this must have entailed considerable flow of commodities and currency between them.

Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh had been an honoured guest at Vijayanagar from 1543 to 1550, and while there he had imbibed a passion for the Telugu language. He must have been speaking

that language fluently and we are told that he actually married an Andhra woman of the name of Bhāgīratī.[130] On his return to Gōlkonḍa his court was thronged by Telugu poets like Addanki Gangādhara Kavī, Kundukūru Rudra Kavī, Ponnaganṭi Teleganārya Kavī, and many others. He appointed Gangādhara Kavī as the Telugu poet-laureate of his court. Gangādhara was the author of a well-known poem, the *Tāpatisamavaranamu Upākhyānamu,* a poem of great elegance in eight cantos, and dedicated it to the Sulṭān (who is known in Telugu literature by the name of Malkibhāram) in 1560. The Kavī says that the Sulṭān's court was thronged with men learned in the Vēdas, Śāstras, Purānas, Viyākaraṇa and cognate sciences; with poets who could compose in as many as eight languages; with ambassadors from the courts of Narapati (Vijayanagar) and Gajapati (Orissa); and with Ṇāyaka and Mannē chieftains who were renowned for their valour. He gives a description of the order of the Sulṭān's court and says that the Sulṭān's *sinhāsan* or throne was placed in the middle of the throne room and was flanked on one side by foreign representatives and ambassadors and on the other by protected and feudatory rajas, commanders of troops and other high officials.[131]

It was not merely the court poets who quenched the thirst of Ibrāhīm for Telugu poetry and literature, but when he invited foreign chieftains to Gōlkonḍa he requested them to bring their court poets with them. Luckily we have a record of those who were present at one of these gatherings, and they were Pommasāni Chinna Timma Nayaḍu, Anantapurapu Hanḍeppa, Maṭla Anantarāju, Bangāru Rēchama Nayuḍu and Pera Malla Reḍḍī, some of whom, like Maṭla Ananta (who was a vassal of Vijayanagar and was related to its ruling family), were themselves a poet of some distinction. It is related that when the poets were gathered together they were asked to begin by reciting eulogistic pieces in praise of their patrons. All did as they were told, but one of those present, the poet of the court of Pera Malla Reḍḍī, blurted out that the poet had praised their patrons simply because they had eaten their salt, but there

was one and only one who deserved real and unstinted praise and that was Malkibhāram.[132]

Ibrāhīm showered monetary gifts and pensions on Telugu poets and even gave some of them Jāgīrs in perpetuity. Such a one was Kandukuru Rudra Kavī who was granted a village named Chintalapallam near his home village, Koṇḍukuru in the Nellore district; it is said that the relatives of the poet are still living in this village and their family archives bear testimony to the patronage which the Sulṭān of Gōlkoṇḍa accorded to Telugu.[133] An anonymous Telugu poet goes out of his way to compare "Malkibhrāma" by Hinduising his name further to Abhirāma and says that Abhirāma compared favourably with such great Hindu heroes as Raghurāma, Purushurāma and Balarāma.[134] And when Ibrāhīm dies another Telugu poet blames the god Brahma and cries out: "O Brahma, if thou hadst considered necessary to call back a potentate to thy bosom thou shouldst have killed one of the many useless and miserly kings; instead of this thou hast taken away Malkibhrāma! Now tell me, who would look after the poor and the helpless? And canst thou now create a one like him ever after?"[135]

A typical Aristocrat :

The example set by the Sulṭān was naturally followed by many nobles of the Kingdom, one of whom was Amīn Khān of Paṭancheru and in the absence of any testimony to the contrary, he may well be regarded as a typical high official of the court of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. There is a remarkable poem by Ponniganṭī Telanganārya called the *Yāyaticharitram,* which, while extending to 164 printed pages, is in what is called *atsa Telugu,* i.e., without a single *tatsam* Sanskrit word included in it. The poem is dedicated to Amīn Khān,[136] and not only gives his geneology and the names and life histories of his descendants but actually describes his daily routine and activities. We learn from this Telugu work that Amīn was a member of the Advisory Council of the Sulṭān. It seems that he sent his Secretary Mariganṭī Appanna to Ponniganṭī Telaganārya to compose a poem in pure Telugu, and the poet did as he was asked

to do. The poem is valuable to a student of the social history of the period, for it gives us an insight into the family life of a high officer of the state as well as into the relationship which existed between him and the people in general. It says that Amīn Khān founded and populated a town which he named Amīnpura and constructed a large tank there. He was extremely kind to the people among whom he lived and arranged scores of marriages between Brahman boys and girls, defraying all expenses connected with the ceremonies from his own pocket. He also built many choultries, wells and gardens for the public at large.

We learn further about Amīn Khān and his family from two other sources, namely the beautifully calligraphed inscription on his tomb at Paṭancherū and two very interesting *farmāns* in the Hyderabad Central Record Office.[137] The inscription, which is in the hands of Amīn Khān himself was first mentioned by Moulvi Bashīr'ud-dīn Aḥmad in his *Wāqi'āt-i Mamlukat-i Bijapur,* but evidently the learned author had no further knowledge of the position which Amīn Khān occupied at Gōlkonḍa. The whole inscription has now been photographed, reproduced, translated and published in the *E.I.M.* for 1935-36 by Dr. Yazdani. It is dated 984/1576, and the domed building bearing the inscription measures 44 feet square, while the walls rise to a height of 37 feet. It describes the geneology of Amīn Khān to six generations and even further up gives the names of another four of six ascendents. It should be noted that the family tree as given in the *Yāyaticharitram,* corresponds with the geneology as given in the inscription so far as the latter goes, and is in point of fact more detailed, for it also mentions Amīn's third son, 'Abdu'l-Karīm, and is corroborated in the statement by the documents in the Record Office. The respect shown to the saint, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī in the inscription as well as his recognition of Shāh Muḥammad Qādirī Multānī as his preceptor, shows that he was a Sunnī of the orthodox type, and this incidentally testifies to the broad-based principles of Ibrāhīm's government.[138] Amīn Khān had three wives; the first and perhaps the chief wife was called Baṛī Bībī while

the second and third are mentioned in Telugu as Sekkar Bībī and Semma Bībī. The poet is all praises for Baṛī Bībī and says that she had a soft corner in her heart for the poor and the indigent of Paṭancherū, and it was her habit to distribute milk free to the children of the town. Amīn Khān's son Khaṭṭaṭ Khān (in Telugu Gatat Khan) is said to have been sent as an envoy to Akbar's court, and it is related that he brought a considerable amount of money as *Kappamu* or *Pēshkash* from 'Ādil Shāh and Baṛīd Shāh and at the same time made a number of Karnatak rulers pay tribute to Ibrāhīm. Another son, Faẓlu'l-lāh Khān was adept at languages, and knew Arabic, Persian, Kannada, Turkish, Qannauji[139] and Telugu. He was made the Secretary of the Sulṭān, and was the person who brought about an understanding between Ibrāhīm and Srī Ranga of Vijayanagar.[140] The two documents in the Hyderabad Record Office bring the history of the family to the reigns of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh (1580-1612) and 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh (1626-1672). We find that 'Abdu'l-Qādir's son 'Abdu'l-Karīm also rose in the high esteem of the Sulṭān after his father's death and was not merely granted his father's title of Amīn Khān but was also appointed to high office like him. In the *farmān* dated 2.4.1003/27.12.1592 "the kārkuns and dēsaīs of pargana Patanjur" are ordered to desist from encroachment on the *in'ām* or rent-free lands of a certain 'Abdu'l-Karīm and the *farmān* has the name of (the elder) Amīn Khān as the issuing authority. The other *farmān* was issued under the seal of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh on 29.4.1038/15.12.1628, when, perhaps, the first Amīn Khān was dead, for here we find his son 'Abdu'l-Karīm entitled Amīn Khān and given high post at Paṭancherū. This is evident from the *farmān* issued to the sons of "'Abdu'l-Karām Amīn Khān" that they should prevent Syed Bābū from bringing water to a certain piece of waste land which he had broken evidently without official permission, at Kachireḍḍīpallī.[141]

It was necessary to describe in a little detail the kind of life which a high official of Ibrāhim Quṭb Shāh's time lived and the estimate which the people among whom he lived formed

of his personality. It also shows how the scions of his family were not content with the patronage accorded to them by the Court but tried to excel in the arts of war and peace on their own account. In the inscription mentioned above Amīn Khān describes himself as فقیر حقیر (low mendicant) and العقیر الفقیر (blameworthy and lowly) before the Almighty and prays God that He is his Goodness and Grace might keep the building, the mosque and the school which he had founded in 976 H. safe from the depredation of time. Here was a type of a Sunnī high official of a Shī'ah monarch, one who identified himself with the poor and the lowly and felt himself as one with them before his Creator. It is clear that the Shī'ism of Sulṭān Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk had been mellowed down by his son to a very large extent and an honourable place could be found in the administration for a strict Sunnī amīr who had risen by dint of his ability and who actually chose a Telugu-speaking Hindu as his private secretary.

Dress and Manners :

This kind of close contact between the Hindus and Muslims, Shī'ah and Sunnī, as well as the friendly relations developed by the virtual ruler of Vijayanagar, Rāmarāj, with Ibrāhīm in the early years of Ibrāhīm's reign, did not fail to have a marked effect on the way of life of both the Hindus and the Muslims.[142] The great tolerance shown to the Hindus at Gōlkonḍa and the Muslims at Vijayanagar naturally led to the intermingling of cultures and the partial effacement of cultural frontiers between the two states. We find that there was already a "Moorish quarter" in the city of Vijayanagar when Domingo Paes visited it in the twenties of the fifteenth century. He is quite clear that the Muslims residing in that quarter were either those employed in the Vijayanagar army or were "natives of the country."[143] Caesar Fredericke says that there were two prominent "Muslim captains" in the Vijayanagar army and each of them had sixty to eighty thousand men under him, which makes it more than a lakh of Muslims in the army.[144] The system of enrolling Muslims in the army of the southern Empire was begun by

Dēva Rāya II and continued by Rāmarāj, who, like Dēva Rāya, had a copy of the Qur'ān placed next to his seat so that the Muslims might be able to make obeisance without demur.[145]

It is interesting to read about an apparel called "Cabaia" or *qabā* of brocade presented by the Rāya to the Portuguese envoy de Figuereido when he took leave to return to Goa.[146] Caesar Fredericke says that the Vijayanagarīs wore "long hats called *Colae* made of velvet, satin, demask or scarlet" and also dressed in breeches "after the fashion of the Turks."[147] Of course the "Colae" are no other than *kulah,* which is a Persian cap, and the "breeches" were without doubt the tight *paijamahs* which were so foreign to the Hindus of the south. It is remarkable that the velvet covering of the trappings of state horses is named by Paes after Mecca,[148] and it is highly probable that it was imported into Vijayanagar either directly from Arabia or else from the northern Sulṭānates. Even the court etiquette followed in Vijayanagar was affected by the emblems of royalty in the north, and not merely umbrellas of state were carried behind the ruler, but even the word *salaam* was introduced at Vijayanagar for obeisance done to the Rāya. Says Nuniz: "In the morning the nobles go to the palace at ten or eleven o'clock at which hour the king comes out from within where his wives are, and after he has taken his seat they open to the nobles, and each one comes by himself and bows his head and raises his hands. This is what they call the *Salema.* With the king are about ten or twelve men who have the duty, on the entrance of each captain, of saying to the king: "See, Your Highness, your captain so and so, who makes salaams to you."[149]

It is only natural that the court was more affected by the ways of the Sulṭāns than the common people, and the portrait of the regent, Rāmarāj, which has come down to us has the dress and the demeanour which make him look like one of the contemporary Muslim sovereigns.[150] There are state buildings among the ruins of Vijayanagar even today which were constructed more or less in the style prevalent in the northern sulṭānates; such are the Baths, the so-called Elephant Stables, the Lotus Palace, the tower in one of the corners of the Dānāik's

Enclosure, the northern Watch-Tower, the Zenana Enclosure, and the Guards' Quarters. The architecture of these buildings has led the eminent historian the late Father Heras to argue that they were erected by the Sulṭāns during their sojourn in the city after the great battle of January 1565,[151] but he gives no evidence for his surmise except the style of architecture. And it is now a known fact that Vijayanagar was destroyed not by the victorious Sulṭāns but by marauders who took advantage of the removal of the Vijayanagar court to the south. Moreover, there are still a number of lofty and stately buildings such as the Viṭṭhalswāmī Temple, Hazāra Rāma Temple, Krishna's Temple, Achyuta Rāya's Temple, Kadalaī Kallu Temple and many others which are still standing in all their glory and whose style contrasts with the buildings enumerated above. On the other hand, even the Palace of the Rāyas in far off Chandragiri shows a definite bias in favour of what may be called the Indo-Persian architectures.[152]

Vēmana :

Before passing on to the ways of life in Tilang (which, even in the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh covered a very large part of the Andhra Desa), it is well to say something about a very marked tendency in favour of the Unity of God, anti-casteism and a universality of faith leading to what may be called a religion of humanity, all of which typified in the great saint, Vēmana. "Although Vēmana, Vēma or Mahāyōgi Vēmana are familiar names to thirty million people whose mother tongue is Telugu", and "for centuries his verses have been on the tongue of the Andhra people",[153] still much about his life is still obscure, and it is not even known whether he flourished in the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth or seventeenth century.[154] It is not even known whether he was a Śudra or belonged to the ruling House of Koṇḍavīḍu! These problems, however, need not detain us, except that he may possibly have lived when Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was reigning at Gōlkonḍa. What is, however, certain is that he conveyed to his people a message which was one of the Unity of God and one-ness of humanity, and which laid stress

on good deeds rather than the nobility of birth. Thus his teachings came very near the precepts of Islam. One of the modern biographers of the saint says that "the Bhakts and Sufees rank as the torch-bearers of Hindu-Muslim culture" and further that they surpassed as harbingers of a humanised culture as well.[155] A few of Vēmāna's verses would suffice to show us the inner mind of the saint and the great beauty of his thought.

The nature of Godhead :

"He whose Form is Universal, who is Eternal, who Himself witnesses all that passes in every heart, who exists immutably throughout the universe and is free from all shadow of darkness, this Being is called God." I, 41.[156]

"Mad and idiotic are those who are perpetually enquiring where the Deity resides; God dwells in all things in His complete fullness." I. 188.

"Ignorant that the living principle exists in your body, why do you search imagining that it is found elsewhere? You are like the one who, while the sun shines, would search with a lamp." III, 210.

Disbelief in caste :

"Why should we revile the pariar? Are not his flesh and blood the same as our own? and of what caste is He who pervades the pariar as well as all other men.?" III, 227.

"Though a man may be by birth an outcaste, if he orders his heart aright he is no outcaste; he who cannot govern his affections is vilest of men." III, 231.

"Place one dish before all the men in the world and let them sit together, abolishing their castes: lay thy hands on their heads and convince them that their present distinctions are absurd." III, 237.

Formal Worship :

"Observations void of the purity of heart; To what end are they? To what end is the preparation of food without cleans-

ing the vessel? Void of the purity of mind, to what end is the worship of God?" I, 3.

"How should those who adore the living principle still honour images made of stone? Who that has tasted honey will again taste poison?" ...III, 180.

"Wisdom is surer reliance than empty worship: the mind is more to be depended on than mere words; and a man's virtues are more important than his caste". ...III, 224.

It is interesting to note that Vēmana's line of social reform was taken up later by Veerabrahamam of Poṭulur in the Karnūl district; he managed to have a number of disciples belonging both to the Hindu and the Muslim faiths; but his school did not last very long.[157]

Life in Tilangānā :

It would be interesting to know how the people lived about the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. There is an interesting Telugu poem, the *Sūka Saptatī*, written about four hundred years ago, by one Palavēkari who was the lord of Kadiri in the Cuddapah district and was therefore called Kadiripatī, in which he describes the general condition of the people of his time who lived in the Telugu country.[158] He says definitely that the Hindu chiefs wore silk *paijāmās* as their nether garment, long caps on their heads, pearl strings round their necks and gold-embroidered cloak (perhaps the *qaba* mentioned earlier) over their shoulders. The *paijāmās* as well as the shirt were of pure silk. The Reḍḍīs formed the most prominent section of the village community; their houses were almost invariably constructed in stone, while they had separate sheds within their compounds for their cattle both for agricultural and milching purposes. There were stacks of hay and fodder for the cattle near the main building, and the poet says that "everything about the house suggested a state of prosperity". Their women folk wore many gold and silver ornaments, while men wore striped turbans, black striped cloak on their shoulders and sandals on their feet. It was not merely the Reḍḍīs who were prosperous, but the houses of the Brahmans also gave evidence of prosperity.[159] They had generally large

doors in their houses and a small garden in the backyard with a few fruit trees and vegetables grown in it. As a caste, however, they were on the downward path in the seventeenth century for we see them working under Śudra village headmen in certain parts of Āndhra, and some taking to agriculture.[160] Here it would be interesting to note that while no doubt the Muslims occupied some of the important posts in Tilang-Andhra, we are told that there were Muslim peons and agriculturists, and this shows that they had no superiority complex and some of them were content to live humble lives.[161] Trade was carried on mainly by the members of the Kōmaṭi community. It is interesting to read that "carpets from Mecca, knives from Shīrāz, saffron from Kashmir, sandal-wood from Kērala, and areca nuts from Indonesia" all found their way into Tilang. Apart from diamonds, pearls, musk and other fragrant articles, silk fans and daggers were imported from abroad in order to meet the needs of the rich and it is specially mentioned that there was brisk trade with the coastal towns of Arabia, while rose water, which was essentially a Persian manufacture, was imported from Iran.[162]

The Village

The village formed the pivot of the local economy, and there is an inscription of Krishna Dēva Rāya in which twelve prominent men of the village are enumerated.[163] They are the *karnam* or the village account keeper (*patwari*), the *patel* (who was generally a Reḍḍī) the peon, the washerman, the shoemaker, the barber, the carpenter, the *purohit*, the waterman, the potter and the blacksmith. All these workmen were given rent-free land to support them in order that they might be able to serve all classes of people. It seems that the *karnam*, the reḍḍi and the *nayuḍu* were the most important personages in the village, while the *purohit* had hardly any direct hand in the village administration.[164]

Before we pass on to the gradation of various bodies connected with the village and collection of villages generally known as *pargana*, it is necessary to bear in mind that "the Sulṭāns of the

Deccan did not interfere with the personal law of the Hindus" and whenever any cases cropped up which had a connection with this aspect of their life, they were referred by the officers of government to the local *Brahmasabha* (which was an assembly of the learned Brahmans of the locality) or the *Jātisabha* or caste assembly, according to the character of the case.[165] The old *Panchayats* continued to function as before, but it must be remembered that it was largely feudal in character and we do not find any trace of election of the members of the *panchayat* anywhere. For this reason it would be necessary to know the rudiments of the feudal tenures in vogue in medieval Deccan.

Perhaps the most important term which we come across both in the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar and in Tilang-Andhra is the *mirāsīdar* tenure, and in Tilangānā most, if not all those who held land under this tenure, were the Reḍḍīs.[166] The *mīrāsī* tenure in Tilangānā was more or less similar to the *sthālakāri* or *thālakāri* tenure. The word *mīrāsī* is, of course, derived from میراث or hereditary rights. It differs from the *qaul* or *uppari* tenure (*Cowl* in early English documents), which was a lease at will for a short period. It is interesting to note that the *waṭandārs* or those holding under an official tenure, and the *mīrāsīdars* who were hereditary landlords, considered themselves as a kind of family group, and the deliberative body which was formed by them to look after the matters concerned with the village was called the *gōtsabha* (from *gōtre* or family).

The *gōtsabha,* whether of a particular village or a collection of villages, was therefore essentially a feudal institution consisting of the *waṭandārs,* the *mīrāsidārs* and *qauldārs* of the locality.[167]

2. *Dakhnī or Proto-Urdu*

This brings us to the rise of Dakhnī in the capital of Tilang-Andhra. The patronage of Telugu language and literature by Ibrāhīm and the simultaneous encouragement of men from over the seas, learned men as well merchants, to come and settle down in the kingdom must have created a fellow-feeling between the different sections of the population. One of the consequences

of this intimate relationship was the rise of Dakhnī, which was fast creating a niche for itself in the kingdom. Although time had not arrived yet for it to flourish as a literary language, as it did so brilliantly in the following reign, still we find four poets of note in Ibrāhīm's reign, namely, Mulla Khiyāllī Fīrōz Maḥmūd Shauqī and Aḥmad, of whom Mulla Khiyālī was perhaps the first writer of Dakhnī poetry in Tilang. Ibn-l Nishāṭī the great Dakhnī poet of the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, mentions these four poets as his predecessors.[168]

The second poet of note was Fīrōz whose small though remarkable composition توصیف نامہ میراں محمی الدین which he wrote in praise of Haẓrat Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī and Makhdūmji Shāh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm,[169] pulsates with feeling and confidence. Although it is a book of just eight small pages and not even complete in the form handed down to us, it should be noted that it is definitely the first poem in medieval Dakhnī composed in the kingdom. There is no doubt that Dakhnī, the language of common intercourse between the Hindus and Muslims who had migrated to the Deccan and the generality of the people there, must have existed in the area at least from the time of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī I (1358-75), but the laudatory poem of Fīrōz is the first of its kind composed in Tilang-Andhra that we have got. The manuscript, which goes back to the earlier part of the eleventh century, is itself the copy of another written down before 972/1565 and now to be found in the rich manuscript library of *Idārā Adabiyāt-i Urdu,* Hyderabad.[170] Till the discovery of this manuscript Fīrōz was only known by notices in Mullā Wajhī's *Mathnawi,* the *Quṭb-Mushtani,* (written in 1018/1610) where he says that when he began to compose the romantic poem he dreamt that the great master, Fīrōz, was beckoning to him and encouraging him to complete the work as it was bound to be read by all and sundry with relish.[171] Ibn-i Nishāṭī has also said in his *Mathnawi,* the *Phūl Ban* (which he wrote in 1066/1656), how greatly he regretted that Fīrōz had already passed away, otherwise he was bound to have appreciated his work. Although Fīrōz's grammar and vocabulary are to a certain extent archaic, his rhyme has an extremely

modern flavour, as will be apparent from the opening line of his praise for the saint of Baghdad:

تمہیں قطب اقطاب جگ پیر ہے - تمہیں غوث اعظم جہانگیر ہے
تمہیں چاند باقی ولے تارے ہیں - تو سلطاں سردار بسیارے ہیں

The following lines in praise of Makhdūmjī also sound fairly modern:

اے پیر مخدوم جن جائیا - محی الدین درجے بچن آئیا
مجھ دان دے دین و دل شاد کر - دنیا ے گناہوں تے آزاد کر

Thus although Tilangānā had still to wait for another generation for the compilation of the great *dīwān* of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and the poems of Mulla Wajhī and Ibn-i Nishāṭī still the seed which was destined to bear abundant fruit in later years, was sown by pioneers like Mullā Khiyālī and Fīrōz.[173]

3. *Persian*

Ibrāhīm's scholastic leanings were not confined to Telugu and Dakhnī, but, quite naturally, he patronised Persian as well. One of the works which was dedicated to him was Khūrshāh's voluminous History of the World stressing the history of pre-Islamic and post-Islamic Iran, the dynasties which ruled the lands of the Muslims, the Sulṭāns who held sway in north India, Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat, and finally the history of the Bahmanīs of the Deccan down to the death of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī in 1518. He has not dealt with the history of Bahmanī Succession States but says that he would compile another book on the subject, which, however, is non-extant.[174]

Mulla Ḥasan Ṭiblisi's book, the *Marghūbu'l-Qulūb,* has already been referred to in connection with the reign of Ibrāhīm's father, Sultān-Qulī.[175] The Mulla lived on and wrote another book, the *Ṣaidīyah or* "The Book of the Game" at the instance of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh in 983/1575-76. The book consists of an Introduction, ten chapters and an Epilogue, and deals with all aspects of the game and of the limits set to it by Muslim law.[176]

Lastly, we have the *Dīwān* or collection of poems, odes, ghazals and quatrains of Hājī of Abarqūh, who made his way to Tilang:

رفتن از ملک جرون جانب هند - رفتن از بندر دابل بتلنگ

He is all praises, for the capital, Golkonḍa, and says: —

رجه گلکنده نمودار بهشت - گلرخانش همگی حور سرشت

بادشاهش چو سکندر ذو جاه - صاحب مملکت و خیل و سپاه

Among the many odes in the book four are in honour of Ibrāhīm and one in honour of his minister Muṣṭafā Khān who, as has been mentioned above, was Ibrāhīm's brother-in-law as well. "Perhaps the most attractive feature of his ghazals is that they seem to have been composed on the model of Sa'dī and Ḥāfiẓ,... and it must be said in fairness to Ḥājī that he has fairly succeeded in imitating his masters."

The translation of a few lines describing a royal party may be of interest:

"The golden canopy erected from his palace reminds one of the lustre of Mt. Sinai. Flute, harp, rebeck, lute and guitar have sent the domes of heaven resounding with music.

The good-natured King summoned painters from near and from far.

In appearance the city became like the picture gallery of China.

Golkonda became illuminated during the darkest nights through torches.

This prosperous city has flourished all round during the reign of the good-natured King."

Ḥājī's patrons "belonged to the royal courts of Golconda, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar" and he spent as many as thirty years in the Deccan. But it is not known whether he returned to Persia or remained here till his death.[177]

Administration

We have very little data with regard to the method by which the control of local affairs was exercised in Tilang-Andhra by royal officials. But there is a vast amount of what are called *maḥẓars* or petitions presented to the Sulṭān by the *pargana*

majlises in the Niẓām-Shāhī dominions, and as there was always a similarity between the principles of administration in the Bahmanī Succession States, it is probable that the system was followed in Tilang as well. Side by side with the *gōtsabhās* of the pargana we have the *pargana majlises* which "occupied a high place in the local administration of the sulṭāns of the Deccan." We have in the pargana an assembly called the *dīwan-i pargana* which, in a way, ran parallel to the *gōtsabhā*. The head of the *dīwān* was the *ḥawāladār* who represented the jagirdar or fiefholder of the pargana, while the majlis was presided over by the local *qāzī* or judge, and it was probably at his instance that the *majlis-i dīwān* and the *gōtsabhā* held joint sittings. The decision of the majlis was called a *maḥẓar* It seems that the institution of the *majlis* and the *maḥẓar* was fully established as far back as 1474, i.e., in the time of the great Bahmani wazir, Maḥmūd Gāwān, for it is stated in certain *maḥẓars* of that year that the *gōtsabhā* formed a component part of the *majlis*. This *maḥẓar* was a kind of recommendation to the higher authorities for performing certain local acts.[178]

It is rather strange that we are in the dark regarding the sub-division of the kingdom higher than the pargana. As is well known, the Bahmanī kingdom was divided into a number of *aṭrāf* or provinces, one of which was the *ṭaraf* of Tilangānā.[179] We do not come across the term *sarkār* in the reign of Ibrāhīm at all. We are told by the author of the *Burhān-i Ma'āthir* that when Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh came to the throne "the officers and governors of *wilāyats* and the *kōtwāls* of the forts came and paid homage to the Sultan".[180] This is a clear indication of the existence of the wilāyats or provinces in the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar as early as 1565; but the name *wilāyat* does not occur in the annals of medieval Tilang at all. There must have been a subdivision of the kingdom into provinces, but we are not aware of its exact nature nor of their boundaries in the fifteenth century.

The pivot of the central government was, of course, the Sulṭān. But we also find that there was an advisory council, sometimes called the *Majlis-i Kingāsh*, which was summoned

by the King to settle matters of urgent import, and even matters pertaining to foreign affairs. The term, *Majlis-i Kingāsh,* has been used in connection with the Council summoned by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur at Naldrug to seek its advice with regard to the policy to be pursued by the kingdom in relation with Rāmarāj.[181] In the same way, shortly after his accession Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh convened a meeting of his Council when he was in an impasse in respect of the policy to be pursued after his treaty with Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, in which he had promised to help him against 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, who was an ally of his friend Rāmarāj. The Council which he summoned consisted of "wazīrs and amīrs" who were called to advise him what he should do under the circumstances.[182] This type of council existed in Aḥmadnagar as well, for we find Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh consulting an assembly just before the Battle of Banihaṭṭī. We have evidence that the nobles of Aḥmadnagar were strong enough to have their say in the matter of succession to the throne, for it is stated quite plainly that on Ḥusain's death on May 27, 1575 it was they who "after considering Murtaẓā's age", unanimously accepted him as king of Aḥmadnagar.[183] The *ad hoc* character of the Council seems to have disappeared and it is related that during the conflict of Aḥmadnagar with Berar, the Council consisted of the Pēshwā Changīz Khān and "other nobles and advisers". In the case of Tilang it blossomed into *Majlis-i Diwāndārī* or Privy Council during the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh.[184]

This leads us to the determination of the nomenclature and ranks of the ministers of the kingdom, and here also a uniformity between Tilang, Aḥmadnagar and Bijapur is apparent. Perhaps the most important as well as the most ancient post was that of *Mīr Jumlā,* who is variously called *Amīr-i-Jumlā* at Aḥmadnagar and *Jumlatu'l-Mulk* there and in Berar.[185] We find as early as the time of Aḥmad Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, the progenitor of the Niẓām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar, that Mukammal Khān Dakhnī was the Pēshwā in his time. This must also have been the title given to the Prime Minister of Tilang, for we see that the minister of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, Muṣṭafā Khān Ardistānī,

who is called Mīr Jumlā by Ferishta, is mentioned as *Madāru'l Muhām* (Pillar of Administration) by Ibrāhīm Zubairī.[186] Then we have the office of the Pēshwā (which goes back to the later Bahmanīs) in practically all the sulṭānates of the Deccan. In Tilang this officer comes next to Mīr Jumlā, but in other Salṭānates it is sometimes joined on to another office, that of the *wakīl,* and the officer is thereupon called "Peshwā wa Wakīl" or 'Peshwā wa Wakīl-i Muṭlaq".[187] It seems that in such a case he came to be regarded as the supreme minister of the realm. Thus in 983/1575 Murtaẓā Nīẓām Shāh made Qāzī Bēg Yezdī Pēshwā and Wakīl-i Muṭlaq and on Changīz Khān's death Ḥakīm Aflātūn Zakā was made Wakīl and Peshwā. Again, about 987/1579 Shāh Ḥaidar, son of Shāh Ṭāhir, was first appointed Pēshwa with Shāh Kamālu'd-dīn Ḥasan as his coadjutor, and later was given an independent pēshwāship.[188] This double title is not found in any other sulṭānate including Tilang. Thus Maulana 'Ināyatu'l-lāh, who had once been Pēshwā at Aḥmadnagar, was made Pēshwā of Bijapur by 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh after his capture by the latter at the siege of Sholāpūr.[189] We also read that "after Kishwar Khān's murder Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan, son of Shāh Ṭāhir, was appointed Jumlatu'l-Mulk of Bijapur, which shows that the peshwāship, when it was not attached to the *Wakīl-i Muṭlaq,* was a subordinate office at Bijapur.[190] It is also related that Afẓal Khān Shīrāzī, who played a very important part at Bijapur was appointed Mīr Jumlā and Wakīl-i Sulṭanat.[191] Taking all the evidence before us into consideration, there is little doubt that at least in Tilang Mīr Jumlā was the title of the Prime Minister, while the minister next to him was called Peshwā. There were certain other ministers also, but they were essentially inferior in rank to these two. Such was the *Khazānadār* or the Treasurer who was without doubt an important official, but he dealt only with the duties that were entrusted to him and had no concern with other matters of state.

It is necessary to remember that almost from the very first day in the life of the Deccani sulṭānates there was cheek by jowl partnership of the Hindus and the Muslims. We are aware that Rāmarāj, the great regent of Vijayanagar, originally held high

office under Sulṭān-Qulī Qutbu'l-Mulk, and another great Hindu official, Jagadēva Rao "rose to prominence under Jamshīd Quṭb Shah and occupied the most important place in the kingdom".[192] We have already noticed the catholicity of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and his patronage of Telugu, and it is no wonder that in his court very little differentiation was made between the Hindus and the Muslims so far as the affairs of state were concerned. When Rāmarāj sent his brother Venkaṭādri and the two renegades of Golkonḍa, Jagadēva Rao and 'Amīnu'l-Mulk, to ravage the countryside round the capital, Ibrāhīm replied by sending not only Musṭafā Khān, 'Azīm Khān and Ya'qūb Khān but also Chintagunṭa Dharamarao, as the heads of the force against Koṇḍavīḍu.[193] Again in 1578-79 he ordered his general, Murahari Rao, and the Hindu chiefs Malakappa and Kadambaraya to cross the Krishna and advance into Karnūl territory which belonged to the Vijayanagar state, then centred at Penukoṇḍa. "This Murahari Rao was Brahman by birth and a Maratha by nationality". He rose to great prominence in the service of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and became "in every respect the second person in the state, not even excepting the princes of the blood royal".[194] "We know the power of the Nāyakwāṛīs who repeatedly turned the scales as far back as the time of Sulṭān-Qulī Qutbu'l-Mulk and acted as the king-makers on Jamshīd's death."[195] The party at Kōvilkoṇḍa which first made secret approaches to Ibrāhīm, consisted of many Hindus, as is evidenced from the tell-tale inscription in Kōvilkoṇḍa fort.[196] It seems strange, yet it is a fact, that while Ibrāhīm led an effective army against Rāmarāj at the great battle of Bannihaṭṭī, he did not play a prominent part in that battle, except, of course, fighting it out as all honest soldiers are disciplined to do, and it is not mentioned by our chroniclers that he had anything to do with the decapitation of Rāmarāj. Even after the battle, which is represented as a fight for supremacy, he remained as popular with the Hindus as before.

To sum up, it appears that the ministry at Gōlkonḍa in Ibrāhīm's time consisted of the *Mīr Jumlā, Peshwā,* other wazīrs and the Treasurer, while the Advisory Council, which might

well have been called the *Majlis-i-Kingāsh,* consisted of these ministers as well as the Nayakwāṛīs, other amīrs, both Hindu and Muslim, the Commander-in-Chief and other high officials. We have no record of their deliberations, but we have a partial record of the advice they gave to the Sulṭān, and that advice was nearly always followed.

Architecture and Public Works

Although it is Ibrāhīm's son, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, who has left his name to posterity in the field of town-planning and architecture by his founding of the city of Haidarabad and the erection of well-proportioned buildings, some of which still exist, it was Ibrāhīm who showed the way to his son. It must have been very early in his reign that Ibrāhīm thought of extending and strengthening the fortifications of the capital. He was aware of the almost interminable wars which the kingdom had to face and the precarious position of the citadel the walls of which the enemy had penetrated many a time. However, within the land itself there was peace and plenty, and persons from over the seas as well those from the neighbouring states were attracted to the capital. There was a continuous influx of people from Turkistān, Khurāsān, Arabia and the adjacent lands who thronged into the city as travellers, traders, calligraphists, architects, men of religion and adventurers.[197] Gōlkonḍa thus became the meeting place of cultures, mainly South Indian and Perso-Arab, and Ibrāhīm welcomed all those who came to enrich the State either morally or materially. Apart from the gifts and pensions which he granted to "students, poets and other deserving persons," he gave standing orders that any one who came to visit one of the many groves and gardens which he had planted, should be presented with "pomegranates, apples, figs or mangoes" according to season.[198]

It was thus the double need of strengthening the fortifications and of extending the area enclosed within the protecting walls that led Ibrāhīm to build the magnificent wall which extends to nearly 8,000 running yards and which forms one of the grand spectacles of the vicinity of Hyderabad today. Probably it was

not till 967/1559-60 that the wall was completed with the erection of the Makkī Darwāzā on its south-western section which actually faces Mecca.[199] There are eighty-seven handsome bastions right round the wall, some of which are octagonal in shape with regular artistic crenelles. One of these bastions is called Ibrāhīm Burj after the name of the King himself. There are eight great gates piercing the wall with bastions in front, and they have sharp iron spikes fixed on them to protect them from the onslaught of the elephants of the enemy. The bastions and also the wall rise to a height of fifty to sixty feet above the ground level. There is a very wide moat and this was once filled with water. The direct road from the city of Haidarabad to the fort runs through the Fatḥ Darwāzā, which was the gate through which the conquering army of Aurangzeb entered the city in 1687. The section of the wall on the vulnerable western front has a sloping earthen embankment by its side partly hiding practically the whole length of the wall, and this was meant to protect it from the gun-fire of the enemy. It is possible that this embankment was constructed when there was a danger of an attack from the Bijapur side. In the same way certain parts of the inner wall protecting the zenana quarter have been built over by arched constructions which were no doubt designed to accommodate palace guards. Apart from the distinct patchwork which marks later repairs here and there, there are two inscriptions which show the partial renovation of the fortifications in later times. One of these is an inscription on the western wall showing that repairs were completed in the time of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh under the supervision of Prince 'Abdu'l-lāh (who later ascended the throne as 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh) in 1030/1628, while the other commemorates the renovation and further strengthening of the fortifications and the erection of Mūsā Burj on the southern side of the wall not very far from the Fatḥ Darwāzā, by Mūsā Khān, who was the Commander-in-Chief of Quṭb Shāhī army under 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh; the work on this bastion was completed in 1066/1656.[200]

While the Makkī Darwāzā probably marks the completion of the fortification by Ibrāhīm, there are two gates,[201] one large

and the other small, which are worth some notice. One of them is called the Bālā Ḥisār Darwāzā, which is 1250 yards away on the straight road from Fatḥ Darwāzā leading on to what remains of the royal palaces within, while the other is a small but very prominent door—solitary yet stately—standing on an eminence visible immediately after passing the Bālā Ḥisār Darwāzā to the left. This small gateway is reached after passing a precipitous meandering path and leads only to another precipitous hillock with certain remnants of former residences. It is a remarkably beautiful structure and barring certain minor details, it is the prototype in miniature of the Bālā Ḥisār Darwāzā. In the centre of the broad stone lintel is a beautiful circular medallion with the lotus motif flanked on each side by the mythical *yālī*, half lion and half dog, and then by two rather coyish swans with snakes or earthworms in their beaks. Just above the lintel in the centre is an ornamental double alcove, the outer frame being in the form of a simple arch which encloses another with five points. The whole trabeated composition is enveloped by a beautiful Persian arch, outside which, within the outer frame on each side, are representations, in relief, of a lion cub and a peacock, while in the farthest corner is a parrot. The whole scheme on one side is repeated on the other with flawless symmetry. Thus purely Hindu motifs are co-ordinated with the Persian arch which seems to have been brought to Gōlkonḍa almost bodily from another country, and the composition symbolises the synthesis of Indo-Iranian culture of the Quṭb Shāhīs such as few other monuments do. It is greatly to be regretted that the mortar on the stone lintel as well as outside the arch is in the process of decay and is falling down. If immediate attention is not paid to this remarkable piece of architecture, one of the most beautiful monuments in the Fort will soon lose its value.

We are fortunately permitted to have a peep into Ibrāhīm's palace by the pen picture which Rafī'ud-dīn Shīrāzī has left in his book the *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk*.[302] He says that the palace really consisted of six distinct suites apart from the royal residence itself. The first consisted of what he calls the *jāmā*

kẖānā where royal robes were kept; in the next suite were tailors and embroiderers; the third apartment was occupied by the *sarnaubat* or commander of the royal bodyguard; while in the fourth were housed painters, workers in gold leaf, calligraphists and bookbinders. The next set of rooms was reserved for those who were engaged in the study of history and traditions of different parts of the world, learned men, *savants,* poets and writers of *belles lettres,* while another was occupied by ministers and high officials. This shows that in spite of the arduous duties of state of which he was the centre, Ibrāhīm was a great patron of works of art, literature and culture simultaneously with the never-ending military campaigns which he had to undertake. It is a pity that no part of Ibrāhīm's palace or its annexes has been saved from the ravages of time, for very few structures that we find in the Fort go back beyond the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh. Gōlkonḍa was deserted soon after the building of the great city on the Musi river in 1000/1591-2, and most of the palaces there are probably reminiscent of the period when "Abdu'l-lāh had to take refuge in the impregnable fortress off and on from the open city of Hyderabad with the appearance of the Mughal power in the Deccan.

As has been mentioned above, Ibrāhīm was a great patron of Telugu language and literature, while at the same time he encouraged learned men from Central and Western Asia to come and settle down in the capital of Tilang-Andhra. It was only natural that the population of Gōlkonḍa increased by leaps and bounds, and there was hardly any space left for any buildings except those already existing within its walls. It was the need for the expansion of the capital beyond the city wall which led to the construction of the magnificent bridge on the Mūsī in 986/1578. The bridge was originally called by its Telugu name, *Narva* or Causeway, and is now universally called *Purānā Pul* or the Old Bridge. It is a strong, well-built structure, 600 feet long, 36 feet broad and 42 to 56 feet from the rocky and irregular bed of the river, and is supported by 23 fine pointed arches.[203] The construction of the bridge was completed two years before Ibrāhīm's death. It is one of the few Quṭb

Shāhi structures on or near the river which has withstood the ravages of time and the oft-recurring floods of the Mūsī for nearly four hundred years.

Another significant landmark of modern Haiderabad which goes back to Ibrāhīm's reign in the beautiful water-sheet, the Ḥusain Sāgar,[204] which has a circumference of 11.16 miles and is formed by a bund or embankment one mile and 2,280 feet in length. It was built by Ibrāhīm's son-in-law, Ḥusain Shāh Walī, at a cost of Rs. 2,54,636 which must be multiplied at least by 10 in order to convert the amount in terms of the modern coinage. It had two fine platforms which stood on well-proportioned Quṭb Shāhī arches, but these were unfortunately pulled down in 1946. It is related that when Ibrāhīm heard that the artificial tank was not popularly known after his name, he was touched to the quick and constructed the tank and town of Ibrāhīmpaṭan about sixteen miles south-east of the capital.[205]

Ibrāhīm planted a number of groves, some of which, including a small portion of the vast Bāgẖ Ibrāhīm Shāhī or Ibrāhīm Bāgẖ to the south-west of the fort of Golkonḍa, still exist. He threw them open to the public. The original Ibrāhīm Bāgẖ extended from the twin hillocks now topped by the Bārādarī of Tārāmatī and the mosque named after Pēmāmatī, both of which flank the road to the modern Osmān Sāgar, right up to the ruins of palaces lying towards the west of the mosque.[206] He also founded scores of primary schools and "made it obligatory for every Muslim child to have religious instruction from a mulla". Not only was primary education free but children were provided food and a small allowance during school days.[207]

Perhaps the most substantial monument of his reign after the Purānā Pul is his own tomb. On a high plinth, with the basement storey thirty-six feet from the ground level, the tomb stands on a terrace 117 feet square. Its façade is adorned with false arches, each side contains two rows of five arches, one row placed above the other. The internal plan of the tomb is 30′ 7″ square at the base, but by placing four arches at the corners it has been turned into an octagon, and a little higher it becomes sixteen sided by the contrivance of overlapping

arches.[208] The tomb was once "beautifully decorated with encaustic tiles of various hues," and even today these tiles on one or two arches are in a fair state of preservation. Another remarkable feature of this tomb is that it is the first in the whole royal cemetery where "the occupant of the shrine" is definitely called "Sulṭān" and "Shāh", and this is another evidence that he was the first ruler of medieval Tilang who definitely proclaimed his royal status.[209]

There are at least three mosques which take us back to Ibrāhīm's reign and represent the sacred architecture of his time. One of them is the small but well-built mosque nearly half way up the Bālā Ḥisār in the Gōlkonḍa Fort, with its two tall, graceful minarets which can be seen from miles round on a clear day. It has no inscription, but it is obvious that it must have been built early during the Quṭb Shāhī period, and tradition has it that it was built by Ibrāhīm. The other two mosques are situated within the annexe to the Gōlkonḍa Fort called the Nayā Qil'ah or "New Fort", which was constructed about 1066/1656 by 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, but the inscriptions on both these show that they were erected in Ibrāhīm's reign long before the Nayā Qil'ah. The earlier of the two mosques, known as Musṭafā Khān's Mosque, was built in 969/1561-2, and is an imposing structure of beautifully dressed granite blocks built on a very high plinth with a prayer hall and a court-yard together measuring 130 ft. by 120 ft. There are three graves in the court-yard, two of them bearing inscriptions indicating that they are the graves of the two sons of the famous minister of Ibrāhīm, Musṭafā Khān, after whom the mosque is named, while the third grave has no epitaph on it. It is possible that this grave was originally meant to receive the mortal remains of the minister, but there is little doubt that it is empty. As a matter of fact Musṭafā Khān caused the anger of the Sulṭān when he handed over the keys of the citadel of Mudgal to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's deputy after the battle of Banihaṭṭī, as a consequence of which he was arraigned and condemned to death for high treason. The punishment was, however, commuted, and he was allowed to proceed to Mecca. But he treaded his way to Bijapur

instead and was appointed Mīr Jumlā by 'Alī. He was finally assassinated by marauders in the jungles of Malabar in 988/1580, i.e., nearly twenty years after the erection of the mosque. As Muṣṭafā Khān had incurred the wrath of the Sulṭān it is most unlikely that his remains were brought to Gōlkonḍa to be interred there.

The third mosque was constructed ninety years earlier than the Nayā Qil'ah, i.e. in 977/1570, by Mullā Khiyālī, one of the earliest Dakhnī poets of Tilangānā, and thus it is doubly important as taking us back to Ibrāhīm's reign as well as commemorating the progress of Dakhnī as the literary language of the State. The superstructure of the mosque stands on a lofty plinth ten feet high, necessitating a flight of as many steps on the southern side. It was on the top of the staircase that the fine basalt inscription used to be, giving the name of the builder of the mosque, that of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and the date of construction of the mosque, and it lay within the Bālā Ḥisār Gate of the Fort for a long time. The height of the plinth has been utilised for three rather narrow verandahs on the eastern side with five arches, and on the northern and southern sides with four arches each. It is possible that these verandahs were used as a kind of waiting hall for those who came to this rather uninhabited locality, possibly to have a look at the curiously formed and stunted tree with a huge trunk which has a circumference of 88 feet. The actual mosque is a fine edifice and consists of a courtyard and a hall thirty two feet long and fourteen feet broad. There are three wide arches and the ce.ling is of the flat type supported by half arches springing from each wall, and reminds one of many a Mughal building at Delhi. The cusped alcove above the *miḥrāb* has the names of the *Panjtan* done in fine tughra style, while the *miḥrāb* itself is divided into six equal compartments each topped by a panel containing the following inscriptions

(1) الله تبارک و تعالی و تقدس

(2) ان المساجد لله من آمن بالله و

(3) الیو م الاخر و اقام الصلوة و آتو الزکوة

(4) و لم یخش الا الله فعسی اولئک

(5) ان یکونوا من المهتدین

(6) کلما دخل علیها ز کریا المحراب

There is another inscription well above the *miḥrāb* in a decorated panel in blue and gold, part of which has already been obliterated; but it was difficult to make it out for want of proper equipment.

The inscription which was originally affixed to the staircase of the mosque reads:

The top-most panel: — وا ن المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا صدق الله
قال النبی علیه الصلوٰة و السلام الصلوٰة معراج المؤمنین

The spandrils: —

ملت یزدان که در آران شاه دین پناه - قطب عالم شاه ابراهیم آن نیکو سرشت
کرده این مسجد بنا ملا خیالی کز شرف - می سزد کارند حوران بهشتی سنگ و خشت
رکنے از جنت برائے پیش آمد باخدا - از برائے آن بود تاریخ او رکن بهشت
۹۷۷

All these inscriptions are in a fine hand and have been executed by the calligraphist Muḥammad, whose name is inscribed top-side down in the corner of the panels within the mosque. It is necessary that the mosque be repaired and conserved not merely as a work of art but also as a relic of a great pioneer and as one of the few monuments which can be traced back to the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.[210]

Appendix 1.

Military Organisation and Equipment

The disintegration of the Bahmanī Kingdom saw the "Balkanisation" of the Deccan leading to an utter lack of confidence between the succession states, and to civil wars which lasted almost as long as the life of these states, till they were finally absorbed in the Mughal Empire. The great battle of Bannihaṭṭī fought in January 1565 may, however, be said to be a landmark in

the whole military history of South India, and it would be proper for us to evaluate the organization and equipment of the military forces of the Sulṭānates in general and Tilang-Andhra in particular. The military organization of the Bahmanīs had essentially a feudal basis and the *ṭarafdār* or governor of each of the four provinces in which the Kingdom was originally divided, had almost complete control of the military forces stationed in his province. He was allotted a jāgīr for the purpose of defraying the expenses connected with these forces, and it was his look out to recruit as many soldiers on a permanent or temporary basis and defray as much money out of the proceeds of the jāgīr as he liked for the upkeep of the local levies. This system naturally led to abuses in the army especially when there was a weak or lenient king on the throne. The great Bahmanī wazir, Maḥmūd Gāwān, saw that this would lead perhaps to the dissolution of the kingdom, and he set upon himself to reform the abuses at their very foundation. He saw that the *ṭarafdār* had full control over the profits of the military fief, and he could well keep the army under his command depleted in order to save the profits for his own person. Further, as the whole kingdom was divided into just four provinces there was little left for the King in the way of any direct military control.

Maḥmūd Gāwān attempted to do away with the very feudal face of the military system. He began by dividing the kingdom into eight instead of four provinces and divested the *ṭarafdār* of practically all military authority by ordering that only one fort should be left under his direct command while all the other forts came under the control of the Sulṭān who appointed *qil'ahdārs* over them. Then, in lieu of jāgīrs or military fiefs he allowed each commander only a lac or at the most a lac and a quarter of hons for every five hundred soldiers under him, and made him accountable for every *fuls* allotted to him. As we know, however, the Khwājā was murdered very soon after the promulgation of his civil and military reforms as a result of a conspiracy of the section of the nobles and jāgīrdārs opposed to him, and the reforms died with him.[211]

Another interesting attempt at the defeudalisation of the

army, this time on a much smaller scale, was made fifteen years after the Khwājā's murder, in 901/1496, when the Bahmanī Prime Minister, Qāsim Barīd, issued a royal decree that the smaller *manṣabdārs* who received payments for providing soldiers, should get themselves enrolled in the royal bodyguard and to be known henceforward as *sarkardah* or "chiefs by appointment" or *ḥawāladārs* or "men put in charge". But these reforms were attempted too late in the history of the Bahmanīs, for the Kingdom had already disintegrated into a number of autonomous principalities and the governors of different provinces had become virtual masters within their charges.[112]

One of these autonomous rulers who rose from the smouldering pile of the Bahmanī Kingdom was Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk. A warrior of great calibre and a commander of great renown, he kept an eye on practically every detail of military administration. The result was that the feudal character of the army of Tilang almost entirely disappeared. We see him taking the lead on all fronts and bringing into force new techniques of warfare. His excellence as a strategist has already been commented upon and need not be repeated here; but one of the characteristics of his warfare may be remembered that he always kept a small possé of troops in reserve, and by throwing them into the fray when both sides were thoroughly exhausted, turned the scales in his favour. Battles after battles were won by resorting to this stratagem. His son and successor Jamshīd was essentially a man of iron, and it may truly be said that in his short reign the army finally passed from the control of feudal lords to the direct control of the King.

By this time artillery had proved to be a most important part of military equipment, and we have the names of different kinds of firearms used in the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh in various fields. We have *tōp, ẓarb-zan, zambūrak* and other kinds of weapons, while large cannons were given distinctive names such as *Tōp Ibrāhīm Shāhī* and the *Malik-i-Maidān*. Beginning in a small way in the reign of the Bahmanī Muḥammad I in 767/1366, artillery had grown to be one of the most potent engines

of warfare, and it was this military arm which was responsible for the allied victory at the great battle of January 23, 1565. Of course, lancers, swordsmen and even bowmen continued to play their part when it came to closer fighting, but it was gunshot which made breaches in the battlements and led to hand to hand fighting. We have also the technique of protracted fighting of a pedatory nature lasting weeks and months, which led to the very organised guerilla warfare of the Maratha period.[113]

The line of battle continued to be as in the days of the later Bahmanīs. Each army was divided into three main sections, the right flank, the *qalb* or centre and the left flank, and it was the *qalb* or the "heart" of the line of battle which was commanded by the King or the chief commander, as the case may be. We come across the term *Sipahsālār* or Commander-in-Chief in one or two places,[114] but the term which is rather common is *Sarlashkar* or Commander, and he was generally appointed *ad hoc* to conduct a certain military campaign. The *Qil'ahdār* or the officer in charge of a Fort, was, of course the most important person in a beleaguered fortress and the chief officer to be reckoned with. He had, however, to depend mainly on the Hindu sardārs called *Nāyakwāṛīs* and the more disciplined and drilled contingent called *Khāṣā Khēl* or *Silaḥdārs,* as well as the general body of citizens who were always liable to turn round and play havoc with authority, as when they rebelled against the infant Burhān after Jamshīd's death, and virtually voted for Prince Ibrāhīm who was already in the country at the invitation of the citizens of Kōvilkoṇḍā.[115] There were also other minor military officers such as the *Sarnaubat* or "the Chief of Military Music" and the Officer commanding the artillery, who was almost invariably a Turk such as Chelepi Rūmī Khān at the Battle of Bannihaṭṭī. In the case of actual fighting there were two instead of one *Sarnaubats* namely the *Sarnaubat* of the Right and the *Sarnaubat* of the Left. Both of them were officers of responsibility and eminence, for we find some raised to sarlashkarship and at least one to the office of

Commander-in-Chief, while others are known to
sent on high diplomatic missions.[216]

Here it would be interesting to trace the dev
military uniforms from the later Bahmanī period
of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. Probably the first descr
military uniforms worn by an army in the Decca
pen of the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa w
Deccan sometime between 1500 and 1517. He
"The Moorish (Muslim) noblemen in general
tents with which they form encampment on
... They ride on high pomelled saddles and
of sojares (whips) and fight tied to them (sa
light lances which have a head a cubit lo
short coats padded with cotton, and many
mail, while their horses are well caparis
plates. They carry maces and battle axes
two or three Turkish bows hanging from
very long arrows, so that every man carries
two... They employ pack bullocks on whic
baggage".[217]

The unique manuscript entitled *Kitāb T*
Bādshāh Dakan or "Book of Praise of Husai
in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshōdaka Maṇḍala
ing the progress of the Allied Sultāns towa
Krishna and the battle miscalled the Battl
short manuscript of 98 pages is written in
and is illustrated with 14 coloured miniatu
are in *dakhnī qalam* but there is no doub
prepared for Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and b
library at Aḥmadnagar, and as a seal desc
part of the Imperial Library at Delhi.[218]

In picture of Ḥusain is shown riding a
emblems of royalty such as the royal u
taining the emblem of the fish, and *morc*
cock feathers. He has a determined look
elephant carrying a triangular flag with
The line below consists of representation

by uniformed foot-soldiers in long white tunics and belts of cotton texture, and horsemen with coats coming up to their ankles, and small shoes on their feet. Footmen have the lower parts of their legs covered with protective stockings reaching their knees. It is noteworthy that every soldier, whether riding a horse or on foot, wears a helmet with a peculiar small triangular flag stuck to its top. In picture 8 we are introduced to cavalry uniforms which are similar to those of the infantry. What is also noticeable here is that the allied horsemen are dressed in full coats of mail.

Pictures on pages 22 and 21, which really form two parts of a single scene, are the only ones in which Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh appear together. This is the scene of Rāmarāj's decapitation which is supervised by Ḥusain himself sitting on a charger backed by a coloured umbrella and a whisk by his side. Opposite him is another king, probably Ibrāhīm, all in white, with a white umbrella protecting him from the sun. It is well worth noticing that while the flush of victory has left a smile on everyone's face, that is not so with the second King, Ibrāhīm, who is standing viewing the scene of decapitation with a certain amount of agony and misery. The second part of the picture on the page, which is numbered 21, shows the third king on a charger, who is without doubt, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. 'Alī was not present at the time of the decapitation, and his standing at a distance is perhaps symbolic of his absence from the scene.

The action shown in all the pictures in the brochure is one of hand to hand fighting and does not depict the famous episode of the firing of brass coins through the muzzle of the Malik-i Maidān which probably caused the actual death of Ramaraj. But it must be remembered that the book deals primary with the part played by Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh in person, and this lacuna does not vitiate the otherwise correct pictorial description of the battle.

There is an understandable contrast between the uniforms of the allied armies and those of the Vijayanagar forces. While the head dress of the allied armies is a short beflagged helmet,

Commander-in-Chief, while others are known to have been sent on high diplomatic missions.[216]

Here it would be interesting to trace the development of military uniforms from the later Bahmanī period to the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. Probably the first description of the military uniforms worn by an army in the Deccan is from the pen of the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa who was in the Deccan sometime between 1500 and 1517. He says:

> "The Moorish (Muslim) noblemen in general take with them tents with which they form encampment on halting ground .... They ride on high pomelled saddles and make much use of sojares (whips) and fight tied to them (saddles) with long light lances which have a head a cubit long...They wear short coats padded with cotton, and many of them kilts of mail, while their horses are well caparisoned with head plates. They carry maces and battle axes and two swords, two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle with very long arrows, so that every man carries arms enough for two...They employ pack bullocks on which they carry their baggage".[217]

The unique manuscript entitled *Kitāb Ta'rīf Ḥusain Shāh Bādshāh Dakan* or "Book of Praise of Husain King of Deccan" in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshōdaka Maṇḍala of Poona, illustrating the progress of the Allied Sultāns towards and beyond the Krishna and the battle miscalled the Battle of Talikota. This short manuscript of 98 pages is written in beautiful nasta'līq and is illustrated with 14 coloured miniatures. The miniatures are in *dakhnī qalam* but there is no doubt that the book was prepared for Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and belonged to the royal library at Aḥmadnagar, and as a seal describes, it later formed part of the Imperial Library at Delhi.[218]

In picture of Ḥusain is shown riding a charger with all the emblems of royalty such as the royal umbrella, the panel containing the emblem of the fish, and *morchhals* or whisks of peacock feathers. He has a determined look and is preceded by an elephant carrying a triangular flag with illegible writing on it. The line below consists of representation of two buglers followed

by uniformed foot-soldiers in long white tunics and belts of cotton texture, and horsemen with coats coming up to their ankles, and small shoes on their feet. Footmen have the lower parts of their legs covered with protective stockings reaching their knees. It is noteworthy that every soldier, whether riding a horse or on foot, wears a helmet with a peculiar small triangular flag stuck to its top. In picture 8 we are introduced to cavalry uniforms which are similar to those of the infantry. What is also noticeable here is that the allied horsemen are dressed in full coats of mail.

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There is an understandable contrast between the uniforms of the allied armies and those of the Vijayanagar forces. While the head dress of the allied armies is a short beflagged helmet,

that of the Vijayanagar forces is a long *kulah*. In the same manner, while the main equipage of the allied army is the steed, it is the elephant which is most prominent in the Vijayanagar forces. The legs of the northern soldiers are covered with protective stockings, while the legs of the Rāmarāj's soldiers are bare and the lower part of the body is covered with a fairly elongated loin cloth. Duarte Barbosa's description of Vijayanagar forces is more or less similar to this, with the important difference that the turbans of the early sixteenth century have now given place to the *kulahs* of the middle of the century.

A pen-picture of the Vijayanagar army in peace-time has been delineated by another Portuguese traveller Domingo Paes who visited the capital forty five years earlier, i.e. about 1520. He was present at the review of the forces by the Rāya, and it seems that the splendour of the uniforms of officers, the Imperial marquées and the rest of the equipage left the European speechless and breathless. He says that the royal tent was made of Mecca velvet of myriad colour, the horses had headplates made of silver but most of them were enclosed in fringes of twisted silk, while the reins were also covered with silk of various hues. The trappings of the horses were made of satin and damask imported from China and Persia. Horsemen were dressed in quilted tunics made of brocade and silks while they had overall leather coats with iron plates and helmets with head pieces. The dresses of foot-soldiers were also resplendent and their shields had effigies of serpents and flowers of gold worked on them. He says that at the end of the cavalcade came musketeers with their muskets and blunderbusses, and then the contingent of Muslims with their shields, javelins, spears and fire-arms.[219]

All this splendour was, however, not of much avail when it came to fighting on the battle-field. We must remember that the army of Vijayanagar was at best a feudal array and the forces which Rāmarāj collected in December 1564 were mobilised through the agency mostly of feudal lords of the south and from governors of outlying provinces. When the strong hand of Rāmarāj was removed there was no one left to control this vast heterogenous array and the whole military structure sud-

denly fell to the ground. On the other side it was with the single object of crushing Rāmarāj's might that the four Sulṭāns had formed a league against him, and with his fall old antagonisms and enmities revived and internecine feuds reappeared.

Appendix 2.

Inter-statal Usage and Rules of Conduct

Although we are concerned primarily with the Bahmanī succession states, mainly Tilang, it is best to trace the formulation of interstatal usage from the time of the Bahmanīs, in particular from the time of Maḥmūd Gāwān's ministry. It is not that some rules of interstatal conduct had not existed earlier than Maḥmūd, but what materials we have regarding the early Bahmanī period consists of just desultory *ad hoc* rules. We should also remember that the Bahmanī flag soon flew over the whole of the tableland of the Deccan, and whatever foreign relations were possible were with Vijayanagar, Orissa, Malwa and possibly with Gujarat, the first three of these were nearly always at loggerheads with the Deccan. The diplomatic talent and foresight of Maḥmūd Gāwān saved the Deccan from the onslaught firstly of Vijayanagar and then of Malwa, and perhaps in order to encircle that mortal foe of the Deccan, Maḥmūd Khaljī of Māṇḍū, he established treaty relations with Gujarat and even with far off Jaunpūr. There is a mass of diplomatic and other correspondence initiated by Māḥmūd Gāwān in the collection of his letters called *Riyāẓu'l-Inshā* or "the Gardens of Diction". The collection contains as many as 148 letters written by Maḥmūd Gāwān himself or on behalf of the Bahmanī Sulṭān, Maḥammad III, as well as a few epistles from foreign rulers in reply. Of these, perhaps the most important for our present purpose are the letters regarding the Malwese War of 1462, especially those written to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujarat, Ḥusain Shāh the Sharqī Sulṭān of Jaunpūr, and Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa and his ministers. From these letters may be gleaned the rules in existence regarding negotiations with the allies of the Deccan,

negotiations for the finalisation of treaties of peace, exchange of envoys generally and for special purposes, and the stages through which a major war usually came to an end.[330]

It is plain from these letters that there were no permanent ambassadors accredited to any of the states with which the Deccan had any relations, although there was a continuous streams of envoys sent by one ruler to another for specific purposes. We may liken this to a state of affairs if, at the present day, there were no permanent ambassadors but all necessary diplomatic correspondence were to be carried on by means of special envoys of note and responsibility. The main reason for the lack of permanent ambassadors seems to be the great distances which separated the capital of one state from another and the difficulty of sending plenipotentiary ministers who should be authorised to decide upon matters which might arise, without reference to the ruler himself. When each matter had to be referred to the centre there appeared no necessity to accredit permanent envoys.

There are two remarkable letters written by Maḥmūd Gāwān which illustrate the ideal of what may be called clean diplomacy which the minister had in view. Both of them are addressed to Shaikh Dāwūd el-Māndawī, the *rasūl* or envoy of Maḥmūd Khiljī. Both seem to have been written at the close of what was a kind of life and death struggle of Bahmanī Deccan. Maḥmūd addresses the envoy from Mạlwa thus:

> "The sole method of bettering the relations between two rightly guided peoples is the need for the differentiation between internal and external purity. Internal purity demands the obliteration of all causes of discord, while by external purity is meant shunning falsehood and deceit and putting an end to all mendacious behaviour and acts which might lead to conflict. For this it is necessary that all state actions should be washed by the waters of sincerity and truth according to the best traditions of the great rulers of old....."

In another letter he says:

> "By external purity is meant the obliteration of all causes of internecine feuds, a halt to the showering of arrows, and

sheathing of swords in their scabbards, while by internal purity is meant the final turning away from all manners of deceit and falsehood....."

As Shaikh Dāwūd was avowedly an envoy of the Sulṭān of Malwa sent to enter into pourparlers for peace, and was already at the Bahmanī capital, Muḥammadābād-Bidar, it is possible that these observations were a kind of *aide mémoire* of what took place during pourparlers between the two parties. Both letters are fairly long and contain many other considerations besides those mentioned above. It is true that the ideal of diplomacy based on moral considerations was not always practised, but the standard set by Māḥmūd Gāwān in these *aides mémoires* was the one left behind by the Bahmanī State for the future in very clear terms.[221]

This system of sending and receiving special envoys or *rasūlān* for specific purposes continued in Bahmanī succession states including Tilang. We find that on Jamshīd's accession to the throne Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar sent the eminent theologian and diplomat Shāh Ṭāhīr to congratulate him on the auspicious occasion. The same courtesy was followed on Ibrāhīm's accession to the throne, for we are told that when the Deccan rulers heard of his accession they sent envoys with presents to Gōlkonḍa and felicitated the new Sulṭān. It is stated that Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh sent "one of his boon companions" with an indication that a like courtesy by way of reciprocity would be welcome. Ibrāhīm therefore sent his eminent minister Muṣṭafā Khān Ardistānī to Aḥmadnagar. In the same way he sent Shāh Mīrza Isfahānī as a special envoy to Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh in 982/1574 to congratulate him on the birth of Prince Ḥusain, who later ascended to throne as Mīrān Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh. This courtesy was sometimes extended to non-Muslim states like Vijayanagar, for when one of Rāmarāj's sons died, 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh, who had recently ascended the throne of Bijapur, himself went to Vijayanagar, almost unattended, in order to offer condolence in person.[222]

Muṣṭafa Khān was sent by Ibrāhīm on a number of important commissions. Thus when the kingdom was surrounded on all

sides by its enemies, and Rāmrāj had not only occupied a number of forts belonging to it but was persuading the Nāyakwāṛīs of the kingdom to transfer their allegiance to him, Ibrāhīm sent Muṣṭāfā Khān to Jagadēva Rao to use his good offices to arrange an interview with the Regent of Vijayanagar. Again when the Sulṭāns were greatly perturbed at the increase in the power and insolence of Rāmarāj and wanted to make common cause against him it was Muṣṭāfā Khān who was sent to Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh to arrange a treaty between Tilang and Aḥmadnagar, and was requested by Ḥusain himself to accompany his own envoy Ḥakīm Qāsim Bēg to persuade 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh to join the league against Vijayanagar.[223]

This practice was more or less universal in the Deccan, for we find Ḥusain commissioning his *Vakīl-i-Muṭlaq* and Peshwā, Maulānā 'Ināyatu'l-lāh with an autograph letter to Ibrāhīm in which he recounted the havoc caused by Rāmarāj and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh in Aḥmadnagar territory after the capture of Kalyānī by the latter, and proposed that a conference of the two Sulṭāns be held in the near future. Ibrāhīm reciprocated by sending an autograph letter to his brother monarch agreeing to the proposal.[224]

But the leaders of these missions were not always honest in their dealings with the officers of the courts to which they had been accredited. Thus when Ibrāhīm sent Shāh Mīrzā Isfahānī to Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh to congratulate him on the birth of Prince Ḥusain and on reaching there he found that Murtaẓā had the invasion of Berar in his mind, he actually offered a bribe of two lakh of hons to the Pēshwā Changīz Khān to restrain Murtaẓā from doing so. Changīz retorted that what the King wanted was only that there should exist no barrier intervening between the kingdoms of Aḥmadnagar and Tilang in order that the ancient traditions of friendship between the two should be further cemented. Shāh Mīrza now approached Murtaẓā's notorious favourite Ṣāḥib Khān who dinned into the King's ears that Changīz was after the throne of Berar for his own person, and managed to have him executed by royal orders. When the King knew of what Shāh Mīrza had attempted

to do he ordered him to quit his capital as a *persona non grata.*[295]

A definite departure in the process of accrediting envoys to foreign courts is visible about this time. It seems that now a practice was taking its root that permanent envoys, called *Ḥājib-i Muqīm* began to be sent by one state to another. The first time that we hear of these *ḥājibs* is after the agreement entered into at Kālā Chabūtrā between Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh in which they made up their quarrels and decided on an attempt to put an end to the usurper Tufāl Khān and at the same time to eliminate Vijayanagar and Tilang. We are told that Murtaẓā had appointed Khwāja Ziyāu'd-dīn Samnānī, entitled Amīn Khān, to be his *ḥajib-i muqīm* or attaché with the Bijapur army, while 'Alī appointed Khwājā Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Samnānī as his *ḥājib-i muqīm* with the army of Aḥmadnagar. They were primarily military attachés with a friendly army, but it appears that they were retained at the courts to which they were accredited even in peace time.

The *ḥājibs,* however, did not enjoy much of a diplomatic immunity. Khwājā Ghiyathu'd-dīn was succeeded as 'Alī's ḥājib to the Aḥmadnagar court by I'tibār Khān, who reported to the Sulṭān of Bijapur that Amīn Khān, who represented Aḥmadnagar at the Bijapur court, was conspiring against the interests of the Sulṭān. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh thereupon ordered that Amīn Khān should be beheaded. But this was evidently an exceptional case, and we rarely come across such acts by a Sulṭān against the representative of another in peace time.[296]

Apart from these *ḥājibs* the five Sulṭāns of the Deccan kept permanent ambassadors, called *Vakīls* at the Vijayanagar court, and generally speaking, they enjoyed a large measure of respect. But time came when the power and inordinate haughtiness of Rāmrāj reacted on the treatment meted out to these *vakīls* at his hands, and instead of the kindness and favour with which they had been treated and the obvious sincerity which was shown to them at his court, he now became insolent and insulting to them, and "against all traditional behaviour" he even began to tarry long before he offered them a seat in his presence.

This led to much ill-will among the Sulṭāns and finally to the shattering of the power of the southern Empire.[227]

It may thus be said that there were three grades of diplomatic representatives in the Deccan of the sixteenth century: (1) *Ad hoc* envoys generally called *rasūls,* who were sent to offer congratulations or condolences, attend a high level conference, enter into pourparlers or arrange a treaty. (2) The *ḥājib-i Muqīm,* literally "Resident Chamberlain" or attaché; these were originally assigned to the army of friendly powers but tended to become a permanent institution. (3) *Vakīls* or permanent Ambassadors accredited to certain foreign powers.

So much for the rules which were generally followed in time of peace. In the case of war also we have certain traditions, mostly initiated by the founder of the dynasty. One of the most important of these traditions was the rule that before military action was launched it was necessary that an ultimatum be sent to the possible opponent. Thus when the rebel Qiwāmu'l Mulk sought political asylum in Berar, Sulṭān-Qulī first asked Daryā 'Imād Shāh to expel him from his territory. It was only when Daryā transgressed inter-statal rules and began to scold the Gōlkonḍa envoy that Quṭub'l-Mulk began his advance northwards. In the same way, when Raja Harichand, the jāgīrdār of Nalgonḍa, revolted, Sulṭān-Qulī first sent a message to the Raja to agree to pay a small tribute for the lands that he held, and it was only when all hope of an understanding was lost that he ordered that the citadel of Nalgonḍa be invested. Another principle on which he acted was that when an enemy laid down his arms he was magnanimous enough to overlook his faults and pardoned him. Thus when the rebel commander of the Koṇḍāvīḍu fortress laid down his arms and petitioned that he might be forgiven, he was forthwith pardoned and even allowed to retain the fort in his possession.[228]

These principles were followed by most of the Sulṭāns of the Bahmanī Succession States. Thus in 1562 Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh sent an ultimatum to Tufāl Khān to release Burhān 'Imād Shāh before he launched an attack. In the same way,

after it had been decided to join hands against Rāmarāj, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh sent an ultimatum to him to restore Rāichūr and Mudgal to Bijapur.[229] This practice, however, was not universal, and many of the wars of the period started without an ultimatum. Once war started, no quarters needed be given to the enemy. Thus we find that when Rāmarāj invaded Aḥmadnagar in alliance with 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh in 1559 he is said to have desecrated mosques, laid waste the countryside and done everything not merely to shatter the strength of the enemy but his long range potential as well. On the other hand there are many cases when the life and property of the common man was not touched by an invader and the fullest consideration was shown to the inhabitants of the enemy country. Thus when Murtāẓā led an invasion into Berar he refrained from wanton cruelty to the people. We are told on high authority that when the Aḥmadnagar army reached Pāthrī, Changīz Khān produced a royal *qaulnāmā* or decree which promised the fullest protection to the people of Pathrī and undertook that they would not be molested during the march of the enemy through their territory. Moreover when the enemy showed an inclination towards peace everything was done to bring war to a close. Thus we see that 'Ainu'l-mulk, commander of the Gōlkonḍa forces which were helping the Niẓām Shāhī army before Bijapur, was granted safe conduct through 'Ādil Shāhī lines. Similarly, when Rājāhmundri was besieged by Malik Nā'ib under orders from Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh the defenders of the citadel sent an emissary to Mulla Khiyālī requesting him that he might authorise Yalū Pandit of the Quṭb Shāhī army to enter into pourparlers with the besieging garrison. The negotiations resulted, among other things, in the grant of safe conduct for that arch enemy of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty, Shitāb Khān and his family, whom he was able to conduct with him to Vijayanagar territory.[230]

But this method of granting safe conduct to an enemy was sometimes abused. Thus when the four Sulṭāns entered into an agreement against Rāmrāj he made up his mind to try a subterfuge through which he hoped to win over at least one member of the League and thus break up the coalition. For

this purpose he sent costly presents to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and appealed to the previous good relations between Vijayanagar and Bijapur. In the same way, when Aḥmadnagar had been invested by 'Alī and Ibrāhīm the Dowager Queen of Aḥmadnagar surreptitiously appealed to Ibrāhīm to save her and the garrison from starvation. Open bribes were also offered and accepted. Thus when 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh invaded Vijayanagar territory with the help of Handḗ Timma Nāyak in 1576, Sri Ranga Rāya actually offered a large bribe to Timma "and rendered him not only to desert 'Ādil Shāh but to harass his camp".[xxi]

It would thus be seen that while there were perhaps no universal rules to control the relations of the Deccan States *inter se* there were certain principles which were generally followed. These may be briefly stated thus :

1. Ultimatums were generally sent to a possible opponent that he should be amenable to reason, otherwise force would be applied.

2. In case of war, the rule was that a minimum pressure should be applied and the general life of the common people should not be disturbed; but there were also conflicts when this standard was not heeded and much wanton destruction was affected.

3. When the enemy wanted to lay down his arms he was treated with much consideration, and if he wanted to leave he was granted safe conduct, while if he wished to remain he was allowed to keep his patrimony under the protection of the Sulṭan.

4. Pourparlers between the belligerents or high level peace conferences leading to peace treaties were the general rule, and barring certain exceptions (as when Raja Harichand laid a plot to kill Ibrāhīm when he entered Nalgonḍa on his own invitation) the representatives of the two parties enjoyed perfect immunity.

NOTES

1. Date of Ibrāhīm's birth; *Q.S.*, 91.

2. *T.Q.*, 53b; *T.Q.I.*, 109b, has 3 days and 3 nights.

"The dates of Burhān's death and Ḥusain's accession are variously described as falling on 20.1.961/27.10.1553 (*Burhān*, 356) and on 30.12.1553 (Radhey Shyam, *Kingdom of Ahmadnagar*) while Ḥusain is said to succeed Burhān on 9.2.1554. In the same way, while *Burhān* says that Ḥusain died on 7.11.972/27.5.1565, *Fer.*, says that he died 11 days after the battle of January 23, 1565, *i.e.*, on 2.2.1565.

3. *T.Q.I.*, 110a.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Sky-blue colour, Fer.*, II, 170; eulogistic poems, *Q.S.*, 138. It seems that the sky-blue colour was incorporated into a tricolour consisting of *red, sky-blue and white,* for these were the colours of the ensigns carried by the Tilang army which accompanied Ibrāhīm when he met Burhān Niẓām Shāh and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh in 1564 just before the fateful battle of the Krishna or Banihaṭṭī; for this see *T.Q.*, 112b.

6. *Q.S.*, 138; *Burhān,* 528. No one can be eulogistic about the severe treatment meted out to offenders; but exigencies of the situation may well demand it, provided the intention is to maintain law and order and security of person, property and honour in the face of highwaymen and marauders. More recently the seemingly harsh treatment of the lawless bedouins of the Ḥijāz at the hands of Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-'Azīz ibn Sa'ūd after his conquest of Mecca in 1926 led to an era of perfect peace. On the other hand the terrible atrocities perpetrated in modern wars and even in internal commotions in certain countries lead one nowhere except to bitterness and destruction.

7. Such as *C.H.I.*, III, 446, and *Further Sources,* I, 255. It is strange that while the latter say that Ibrāhīm "had shown his determination by his recent activities to upset the balance of power in the Deccan", Prof. Siddiqui, in his *History of Golconda,* p. 74, says that "what weighed with him (Ibrāhīm) largely was the maintenance of the balance of power."

8. Thus according to *Fer.*, II, 170 and *Q.S.*, 140. *Burhān* has Bidar. Both Gulbarga and Bidar had been the capitals of Bahmanī Kingdom one after the other, and as that kingdom extended to all parts of the Deccan plateau, the two towns became the meeting places of the languages and cultures of the whole area. The division of the kingdom into

Aḥmadnagar, Bijāpūr and Tilang was more or less linguistic in character. It is also noticeable that the kingdom of Berar, which was confined to a small part of the Maharashtra, was soon enveloped and conquered by the predominantly Maharashtrian Aḥmadnagar as well as by Bidar and Gulbarga, which had been capitals of the Bahmanīs and were cosmopolitan and cosmolinguistic in character. Even today, although Gulbarga and Bidar have been allotted to the Kannada state of Mysore, the proportion of the Kannada speaking population in the former is only 33.75% and of the latter only 24.51% according to the census of 1951. *Alang*, probably *Aland*, about 25 miles N.N.W. of Gulbarga; 17° 21′ N., 76° 51′ E.

9. Date of the meeting of the two kings, *H.A.*, I, 117. There was already a treaty between Rāmarāj and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh in 1555; *Aravidu*, 85. On the other hand it is stated in *Narasabupaliamu* (*Sources*, 85) that Rāmarāj was "the terror of the city of Bijāpūr", Rāmarāj was a seasoned diplomat and played one sulṭān against the other according to the exigencies of the hour; see *Further Sources*, I, 245. As a matter of fact Rāmarāj's conduct had always been very dubious; he had entered into a treaty with Burhān Niẓām Shāh against Bijāpūr in 1551, and this treaty was renewed the next year, while in 1555 he chose to join Bijāpūr against Aḥmadnagar. He changed his policy in a kaleidoscopic fashion, and it was a sense of frustration on the part of the sulṭāns which made them join hands against him in spite of their differences.

10. *Q.S.*, 140-42. 'Ādil Shāh's letter has been translated in extenso in *Briggs*, III, 396-97. *Aravidu*, 85, attributes this to the treachery on the part of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, but the question is that if this was treachery what did Ibrāhīm get out of it. *Further Sources*, I, 254, say that the meeting of the four rulers took place at the instance of Rāmarāj. *Ibrāhim 'Adil Shāh*, 1534-57; *'Alī 'Adil Shāh*, 1557-79.

11. Eltemrāj of the Persian chronicles was Rāmarāj's brother, Yarra Timmarāja, for whom see *Velug.*, Introd., 49. He is different from Sidharāju Tammarāju, governor of Koṇḍavīḍu-Murtaẓānagar on behalf of Vijayanagar (see *Further Sources*, I, 260) and Yarra Timma Nayudu, the youngest of Gani Timma's sons (*Velug.*, Introd., 49). Date of 'Alī 'Ādil Shah's accession and his visit to Ramarāj; *Bur.* 400-2.

12. *Q.S.*, 143-4.

13. *Ibid.*, 144-47. The name of the Muslim commander is not "Bijlī Khān as in *Briggs*, III, 398 but Tajjallī Khān. It is strange that *Further Sources* do not refer to this important episode, which is an evidence of the good faith which Ibrāhīm showed towards Rāmarāj right up to the time when he was forced to oppose him after the second sack of Aḥmadnagar.

Adoni, a large town in the Bellary district, now in the Mysore State; 15° 37′ N., 77° 16′ E.

14. Jagadēva Rao's treason and flight, *Q.S.*, 147-48. His exalted position in Golkunḍa; *Further Sources*, I, 259. His sojourn in Berar; *Q.S.*, 140 ff. Jagadēva Rao's ultimate flight to Vijayanagar is important in furnishing us with one of the reasons why Ibrāhīm had to change his policy of peace and why he began to take sides against Vijayanagar where he had lived with honour for seven years. Jagadēva's was not merely an ordinary conspiracy to place another scion of the Quṭb Shāhī Dynasty on the throne, but what he attempted was to change the whole history of medieval Deccan.

15. Muslim recruits in Jagadēva Rao's army; *Q.S.*, 149. From a certain view point this is as significant as the presence of Muslims in the army of Vijayanagar and of the Hindus in the armies of the Sulṭāns of the Deccan, and only shows that there was no "communal" rancour in medieval Deccan in spite of all that the court chroniclers might otherwise aver. See *Briggs*, III, 401, footnote, where he says that "the practice of enlisting Arabian infantry in the Deccan appears to be one of old standing." They proved to be, under the Peshwā's government, "the only good soldiers of his army especially for the defence of the fortifications". *Briggs* refers to an article by Col. Fitzclarence in the *Journal Asiatique* of February, 1827, on the same subject, but unfortunately I have not been able to consult this.

The ruler of Khandēsh ("Burhānpūr and Asīr") is referred to as Maḥmūd Shāh in *Q.S.*, 147 and Muḥammad Shāh in *Briggs*, III, 400, but actually it could only have been Mubārak who ruled from 943/1537 to 947/1566; Muḥammad Shāh did not come to the throne till December 1566, i.e. after the battle of the Krishna-Banihaṭṭī; see *Fer.*, II, 286-88.

16. See *Further Sources*, I, 255; *Q.S.*, 152-53; *Burhān*, 404; *Briggs*, III, 117 ff., where the date of the campaign is given on p. 120. *Burhān's* version is that Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh left for Paiṭhan on the Godavari while *Q.S.* says that he left for Daulatābād. As *Burhān* was compiled at Aḥmadnagar one is inclined to prefer its version. See also *Ferishta*, II, 125. The reason why Ḥusain went to Paiṭhan was that he wanted to bring to his side not merely 'Alī Barīd and Daryā 'Imād Shāh but Mīrān Mubārak Khān Fārūqi as well, which he could not conveniently do from Aḥmadnagar. But as ill-luck would have it Barīd's brother, Khān-i Jahān, actually went to Ellichpur and persuaded Daryā not to side with Burhān; so the whole scheme fell through. The date in *Wāqi'āt-i Mamlukat-i Bijāpūr*, I, 105, i.e., 976 H., is evidently a misprint for 966 especially as the corresponding Christian date, 1558-9 given there is correct.

Paiṭhan on the Godavari, headquarters of a taluqa of that name, in the Aurangābād District, Maharashtra State; 19° 18′ N., 75° 24′ E.

17. For depradations, see *Burhān*, 403; *Further Sources*, I, 255. The quotation is from *Briggs*, III, 120.

The fort at Parenḍa here was constructed by the celebrated Bahmanī Wazīr, Maḥmūd Gāwān Junair or Junnār, headquarters of a taluqa in the Poona district, Maharashtra State; once the capital of the Sulṭānate of Aḥmadnagar. It is 36 miles from Poona; 19° 12′ N., 73° 53′ E. Aḥmadnagar, once the capital of a kingdom, now headquarters of a district in Maharashtra State; 19° 5′ N., 74° 55′ E. Daulatābād, celebrated hill fort in the Aurangābād district, Maharashtra State; it is about 12 miles from Aurangābād; 19° 57′ N., 75° 13′ E.

18. The Sulṭān of Gujarat was Aḥmad Shāh who reigned from 961/1553 to 969/1561, while the ruler of Khāndēsh was Mīrān Mubārāk Khān Fārūqī; *Fer.*, II, 228-29, and 286-87. *Fer.* does not mention any such movement of the army in either case and it is quite possible that the whole story as related to Rāmarāj by Muṣṭafā Khān was no more than a "diplomatic move".

19. *Burhān*, 409; *Q.S.*, 154.

20. *Fer.*, II, 125; *Q.S.*, 153-54. For the defection of Bhōpāl Rāi and annexation of Kalyānī to Bijāpūr see *Burhān*, 406. It was not "owing to the conflicting interests of foreign policy" that Rāmarāj and Ibrāhīm fell apart (as surmised in *Further Sources*, I, 258), but it was because Ibrāhīm perceived from the asylum Rāmarāj gave to Jagadēva Rao and his later conduct, that he was not to be relied upon and that his object was to weaken the Deccani Sulṭāns without exception. We do not find any "jealousy" on the part of Ibrāhīm towards 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh mentioned in *Briggs*, III, 240 to which *Further Sources* refer on p. 258. The motive was peace and nothing more, and Ibrāhīm actually sacrificed Konḍāpallī at the altar of peace in the Deccan.

21. *Q.S.*, 155-56. This episode is entirely ignored by *Ferishta* who devotes a very small space to the whole of the history of medieval Berar.

22. Meeting outside Kalyānī; *Fer.*, II, 126, 171.

23. While the princess is named Jamāl Bībī in *Fer.* and *Q.S.*, she is called Chanda Bibi in *T.Q.I.* (111 a). There is again a divergence between *Q.S.* (159) and *T.Q.I.* (112 a), for while the former is clear that the marriage was celebrated at Kalyānī the latter says that the princess was sent to Gōlkonḍa for nuptials. I am inclined to believe in the Kalyānī story. There is no mention anywhere that the princess's father came to Golkonḍa to attend the ceremony, while we know that the two monarchs definitely met at Kalyānī. *Further Sources*, I, 259, seem to think that the

marriage was the result of the hostility of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh to Rāmarāj and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. Date of the marriage in *Fer.*, II, 126, is "the beginning of 970" which corresponds to 1562, while on p. 171 it is stated to be 971. It is also mentioned there that one of the conditions of the marriage was that Kalyānī should be retained by Ḥusain after its reconquest. Tafaẓẓu Ḥussain 'Aṭā, *Tuḥfa-i Mukhtāriya*, MSS. Salar Jang Library, *Tarikh Fārsī* 144, fol. 9a, says that Ibrāhīm married Jamāl Bībī "at the request of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh".

24. *Velug.*, Introd., 49; *Q.S.*, 160.

Tufāl Khān was the prime minister and virtual ruler of Berar during the short reign of the child Burhān 'Imād Shāh (1562-64). On his death Tufāl Khān assumed the royal dignity and reigned rather precariously till the extinction of the kingdom in 1574. Here it may be mentioned that while *Fer.*, says on p. 126 that it was Tufāl Khān who joined the party, on p. 171 he names Burhān 'Imād Shāh himself.

25. *Fer.*, II, 126-27. The episodes round about the second siege of Aḥmadnagar are rather obscure. In *Fer.*, itself there are quite a number of contradictions, such as in the matter of the date of the meeting at Kalyānī and Ibrāhīm's marriage, and the military alliance of Rāmarāj and Berar. Strangely enough, *Burhān* does not give any details of the second siege of Aḥmadnagar which is described in *Fer.*, II, 126-7. Rāmarāj's invasion of Tilangānā and the action against Sitāb Khān and Vidyādhar are described in *Q.S.*, 163-4; *Further Sources*, follow the latter on p. 159.

It was with a certain amount of difficulty that I could piece together these rather contradictory statements. The method I have followed is to make the siege of Kalyānī and the marriage of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh with Jamāl Bībī the pivot of my sequence as, except for one or two minor differences these two events have a common denominator; from this I have worked out the chronology according to the most common bases of agreement.

26. *Fer.*, II, 127; *Briggs*, III, 224. *Basātin*, 89, is quite explicit that it was "against the understanding with 'Ādil Shāh" that Rāmarāj's army caused such depradations to "mosques and Qur'āns" during his attacks on Aḥmadnagar. This must have been one of the potent causes of the eventual alliance of the Deccani Sulṭāns against Vijayanagar.

27. The enemy reaches Taṛpallī, "4 *gav*" from Gōlkonḍa; *Q.S.*, 161. It is possible that Konḍapallī had not been handed over to Rāmarāj according to the conditions agreed upon between Ibrāhīm and those who were besieging Aḥmadnagar. On the other hand T. Shreenivas in his paper on "Old Masulipatam", *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1918, says that in 1557 the city was occupied by Siddirāju

Timmappa, Governor of Koṇḍapallī. See *Velugot*, Intr., 49; *Q.S.*, 162. Kēsa Rao is no doubt Kēsava Rao; he is called Kāsī Rao in *Aravidu*, 95. *Taṛpallī*, or *Tarlapallī*, village, 22 miles S.W. of Gōlkoṇḍa in the Haiderabad district; 17° 16′ N., 78° 8′ E.

28. *Q.S.*, 161-63. *Velug.*, Intr., 49; *Further Sources*, I, 260; of course the reference to "Ferishta" is really a reference to the *appendix* in *Briggs*, III, in which *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* has been epitomised and translated. Ferishta contains no such detail at all.

29. *Q.S.*, 164. *Further Sources*, I, 260, are clear that it was Jagadēva Rao who "induced the Naigwaris to surrender Kovilkonda, Panagal and Ghanpura to Rāmarāj". The fact that Muṣṭafā Khan had to bow to the indignity of approaching the traitor Jagadēva Rao before he could have an audience of Rāmarāj shows the great depth to which Gōlkoṇḍa had sunk through the machinations of the Regent of Vijayanagar.

30. See *Q.S.*, 165;

I regret I do not agree with *Further Sources* I, 271 that "Rāmarāj did not attack Ibrāhīm for his territory but to chastise him for his treachery towards friends". Rāmarāj's conduct had been very dubious all along, and his high-handed policy towards Aḥmadnagar, in spite of his agreement with 'Alī, does not show him in the colours in which he is sometimes painted. In spite of what we read to the contrary, Ibrāhīm's policy was primarily to keep peace in the Deccan, and when he came to know the real intentions of Rāmarāj, to be on the defensive. The many insurrections in Quṭb Shāhī territory fomented by Rāmarāj are cases in point. There is no doubt that his policy was to weaken the Deccani states without regard of friend or foe, and to make himself supreme from sea to sea. As regards the theory of "chastisement" it is not clear who appointed Rāmarāj to chastise Ibrāhīm on behalf of his friends.

31. *Q.S.*, 166-170.

32. For *Shitāb Khān* see chapter I, n. 62 above. Dr. Hirananda Sastri says in his monograph referred to in the note cited that Shitāb Khān was born about 1404 and became governor of Warangal under Humāyūn Shāh Bahmani (who reigned from 1458 to 1461), becoming independent ruler of Warangal in 1504. Even if he lived up to 1537 according to one of the Kaifiyats quoted by Dr. Sastri, he must have attained the age of 133 solar years in that year, and the year 1571 must have marked his 167th birthday! (Here it might be mentioned that the last date in connection with "Shitab Khān" in *Briggs*, III, 423, i.e., 979 H. does not correspond to 1567 as given there but with 1571-2). Moreover the date of the fall of Rajahmundri as given in the Kaifiyats, i.e., 5th in the light fortnight Ashada, 1495, which corresponds to 12-1-1537, is obviously wrong as the date does not fall on a Thursday as mentioned, and the

citadel did not fall till 20 years later. It is probably not true that "Shitāb Khān" was caught and beheaded at Tattapalli-Loddi as mentioned in the Kaifiyat, as he was allowed to proceed to Vijayanagar in 1571!

It seems that there were a series of "Shitāb Khān" of whom at least the one of Humāyūn's reign may have been a Muslim. The other two or three persons of that name or title may have been in the mutual relationship of father and son and even grandson. If we believe in the story that "Shitāb Khān" was beheaded soon after 1537, then it may well have been his son who again fought the army of Ibrāhīm forty years later and was allowed to depart honourably from Tilang long after the so-called battle of Talikoṭa. *Further Sources,* I, 260 are clear that it was Rāmarāj "who induced Sitapati (Citapa Khan) and Vidiadry to march against Ellore and Rajahmundri".

33. *Q.S.*, 170/3. There was Govinda Vidyādhar who became all-powerful in Orissa in 1541, for whom see Banerji, *History of Orissa,* I, 337, and Dānāi Vidyādhar, who was the prime minister of the kings of the Bhoi dynasty but who was defeated and captured by the Telugu king of Orissa Mukunda Harichandana; *ibid.*, 341. Unless Dānāi was later released and made common cause with Shitāb Khān, this Vidyādhar may well be his son or other relative.

Barapalli, probably Dēvarapallī, about 15 miles west of Rajahmundri; 17° 3′ N., 81° 33′ E. *Dowlēshwar* (Dowlaisheram in the Imperial Gazetteer of India), five miles south of Rajahmundri; 16° 57′ N., 81° 47′ E. *Tatpak* or Tatipaka, south of Rajahmundri, in the delta of the Godavari.

34. For various accounts regarding Peddiraju in the *Kaifiyats,* see Sastri, *op. cit.*, 7-9.

35. As will be seen later, I have conclusively proved that the battle was fought neither at Tālīkoṭa nor between the two villages Rakasgi and Tangadgi south of Krishna but at the village Bannihaṭṭi 12 miles south of the river. I therefore originally named the battle after the river as it fell almost midway between Tālīkoṭa and Bannihaṭṭi. But Radhey Shyam in his book *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar,* p. 133, while accepting my argument quite rightly avers that the name of the actual site, Bannihaṭṭi, should indicate the battle. I have therefore named the section accordingly.

36. There seems to be a marked similarity between the alliance of the Sulṭān against Rāmarāj and the alliance of the states with such widely divergent ideologies as England, the United States of America and Russia against Nazi Germany in 1941. The similarity is almost complete when we see that, just as the western powers and the U.S.S.R. fell out after the defeat of the Nazis, so, once the danger from Vijayanagar had been set at rest the old animosities reappeared and continued till practically

the whole of the south was swallowed up by the Mughal Empire. We have still to see what is going to happen to Europe which is torn at present.

37. For Ḥusain's attitude see *Fer.*, III, 172; *Briggs*, II, 122. For Alī's attitude see *Fer.*, II, 35; *Briggs*, III, 123; *Basatin*, 89-91. *Further Sources* I, 275 quote *Rāmarājana Bakhair* (which they confess to be of "an uncertain date), that "Alī 'Ādil did not join the confederacy wholeheartedly", a story which is corroborated by *Keladinṛpavijayam*. But we must remember that *Rāmarājana Bakhair* is the book which brings in the Emperor Akbar as one of the combatants and calls him "the ruler of Jalnapura". In spite of this most glaring misstatement *N. and V.* say on p. 276 that "the facts mentioned in these works" must not be dismissed without consideration". Chandorkar, in his article on the Destruction of Vijayanagar (in Marathi), *Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshodaka Maṇḍal*, Poona, 1914 p. 170, says that the Maratha accounts of the battle name "Akbar Shah Badshah" as one of the participants. It is known that Aḥmadnagar was the "cradle of the Maratha race" as modern fighters and it was the first in the Deccan to feel the pressure from the Mughal north; it is no doubt ante-dating the first contacts with Akbar that he is named as one of the allies.

We know fully well that the union of the Sulṭāns was cemented by matrimonial alliances, while the long-standing feud about the possession of Shōlāpūr was set aside by the voluntary cession of the fort by Ḥusain Surely this could only be a prelude to the whole-hearted cooperation of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh in the work which Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh had placed before himself.

Bāgalkoṭ, headquarters of a taluqa in the Bijāpūr district, Mysore State; 16° 11′ N., 75° 42′ E.

38. See *Further Sources*, I, 274, 275; also see the previous note. It is strange that the eminent authors of *Further Sources* consider it worthwhile to discuss the question of the participation of the Emperor Akbar in the battle and simply round off the argument with the remark that "that there is no evidence *at present*" (italics mine) for the verification of this statement. One would have thought that they would simply brush aside a "howler" like this without comment!

39. *Fer.*, II, 171; this has wrongly been rendered by *Briggs*, III, 351 as "Ibraheem Kutub Shah sent an envoy and sued for peace".

40. *Briggs*, III, 118.

41. *Fer.*, II, 38.

Naldrug, on the Bori river, in the Tuljāpūr taluqa, Osmanabad district, Maharashtra State; 17° 49′ N., 76° 29′ E.

42. See *Fer.*, II, 38; *Basātin*, 91; *Bur.*, 413; *Q.S.*, 174. While criticising the Persian, authorities on their seeming contradiction, *Further Sources*, 273, rely on *Briggs*, 413, which is an epitomised translation of a page from *Q.S.* ("Anonymous Historian"). The initiative on the part of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh has, however, been missed in the epitomised translation. For the original says on p. 174 that it was Ḥusain who sent Maulānā 'Ināyatu'l-lāh with an autograph letter to Ibrāhīm in which he made an offer of friendship and entreated him for help against Rāmarāj. It was in response to this that Ibrāhīm sent Muṣṭafā Khān to Aḥmadnagar. *Burhān*, 412, says that both Maulānā 'Ināyatu'l-lāh and Qāsim Bēg were sent from Aḥmadnagar to Bijāpūr. It should be noted that Diego de Couto in his *Decadas*, VIII, 28-29, referred to in *Aravidu*, 195, also attributes the initiative to Ḥusain *Fer.*, II, 272, is explicit that Berar did not take part in the campaign at all.

43. *Four Sultans; Fer.*, II, 128; *Tab.*, 438; *Basātīn*, 95. This is corroborated by Caesar Fredericke in *Purchas*, X, 93 and followed by most modern writers. The Telugu Kaifiyats are very cryptic. Thus the Kaifiyat of Taḍpatri enumerates "five Turuksha padusahas" including the Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar and "Nizamshah of Daulatabad" and "Imadulmulk of Birad-Burhanpur", while the Kaifiyat of Cuddapah enumerates four Sulṭāns but allots one to Aḥmadnagar and another to Daulatābād. It is strange that in spite of those glaring discrepancies, which amount to near absurdities, *Further Sources*, I, 274, give some credit to them and include 'Imād Shāh of Berar as one of the belligerents, simply because the number in one of the Kaifiyats reaches 51.

44. *Q.S.*, 174-76. Oath; *T.Q.I.*, 113 a, where it is stated that it was after 3 days' consultations that full accord was reached. *T.Q.I.*, 112 b, says that the meeting took place at Gulbarga, but all the other authorities, e.g., *Burhān*, 416, mention Shōlāpūr as the meeting place, while *Q.S.* has the suburbs of Shōlāpūr as the place where the Sulṭāns met. Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, I, 92, quite wrongly makes Hadya Sulṭānā 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's daughter; of course Gribble is none too reliable an author even apart from this *faux pas*.

45. *Fer.*, II, 39; *Basātīn*, 91.

46. *Fer.*, II, 39. How wrong is the theory that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh did not allow the Sulṭāns or their armies to pass through his territory on the way to Vijayanagar; for this Chandorkar, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

47. *Burhān*, 416, is clear that the allies started from Bijāpūr on 20-5-972/24-12-1564.

48. *Basātīn*, 96.

49. Bastions of Vijayanagar; *Aravidu*, 98. Forces from "furthest

Ceylon", *Q.S.*, 177. Composition of the Vijayanagar forces, *Sewell*, 201; Muslims, *Further Sources*, I, 244-5, 267; *Purchas*, X, 53. It is beyond all doubt that Rāmarāj was not sleeping over the invasion as Diego de Couto seems to think: *Decadas*, VIII, c. 15; see *Sewell*, 200.

50. *Fer.*, II, 39. 20-5-972 corresponds to 24-12-1564, not to 26-12-1564 as in *Briggs*, III, 126.

51. Date of the battle, *Q.S.*, 184. Here also *Briggs* has miscalculated the Christian date; it should be 23-1-1565 not 25-1-1565. Sewell rightly says that 20-6-972 was not Friday but Tuesday. *Burhān.*, 420, has 2-5-972, and this has been followed in its epitomised translation by King. By a curious misunderstanding the date of the battle as given in *Further Sources*, I, 279, is 20-5-972/26-12-1564, which is really the date on which the allied armies left Bijāpūr for the south. The learned authors even go on to add that it was on that date that Rāmarāj was killed! As a matter of fact there was no contact with the Vijayanagar troops till the allies had reached the Krishna. All that we can say is that war conditions started with expulsion of the 'Ādil Shāhī envoy by the Regent of Vijayanagar; but fighting did not actually commence till the morning of 20-6-972 See *Fer.*, II. 39; *Burhān*, 416; *Q.S.*, 177.

52. *Tālikotā* is not on the Krishna as in *Q.S.*, 177 and *Fer.*, 39 but is on the Don about 22 miles due north of the river Krishna, in Muddebihal taluqa of the Bijāpūr District, Mysore State 16° 28′ N., 76° 19′ E. Concentration of the army of the allies; *Fer.*, II, 39; *Briggs*, III, 126; *Burhān*, 416; *Q.S.*, 177. Tālikōṭā is not mentioned in the rhymed history of the Quṭb Shāhs, the *Ṭawarikh Kutbshah*, where it is mentioned that the concentration took place "in the Gulbarga plain"; *T.Q.I.*, 112 b.

53. *Gaw* is a little more than 6 miles, not 30 to 40 kroh or 60 to 80 miles as in *Fer.*, II, 39; this is unthinkable, as the spurs of the Western Ghats reach the south bank of the Krishna within 20 miles of this place.

54. The first contacts; *Fer.*, II, 39, 128; *Basātīn*, 97, 98. *Bur.*, 97, says that the earthwork was erected "opposite all possible crossings." See also *Q.S.*, 177.

55. J. A. Campbell, *Bijapur District Gazetteer*, 1884, pp. 416, 679. He names the town *Talikoti* although it is generally known as Tālikōṭā and is so named in the *Survey of India Map*, 56/D/SW, 1922.

Nalatwad, in the Rāichūr District, Mysore State, on the direct route due South from Tālikōṭā, 6 miles due north of the southward curve of the river; 16° 15′ N., 76° 181′ E.

56. *Sewell*, p. 199, note 2.

Bhogāpūr, 6½ miles from the nearest bank of the Krishna, in the south-eastern direction of Nalatvad; 16° 6′ N., 76° 22′ E. It is distinct from

Bāyāpūr, which is 1½ miles to the south-east; 16° 5′ N., 76° 22′ E. Sewell is mistaken in regarding them as the two names of a single village. Both these hamlets as well as the town of Mudgal are well to the southeast of Tālīkōṭā, and it is very unlikely that the allied army should have swerved eastward in its march to the south.

57. *Further Sources,* I, 263-65.

58. This is no doubt due to a misunderstanding, as it is nowhere mentioned that the battle was fought at Tālīkōṭā.

59. The query is on I, 265.

60. *Ingalgi,* village in the Bijāpūr district, Mysore State, half a mile from the northern bank of the Krishna, almost within the southward bend; 16° 13′ N., 76° 17′ E. *Tonḍihal,* in the Rāichūr district, Mysore State, almost due south of Nalatvad, S.E. of Ingalgi half a mile from the south bank of the Krishna; 16° 9′ N., 76° 19′ E.

Dhanūr, in the Bijāpūr district, about 12 miles from the ford opposite Tonḍihal in the west, a couple of miles from the sangam of the Mālaprabhā and the Krishna, half a mile from the south bank of the river; 16° 12′ N., 76° 7′ E. *Rakasgi* (not Raksasi) in the Bijāpūr district, half a mile north of the Krishna, 4 miles west of Ingalgi; 16° 11′ N., 76° 13′ E. *Tangadgi* (not Tangadi) in the Bijāpūr district, also half a mile north of the Krishna, nine miles west of Rakasgi, 16° 13′ N., 76° 6′ E.

Sangam of Mālaprabha with the Krishna, also the name of a village; 16° 12′ N., 76° 3′ E.

It is interesting to note that local tradition places the ford by which the allied armies crossed over from Ingalgi, at Islāmpūr on the other side of the river; for this see Bashīru'd-dīn Aḥmad, *Wāqi'āt Mamlukat Bijāpūr,* Agra, 1915, Vol. I, p. 112, n.

Islāmpūr, in the Bijāpūr district, ½ a mile south of the Krishna, about 2 miles W.N.W. of Tonḍihal; 16° 9′ N., 76° 14′ E.

61. River *Hukēri; Fer.,* II, 128; *Briggs,* III, 246. The Hukēri flows into the Maski from the south near the village of Banihaṭṭi which is situated on 15° 53′ N., 76° 18′ E. This place is twelve miles from the Krishna within what was then Vijayanagar territory. See *Bijapur District Gazetteer,* p. 770.

62. *Aravidu,* 203.

63. There was no question of "petitioning" Rāmarāj as *Keladinṛpavijayam* would have it. The learned authors of *Further Sources* are quite rightly doubtful; see I, 276. The allied armies were already in Vijayanagar territory, and were fully aware of the might of the southern Empire before they made up their mind to sink their own differences and attack

it. This message was really a kind of a peaceful move to which Rāmarāj did not pay any heed.

64. The problem of the number of the armies facing each other, especially of the Vijayanagar army, has been fully discussed in *Further Sources*, I, 281-82, and in *Aravidu*, 200. I am afraid it is too facile to give much importance to a document like *Rāmarājana Bakhair* for reasons given in the text. As has been mentioned above, the *Bakhair* includes "Akbar Jalaluddin", as well as "the Mughal Padshah Abdullah Khan" as combatants in the battle (*Further Sources*, III, 209, 209 n.), makes the Vijayanagar army carry nearly ten crore maunds of gunpowder and 9,87,65,43,21,00,00,000 cannon balls, which is something like a notation exercise. (*Ibid.*, III, 233). The accounts included in the documents are truly too fantastic to be believed. To quote another instance, it says that Akbar took with him to the battlefield 2½ crore of footsoldiers, 12,000 riderless horses, 1 lac elephants, 2 lac camels, besides a huge number of followers; *ibid.*, I, 282. "Most of these figures are quite worthless to the historian", *ibid.*, I, 283. Losses of Vijayanagar; *Fer.*, II, 41, 1 to 3 lacs; *Burhān*, 426, ninety thousand.

65. Wealth valued at more than 100,000,000 sterling, loaded on the back of 1,550 elephants, according to *Further Sources*, I, 291, where a reference is made to *Purchas*, X, 94.

66. *Ibid.*, 280. *Penukonḍa*, headquarters of a subdivision on the Anantapūr district, Andhra Pradesh; 14° 5′ N., 77° 36′ E. For a general description of this town see Subramanyam, *Geographical Notes on the Chief Capitals of the Vijayanagar Empire*, Vijayanagar Sex-Centenary volume, p. 330.

67. A single battle, that fought at Waterloo, decided the fate of Europe, and perhaps, of the world. It was only when wars began to be fought by nations rather than by autocrats, and trench warfare was developed, that battles became long drawn.

68. For the calculation of the different versions of the period of the war see *Further Sources*, I, 280.

69. *Purchas*, X, 93. Caesar Fredericke left Venice in 1563 and travelled from Ormuz to Goa and then proceeded to Vijayanagar via Khambāyat which was then a great emporium of trade. He calls Rāmarāj and his two brothers "three tyrants" who had placed the "lawful king" in confinement.

70. *Aravidu*, 200, where a reference has been made to Taylor, *Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil Language*, 1825, II, 15.

71. For the date of the battle see note 51 above. A number of the accounts of the engagement have been left to us which differ in detail,

and it is difficult to evaluate their veracity. In the narrative given here an attempt has been made to give the most plausible or the most corroborated account and to coordinate or discuss other accounts at the same time.

72. Line of battle; *Fer.*, II, 128; *T.Q.I.*, 118 b; *Q.S.*, 179 follows *Fer.*, but does not mention 'Alī Barīd's participation. "Order of the Day." *Fer.*, *ibid.*, *T.Q.I.*, 114 a—115b introduces another brother of Ramaraj named Aswād, who was killed probably in the engagement on the banks of the Krishna with forty thousand allied troops; this name is not mentioned in any other chronicle.

73. Rockets; *Basātīn*, 101; *Fer.*, II, 40. Praise of the fortitude of Tilangana soldiers; *T.Q.I.*, 118 b; the lines are:

که هشیار می باش از رزمگاه
از آهنگ آن مردم قطبشاه
که آن قوم در کینه دیوانه اند
بزهر افگنان تلنگانه اند

74. Retreat of the two wings of the allied army; *Burhān*, 422; *T.Q.I.* 118 b. *Rāmarājana Bakhair* relates the story of the attempted bribery of 'Alī 'Ādil Shah on the part of Rāmarāj during the battle, resulting in the protest of the former that he was still the regent's friend. It may or may not be true that Rāmarāj attempted to bribe 'Alī and to put an end to his resistance by underhand methods; but there is no doubt that 'Alī did continue the struggle in spite of this; see *Further Sources*, I, 287. The *Bakhair* also says that " 'Imādu'l-mulk retired from the fray"; but as we know, 'Imād Shah was not a party to the battle at all, and this fact resulted in the invasion of Berar and its annexation to the Kingdom of Aḥmadnagar.

75. Fate of *Venkaṭādri* and *Timmarāja; T.Q.I.*, 119 b, says that Venkaṭādri was killed at the hands of Ibrāhīm's officer, Syedji, the same as had accompanied Ibrāhīm to his exile at Vijayanagar. This is corroborated by Caesar Fredericke (*Purchas*, X, 93) referred to in *Aravidu* 216. We however, find that it was Venkaṭādri who restored all the forts and parganas taken by his brother, after the battle; for this see *Fer.*, II, 129. It seems possible that while Venkaṭādri fled from the battlefield and Timmarāja was struck in his eye they were taken as casualties by the allied army and so reported in some of our chronicles. The whole question of Venkaṭādri's death has been discussed in *Aravidu*, 216, where Portuguese, Telugu and Persian authorities have been collated.

76. The allied artillery; *Fer.*, II, 128. There were three kinds of cannon

which were used by Rūmī Khān, viz. the largest called *top*, the cannon of moderate size called the *zarb-zan*, and the piece larger than a musket but smaller than the *Zarb-zan* called the *zambūrak*. The muskets were called *tufang;* see *Briggs*, III, 248, Cylinders of gunpowder تارو رهائے نفط

Bur., 423 حقه بازي آتش بازان *T.Q.I.*, 121 a.

77. *Fer.*, 128. Both Rāmarāj and Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh had set up huge *shamianas* or *dihliz* in the middle of their lines to show that they would not retreat under any circumstances. See *Briggs*, III, 405, note; also *Burhān*, 423. Description of Rāmarāj's *dihliz; Briggs*, III, 129.

78. Intensity of the bombardment; *T.Q.I.*, 121 a. Bombardment by cannon stuffed with brass coins; *Fer.*, II, 128; *Fer.*, II, 40, has that it was Kishwar Khān who fired brass coins.

79. 'Alī shoots Rāmarāj with a cannon ball out of compassion; *Further Sources*, III, 241. The elephant episode; *Fer.*, II, 29. Dalpat Rao; *Basātīn;* 103-4. Rāmarāj killed in battle with a cannon ball; *Tab.*, 438. Here it would be better to give a gist of the story as related in *T.Q.I.*, 122 a. It says that when Rāmarāj realised that the game was up he rode a horse intending to fly from the battlefield, but he was espied by Ḥusain's soldiers who caught him and brought him before the King. Ḥusain addressed him thus: "You know that you invaded my country, despoiled mosques and laid waste my territory, and it is time that you should be punished for all the crimes that you committed", and so saying he drew his sword and struck him dead. *Aravidu*, 213, quoting what Father Heras calls *Poona Persian Poem* (P.P.P.), in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshodaka Maṇḍala of Poona, no. 126, Persian, says that the story contained in the poem culminates in the beheading of Rāmarāj by Ḥusain's order. Unfortunately I do not find any such reference in the lines of the poem. There is also a slight mistake in the transcription of the relevant line 30 on p. 559 which should read:

بزخم سنان کافر رامراج سرش بر زمین خورد و افتاد تاج

which is translated thus on p. 563: "With the blow of the spear the head of the infidel Ram Raj fell to the ground, and (also) his crown". This obviously does not mean that "the Sultan ordered his head to be struck off" at the outset, as in *Aravidu*, 213. When we read this line along with line 32 on the same page, which is again a slightly faulty copy of the lines on plates opposite pp. 214 and 216,

بیک کس اشارت چوں آں شاہ کرد سرش رابریدند و پرکاہ کرد

we would come to the conclusion that Rāmarāj died of a spear wound and when his body was brought to Husain he had his head cut off in order to show the Vijayanagar army that it was no use prolonging the

fight. The most probable story seems to be that Rāmarāj was struck by a cannon ball and died there and then. This is related by *Tab.*, 438. As *Further Sources*, I, 290 rightly say, Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad compiled his book "within three decades of the death of Rāmarāj . . . and he seems to give a true account of the circumstances under which Rāmarāj met his death".

The *"Poona Persian Poem"* which has been transcribed as an appendix to *Aravidu*, is in fact a Persian *maṯnawi*, named *"Ta'rīf Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh Bādshāh Dakan,"* and endorsed by the director of the Imperial Mughal Library of Delhi to which it seems to have been taken after the fall of Aḥmadnagar in 1600. The name of the author, "Aftābī" appears in II. 43 and 64. See 'Abdu'l-lah Chaghtāi's article, "Farsī kī ek Qalamī Maṯhnawī", *Urdu*, New Delhi, April, 1943, pp. 196-221. The whole *maṯhnawi* has been copied on pp. 205-221.

80. Two days and two nights; *T.Q.I.*, 122 a. Four hours; Caesar Fredericke, in *Purchas*, X, 93. Here it might be noted that Caesar Fredericke was at Vijayanagar immediately after the end of the battle when "an attempt was made to repopulate the city", and was therefore an eye witness of the reactions of the battle on the inhabitants of the city.

81. Three days; *T.Q.I.*, 122 b; also, Diego de Couto in *Sewell*, 207; 10 days, Q.S. 180.

82. *Sewell*, 206-7, quoting Diego de Couto's *Decadas da Asia.*

83. Niẓām Shāhī soldiers' thirst for revenge; *Q.S.*, 181.

84. The period of stay at Vijayanagar; *Aravidu*, 223, 5 months; *Purchas*, X, 93, 6 months; *Sewell* 180, 5 months.

85. First set of quotations from *Briggs*, III, 131, 414. Caesar Fredericke, *Purchas*, X, 93 98. For a description of existing temples, bazars and other monuments see Longhurst, *Humpi Ruins*, 1933, Part 2.

86. Sathyanatha Aiyar, "The Climacteric of Talikota," *J.I.H.*, April 1927, p. 78. It is plain that the Battle of Bannihaṭṭi did not mean the end of the Vijayanagar Empire as Prof. Siddiqui would have it; see his *History of Golconda*, 85, 86.

87. *Further Sources*, I, 294.

88. *Ibid.*, I, 294-96; *Aravidu*, 245-47. The incapacity of some of those whom Rāmarāj had promoted is evidenced by the rule of his brother Tirumala first as Regent, then as Rāya after Sadāśiva's murder. He could not keep even the truncated Empire intact.

89. Thus in *Q.S.*, 182, 183. *Basātīn*, 109, 110, has a different story. It says that after the Battle Ḥusain and Ibrāhīm sent a secret message to Tirumala not to restore the doāb forts to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, and Tirumala

on his part sent his excuses to Bijāpūr saying that it was impossible to restore the forts immediately as the rainy season had set in. 'Alī had therefore to besiege them and take them by force. This story does not seem probable as Tirumala knew that it was not possible to face 'Alī's might single-handed, and evidently he did not have the *active* backing either of Ibrāhīm or 'Alī.

Bashiru'd-dīn Aḥmad gives the life story of Muṣṭafā Khān Ardistāni in his *Wāqi'āt Mamlukat Bijapur*, I, 156-58, where he says that Ibrāhīm allowed him to carry with him 80,000 hons worth of moveables, 20,000 hons worth of jewels and 12,000 hons in cash. Although it is said that he ordered Muṣṭafā's house at Golkonḍa to be razed to the ground he could not but have thought that he was taking all his property on the back of 700 porters and 5,000 camels to Mecca!

90. *Ḥusain's death:* 11 days after his return to Aḥmadnagar (*Fer.*, II, 130) on 7.11.972/26.5.1565 (*Burhān*, 428); Murtaẓa assumed power on 5.7.973. (not 993 as in the printed edition of *Bur.*) which corresponds to 26.1.1566. *Fer.*, II, 130, says that Murtaẓā's mother, Khūnza Humāyūn, was the regent of Aḥmadnagar for six years, so he could not have "assumed power" in 973. But *Fer.* has it on the same page that he was 16 at the time of his accession, while *Q.S.*, 188, is clear that he had attained the age of twelve only when he came to the throne, and this fits in well with six years' Regency. *Briggs'* calculation (III, 416) that 7.11.972 fell on 7.6.1565 is evidently wrong.

91. *Fer.*, II, 130.

92. *Q.S.*, 184, 185; *Fer.*, II, 130; date in *Fer.*, II, 41.

93. *Fer.*, II, 131-32; date in *Fer.*, II, 132. See also *Burhān*, 447. This campaign is not mentioned in *Q.S.* Kishwar Khān's death in the battle of Gulbarga, *Basātīn*, 117. 'Alī's message to Murtaẓā, *Fer.*, II, 133; "interception" of Ibrāhīm's letter, *Fer.*, II, 171, *Briggs*, III, 417, has a footnote that the account (i.e. of 'the anonymous historian' meaning that of *Q.S.*) "differs widely from that given by Ferishta". *Briggs* thinks that the two accounts refer to the same campaign, and this mistake is also found in *H.A.*, pp. 154, 155. As will be evident from the dates of the two campaigns, which follow each other, there cannot be any doubt with regard to their being separate. The two dates are found in *Fer.*, although it gives only a brief reference to the first campaign which is described in detail in *Q.S.*

Ferishta winds off the account of the campaign of 977/with an account of the wanton poisoning of Ibrāhīm's eldest son, Prince 'Abdu'l-Qādir on a mere suspicion, simply because he had offered to fight the invading army of Aḥmadnagar and bring it to book (*Fer.* II, 133). Apart from its

sheer improbability in the absence of any charge against the Prince, we have it from *Q.S.* (as well as from *Tārīkh-i Dakan Ḥālāt-i Quṭbiyah, op. cit.* that he died a natural death. It is there related that when he fell ill in the fort of Dēwarkoṇḍā his father sent to him Amīn Khān with the court physician to treat him; but this was of no avail and he did not get over the disease. Ferishta is always calumnising Ibrāhīm and does not fail to charge him with treachery and faithlessness wherever possible and this may be one of the instances in which he has tried to throw Ibrāhīm's reputation into the gutter. There is no doubt that Ibrāhīm was bent on keeping peace in his kingdom; but to order that his eldest son be poisoned simply because he had offered to fight the enemy which had probably penetrated into the kingdom, is beyond comprehension.

It should be noted that the Amīnu'l-Mulk episode as well as the facts relating to the imprisonment of the Dowager Queen of Aḥmadnagar have been placed after the Orissa campaign of Raf'at Khān Lārī by the author of *Q.S.*, pp. 198-201. Obviously this cannot be correct as *Fer.*, II, 132 definitely says that these events took place in 977/1570 while the Orissa campaign was undertaken two years later.

94. Fall of Adoni: *Fer.*, II, 42; *Briggs*, III, 134; *Further Sources;* III, 248, No. 19, (m); *Basātīn*. 211. After 1565 most of the feudatories of the Empire became independent while the government at Penukoṇḍā was powerless to assist them against the might of Bijāpūr. Tōrgul, in the Kōlhāpur District, Maharashtra State; 15° 57′ N., 75° 15′ E. Dhārwāṛ, headquarters of a district in the Mysore State; 15° 27′ N., 75° 1′ E. *Bankāpūr*, headquarters of a taluqa in the Dhārwāṛ District; 14° 55′ N., 75° 16′ E.

95. *Briggs*, III, 136.

96. *Further Sources*, I, 298; *Aravidu*, 259. Seringapatam, headquarters of a taluqa in Mysore district once the capital of Ḥaidar 'Alī and Tīpū Sulṭān 12° 25′ N., 76° 42′ E. Chandragiri, headquarters of a taluqa in North Arcot district, Madras State; 13° 35′ N., 79° 19′ E.

97. The source of this account is *Q.S.* 187-190, and this is practically reproduced in *Briggs*, III, 419-20. *Fer.*, II, 135, says that the attack on Berar took place in 980/1572, but it does not mention the episode of Murtaẓā ravaging Tilangānā in this connection.

For "Yeltermrāj" see *Aravidu*, 258-259, where he is identified by Tirumala. Murtaẓā reigned, 7.11.972/26.6.1565 to 18.7.996/3.6.1588; see Burhān, J. 11.

98. Division of Orissa into two parts: See *Banerji, op. cit.*, I, 348. Northern Orissa, with its capital at Kharda, became a vassal of Akbar's

Empire, while Southern Orissa, which had been a province of Vijayanagar, was split up into a number of principalities which naturally made the country a target for the Quṭb Shāhī kings. It may be noted that Rājahmundri and its environs were Telugu speaking regions and were therefore akin to the Quṭb Shāhī dominions in language and culture. For the capture of Rājahmundri by Quṭb Shāhī troops, see also *S.I.I.*, X, 753, where an inscription from Dharmāvaram (Guṇṭūr district) is reproduced saying that a general of "Ibrahama Chakravarti" capture Rājahmundri and other forts in the district.

Kharḍa, town in the Barrackpur taluqa of the district of 24 Parganas, W. Bengal; 22° 44′ N., 88° 22′ E.

99. The Orissan campaigns: *Q.S.* 192-94 *Briggs*, III, 421-27. *Rājāpūnḍi;* perhaps the same as Pūnḍī situated at the mouth of Mahendratanya river, Ganjām District, Orissa State; 22° 44′ N., 88° 22′ E.; Maltby and Leman, *Ganjām District Manual*, reprinted in 1918, p. 34. *Paṭnāpūr* or Piṭhāpuram, headquarters of a taluqa of the same name, East Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh; 17° 7′ N., 82° 15′ E.

100. It is rather strange that while the progress of Malik Nā'ib Raf'at Khān is given almost step by step in *Q.S.*, and in an epitomised form in *Briggs*, it is not even mentioned in Banerji's, rather detailed *History of Orissa*. Banerji refers at the end of Volume, I, p. 348-51, to an article of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Śāstri that "the Gajapati Kingdom was from 1559 in the hands of a Telugu family of usurpers of which Mukandadēva and Bahubalendra were members.....". He also refers to an inscription on a rock situated four miles from Boirāni which mentions Narasimha as the Gajapati and a chief named Bahubalendra as his subordinate. This inscription is dated 1590, and "proves that there was an independent line of the Gajapatis in the Ganjām district who were ruling as subordinates of the Sultan of Golkonda". It is difficult here to reconcile the independence of these Gajapatis with the statement, which is definitely backed by internal evidence, that they were subordinate to the Sulṭān. The fact seems to be, as is vouchsafed by *Q.S.*, that the region was left in the possession of Bahubalendra as the feudatory to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. Banerji also doubts the testimony of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar that "the Golkonda troops advanced conquering to the Bay of Bengal and conquered the country from the Chilka lake to the Pennar river. Their raiding bands penetrated as far north as Kharda, the seat of the faineant Rajah of Orissa. The Gajapati Rajah of Ganjam was ousted by the Golkonda Sultan in 1571". It may not be in 1571 but in 1574 that this took place, but what is certain is that the country was subdued, and that one of the scions of the ruling Telugu family, Bahubalendra, was made the feudatory chief of the locality, and further that he ruled at least up to 1590. This

takes up right on to the reign of Ibrāhīm's successor, Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

So far as the name Bahubalendra is concerned (Palendra in *Q.S.*, 194, Bhaibulendar in *Briggs*, III, 424) Banerji says that persons of that name were the hereditary rulers "whose names always appear to have been Mukundadeva", as they recur in a number of inscriptions. This is all we gather from local history, and only proves the utter helplessness of the once powerful Gajapatis and their officers.

It is possible that "Bahubalendra" may be a family name, for *S.I.I.* X 750, speaks of "Bahubalendra Kula": See M. Rama Rao: "Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shah's Campaigns against Kalinga", *D. V. Potdar Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1950, pp. 114-120.

101. *Q.S.*, 197. For Vasnadeo see Ch. I, n. 91, above. In Ibrāhīm's context also *Briggs*, III, 25, calls Vasnadeo Veiji Nath Dew. *Dewāna palli* probably Devapallī, about 10 miles north-east of Gopālapallī, in the Gajapatipuram taluqa of Visakhapatnam District, Andhra Pradesh; 18° 15′ N., 82° 23′ E. See Francis, *Vizagapatam District Gazetteer*, pp. 294, 307.

102. The story of the conquest of Berar by Murtazā Niẓām Shāh is given in great detail in *Burhān*, pp. 456 ff. *Burhān*, being a chronicle mainly of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty, relates the story with a certain amount of verbosity, interspersed with many laudatory lines both in prose and poetry. Although there are notices of the campaign in *Fer.*, II, 135-37 and 175-76, the only reference to the part Ibrāhīm played in the affair is that he sent a contingent to help Tufāl Khān. We are, however, thankful to *Fer.*, for giving us the date of the commencement of the campaign, i.e., 980/1572. There is a full description of the part played by Tilang in *Q.S.*, 209-216.

It might be mentioned here that Murtaẓā's father, Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh had married Daryā 'Imād Shāh's daughter, Daulat Shāh, and thus Burhān 'Imād Shāh was Murtaẓā's own cousin.

103. The unsuccessful campaign of Bijapur and Aḥmadnagar against Golkonda is mentioned both in *Burhān*, 461 and in *Q.S.*, 209, 210. In *Burhān*, it is expressly related that the invaders reached the outskirts of Golkoṇḍā when they had to retreat owing to the rainy season.

Deglūr, headquarters of a taluqa in the Nandēṛ District, Maharashtra State; 18° 33′ N., 77° 35′ E.

104. Royal farmān; *Burhān*, 462.

105. Date in *Burhān*, 469.

106. Asad Khān at Narnālā; *Burhān* 472. Bribe offered; *Fer.*, II, 175-76.

Tufāl's capture; *Burhān*, 476. *Fer.*, II, 136-37 says that Tufāl was not captured at Narnālā but succeeded in flying to the jungle, and it was later that his relatives were captured and confined in a fortress where they died.

Narnālā, hill fort in the Akoṭ taluqa of the Akola District, Maharashtra State, on the southernmost spurs of the Satpuṛās; 21° 15′ N., 77° 4′ E. *Gāwil* or *Gāwilgaṛh*, hill-fort in the Satpuṛās, built by Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī between 1425 and 1428, in the Mēlghāt taluqa of the Amarāvati district, Maharashtra State; 21° 22′ N., 77° 23′ E.

107. *Burhān*, 475-76. Mirān Muḥammad Shāh's campaign and defeat; *Ibid.*, 476-82. He ruled Khāndēsh from 1567 to 1576.

108. Embassy to Murtaẓā; *Burhān*, 482.

109. For the general condition of Vijayanagar on the accession of Sri Ranga; *Further Sources*, I, 301; *Aravidu*, 264 ff; for an illustration of the civil war which went on during the period see *Velugot*, Intr., 51.

110. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's invasion of Vijayanagar territory; *Fer.*, II, 45. Ibrāhīm's interference, *Q.S.*, 217, where the siege of Vijayanagar obviously means the siege of Penukoṇḍā. Faẓal Khān's mission is mentioned in Ponnaganṭi Talaganārya's *Yāyaticharitram*, where he says that the Khān went with an army to Penukoṇḍā and persuaded Sri Ranga to meet Ibrāhīm on the frontier; *Sources*, 236-37. Date of 'Alī's retreat from Penukoṇḍā, *S.I.I.*, vii, 563, referred to in *Further Sources*, I, 304.

111. The Ahobalam expedition is mentioned neither in *Fer.* nor in *Q.S.* It is the subject of an inscription at Ahobalam dated S.S. 1506/1584 which falls during the region of Muḥammad-Quṭb Shāh. See *Sources*, 233; also *Further Sources*, I, 305-6; *Aravidu*, 272-73. The expedition is also mentioned in the *Kaifiyat* of Pedda Pasupula, for which see *Further Sources*, III, 255. For the conquest of Udayagiri see *Sources*, 239-40, referring to the bilingual inscription (Telugu and Persian) of Amīnu'l-Mulk, where it is related that not only Udayagiri but Vinukoṇḍā, Belamkoṇḍā, Tangada and Koṇḍāvīḍu were also captured. *Ahobalam;* Ahobilam in the Imperial Gazetteer of India; village in the Sirvēl taluqa of the Karnūl district; 15° 8′ N., 78° 45′ E.

112. Koṇḍāvīḍu expedition; *Q.S.*, 217-21; *Further Sources*, I, 306 and III 255-56, where the Kaifiyat of Koṇḍāvīḍu is quoted which fully corroborates *Q.S.* The campaign started on 29-3-1579; 1589 is no doubt a typographical error on page 306 of *Further Sources*, To my knowledge there is no evidence that Ḥaidaru'l-Mulk served under Murahari Rao. Date of the occupation of Koṇḍāvīḍu as given in *Q. S.* 220, corresponding

to *Briggs*, III, 257, is Ṣafar 987/April, 1579. *N. & V. I*, 307, have however, placed the event on April 29, 1580, which makes a difference of exactly a year. They have relied on the Kaifiyat of Cuddapah, *N. & V.*, III, where the date given is Vaisakha, su. 15, 1502/28.4.1580.

The offer of a bribe of "brass bags of varahas" by the Quṭb Shāhī officer, Rāi Rao to the commandant of the garrison, Velugoṭī Timma is mentioned only in the *Kaifiyat* of Koṇḍāvīḍu, for which see *Further Sources*, III, 256. There is, however, no mention of Murahari Rao in this *Kaifiyat*, and I feel that there is no valid reason why Rāi Rao should be identified with Murahari as in *Further Sources*, I, 307. Murahari Rao's name is mentioned only towards the end of Ibrāhīm's reign when he was appointed virtual regent of the kingdom; for this see *Briggs*, III, 444.

Belamkoṇḍā; hill fort in the Sattanapallī taluqa of the Guṇṭūr district, Andhra Pradesh; 16° 3′ N., 79° 44′ E.

Kumbum, headquarters of a taluqa in the Karnūl district, Andhra Pradesh, 15° 35′ N., 79° 6′ E.

Gurram, perhaps the same as Gurramkoṇḍā, fortress in the Vayalpad taluqa of the Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh; 13° 47′ N., 78° 35′ E.

113. 'Alī's death and Ibrāhīm II's accession; *Basātīn*, 152; *Fer.*, II, 47. Quick changes in the ministry at Bijapur; *Basatīn*, 153-188. There is an interesting episode recorded in *Basātīn*, 154: Chand Bibi got thoroughly disgusted with mismanagement, corruption and high-handedness of Kāmil Khān Dakhnī but felt powerless to remove him from office. She knew that there was a party in the capital headed by Kishwar Khān which hated Kāmil. She thereupon sent some women's garments, a *charkha* and some cotton-wool to Kishwar Khān with a message that the country was already sick of what Kāmil Khān was doing, and unless Kishwar Khān was able to remove Kāmil from the scene and assure better government he should put on women's dress and take to spinning on the *charkha !*

114. Attack on Bidar and names of Hindu and Muslim commanders; *Burhān*, 507-510; further course of the struggle; *Ibid.*, 510-21. *Basātīn* 160, says that the Bijāpūr commander Afẓal Khān first proceeded to the Quṭb Shāhī border where the two armies sat facing each other for a number of days. Afẓal was, however, faced not only by the Quṭb Shāhī army but also by his own intriguing colleagues. It was only by his personal vigour and statesmanship that he was able to defeat the Quṭb Shāhī troops. It is a pity that neither any battlefields are mentioned in this connection nor any dates. Bihzād is alleged to be a Circassian by *Fer.*, II, 143 and a Turk in *Burhan*, 510. One of the causes of the defeat of the Niẓām Shāhī forces seems to have been the antagonism between Bihzād and Syed Murtaẓā.

115. Mir Zainal's campaign is described in great detail both in *Q.S.* 224-227 and in *Burhān*, 521-26. His name is variously spelt as Zainal in *Q.S.*, Zanil in *Burhān*, and Zabnil in *Basātīn*. I have preferred Zainal as it is a name still in use in certain parts of Arabia.

116. For the ascendency of the Abyssinians in Bijapur see *Basātīn*, 168-176. *Burhān*, 521, says that Kishwar Khān first went to Aḥmadnagar and was there directed by the Sulṭān to approach Syed Murtaẓā. On the next page *Burhān* says that 'Ainu'l-Mulk was persuaded to return to Bijapur after having been assured of his safety by the ruling clique.

117. *Burhān*, 524, says that Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan himself was sent to Syed Murtaẓā as he was an old friend of his. Date of the battle between the allied and 'Ādil Shāhī troops, Muḥarram, 988, in *Burhān*, 526. The use of the Maratha cavalry was a prelude to their extensive training by Malik 'Ambar a few years later.

118. This is the date given in *Q.S.*, 228, and it tallies with the date on Ibrāhīm's tombstone, for which see *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, p. 20, *Landmarks of the Deccan*, 123; Briggs, III, 445; *Wāqi'āt-i Mamlukat-i Bijapur*, *op. cit.*, II, 546. *Fer.*, II, 171, and *Burhān*, are wrong when they say that Ibrāhīm died in 989/1581. It is strange that the chronogram quoted in *Landmarks*, p. 126 and in *Wāqi'āt*, 546, does not tally with the date given there. Dr. Yazdani is perfectly correct in his note in *E.I.M.*, p. 20, that 21-4-988 was a Sunday not a Thursday; see *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 372.

Rāibāgh: Headquarters of the division of the same name in the Kolhāpūr District, Maharashtra State; 16° 30′ N., 74° 52′ W.

Satārā: Headquarters of the district of that name; Maharashtra State; 17° 41′ N., 74° E.

119. Murahari Rao; *Briggs*, 444; Q.S., 228.

120. For a description of Ibrāhīm's policy see *Burhān*, 528; Q.S., 230-31; *Qutbīyah*, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 100; *Tab;* Trays of Gold; *Briggs*, III, 446; *Tadhkira*, fol., 59 b, 60 a.

121. Schools; *Tadhkira*, 60 a; company of learned men; *Ibid.*, 61 a. *Q.S.*, 231; *Qutbīyah*, *op. cit.*, 99.

122. *T.Q.*, fol. 26 b. We may well compare this ante-dating the commencement of a reign with the Declaration of Breda of King Charles II of England issued on April 4, 1660 where he reckons his reign as commencing on the day his father was executed and thus ignores the seven years' period of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate; for the Declaration see Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, p. 465. It also corresponds with the elimination of the period of the

caliphate of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman by the Shī'ah who consider the fourth Caliph, 'Ali, as the rightful Imām and the immediate successor of the Prophet after his death.

For the inscription on Ibrāhīm's tomb where he is definitely called "Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh" see *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, p. 28; Bilgrami, *Landmarks of the Deccan*, p. 123-4.

123. For this see Sherwani, Bahmanī Coinage as the Source of Deccan History, *Potdar Commemoration Volume, op. cit.*, pp. 204 ff.

124. I am indebted to Hormuz Kaus of Hyderabad for having shown me a copper *fuls* of Ibrāhīm in his valuable numismatic collection; a description of the coin is published in *Numismatic Circular* of Messrs. Spink & Co., London under the caption, *The Coins of the Qutub Shahi Dynasty of Golconda,* in its May, 1955 number. The inscription, as deciphered by Mr. Kaus reads.

Obv., فلوس جاتر ابراهيم قلى

Reve. سعادت مند على ضرب گلكندة ۹۷۳

It should be noted that Girdhāri Lāl Aḥqar, *Tārikh-i Zafarah*, p. 7, says that the title of the King on Ibrāhīm's coins was ابو المظفر ابراهيم قطب شاه which does not tally with Mr. Kaus's reading on the *fuls* in his possession. When I expressed my doubt to Mr. Kaus, he wrote to me that his reading of the coin was "only tentative" and that he was willing to revise it if a better reading was possible. He also says that the legend on certain 'Ādil Shāhī coins in his possession bore the legends غلام حيدر صفدر and غلام علي مرتضى which tallies with the reading on Ibrāhīm's *fuls* at least so far as the purport of the legend was concerned, and this was understandable as both were struck by Shī'ah monarchs.

The late Col. Tarapore of Hyderabad had quite a hoard of Golkonda coins in his possession, but unfortunately they have been left unclassified. It is doubly tragic that he died before he could deal with them. When I met him early in 1956, he told me that not one of the coins in his possession belonged to Ibrāhīm's reign. His collection has now been sold to the Government of India and is now housed in the National Museum, New Delhi. Surprisingly there are no coins of Ibrāhīm in the Hyderabad State Museum. See Md. Abdul Wali Khān *Qutub Shahi Coins the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, p. 18. It is doubtful if Jamshīd's and Subḥān's coins in the Cabinet of the Museum are genuine.

125. *J.N.S.*, V, part 1, 85 ff.

126. For Ferishta's general unreliability in numismatic matters are *Bahmanīs*, p. 84.

127. 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dain*, E. & D., IV, 109.

'Abdu'r-Razzāq was in Vijayanagar from Zi'l-ḥijjah, 846/April 1443 to Sha'bān, 847/December, 1443 as the envoy of Sulṭān Shāh Rukh of Hirāt. Incidentally the 1st of Ramaẓan, 847, did not fall in January, 1444, as stated on p. 124, but on 25-12-1443.

"Master Caesar Fredericke His eighteene Yeeres Indian Observations" in Purchas His Pilgrims, X, 92, ff. See also R. S. Panchamukhi's article on the Coinage of Vijayanagara, in *"Vijayanagara sex-centenary Volume"*, pp. 112 ff. For *dīnār or dīnārā*, see Pratap Reddi, *Andhra Sanghika Charitra, op. cit.*, p. 360.

128. We learn that there was a considerable amount of trade with Aden, Persia and even distant Holland, and Vijayanagar coins must thus have found their way to these lands as well; see Pratap Reddi, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-59.

129. For trade in certain commodities see P. M. Joshi, Textile Industry and Trade in the Kingdom of Golkonḍa, *I.H.C.*, 1942, pp. 609 ff.; the article, however, deals mostly with trade in the seventeenth century, i.e. later than Ibrāhīm's reign.

130. See Kunḍukuru Veresillingam Pantulu, *Andhra Kavula Charitram*, pp. 17 ff. Chanchiah and Bhujang Rao, in their *History of Telugu Literature*, p. 84, make the cryptic statement that Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was "the fourth son of Kutumb Shah, one of the Bahmani Kings"! For Ibrāhīm's marriage with Bhāgīratī, see also Ratanlal Sarmast, *Tuḥfa-i Dakan*. Salar Jang Library, *MSS*, Tārīkh, 141, p. 72; this copy was written in 1279 H. and contains no reference to an earlier source on this point. It might be mentioned here that *M.L.*, p. 378, says that Ibrāhīm had fallen in love with one of the favourites of the Rāya of Vijayanagar; in fact his 'affaire' had become known to everybody, and this incurred the enmity of the Rāya. It also hints that had it not been for the intercession of Ibrāhīm's friend Rāmarāj, he would possibly not have been able to leave the capital when the time came. It is quite possible that the "favourite" was no other girl than Bhāgīratī. The episode is by no means improbable as Ibrāhīm was young and had to sojourn at Vijayanagar for seven long years.

It must be mentioned here that the *Māhnāma* of Ghulām Ḥusain Khān Zā'ir (or Jauhar as on p. 696) written in 1220 H., (*MSS.*, Salar Jung, *Tārīkh Farsī*, 368) relates that Ibrāhīm married Bhāgīratī (who either belonged to a Brahman family of Vijayanagar or else was a singer of that city) after her conversion to Islam (p. 294). He says that she gave birth to 4 sons, namely Muḥammad-Qulī, Muḥammad Amīn, 'Abdu'l-Qādir and one other son (p. 296). The chronogram of the bridge is given in the book as صراط المستقيم which fixes the date of its construction as 981 H., not 986 H. as in *Landmarks*, 10.

See also *Qutub Shahi Sultans and Andhra Sanskriti* published by Idara Adabiyat-i-Urdu, Hydarabad, 1962, especially the articles by Venkaṭa Ramanayyā, "The Qutub Shāhīs" pp. 1-14, and by E. Vasumati entitled "Ibrahim Qutb Shah and the Telugu poets", pp. 28-43.

131. B. V. Krishna Rao, "Telugu Literature under the Kutub Shahis," *Triveni* April-June, 1942, p. 132; K. Viresilingam Pantulu, *Andhra Kavula Charitram.*

132. Veluri Prabhakrara Sastri, *Chatupadyamanimanyari,* Madras, 1949, pp. 42-46; Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources,* 233.

133. Triveni, *op. cit.,* p. 134.

134. *Chatupadyamanimanyari, op. cit.,* p. 44.

135. *Ibid.,* p. 46. See also V. Narayana Rao, *Two Muhammadan Patrons of Telugu Literature.* I.H.C., 1946, pp. 296 ff. He quite wrongly calls Amīn Khān *Amir Khan,* on p. 297.

136. For a description of Amīn Khān's family as gleaned from the *Yāyati.* see R. Subbarao. "Qutb-Shahi 'Ahd men Tilangi adab ki sarparasti", *Sabras,* Hyderabad Deccan, February, 1938, pp. 40-3.

Aminpurā or *Aminpūr,* a village, about 4 miles to the east of Paṭancherū: 17° 42′ N., 78° 19′ E.

137. The Ptṭancherū tomb: Rashīru'd-din, *Waqi'āt, op. cit.,* III, 544-5; *E.I.M.,* 1935-6, pp. 60-61, and Pl. XXXIX.

138. There are slight variations in Telugu transcription, such as *Bara Miān* for Shaikh Bare, Human Miyan for Shaikh Humāyūn. Gatat Khan for Khaṭṭaṭ Khān, Silar Bibi for Sālār Bībī, Sakkar Bibi for Shākūr Bībī; but in the main the Telugu version is quite faithful. The Telugu poem mentions Hazrat Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Qādīr Gīlānī as Hazrat Mokhi Dinji Kadiri.

Shaikh Abdu'l-Qādir Gilānī surnamed Muḥīyu'd-din, the great preacher, author and ṣūfī, founder of the Qādirīyah discipline, was born at Nif or Naif in the district of Gīlān on the Caspian Sea in 470/1077-8 and died at Baghdād at the advanced age of nearly 92 years in 561/1166. He was granted the ṣūfī *Khirqah* by the great Ḥanbalī saint al-Mukharrimi. He has left a large number of works most of which are collections of his sermons, lectures and dialogues on theological and spiritual subjects, which he delivered to large audiences at Baghdād. The best known of his writings are *Futuḥu'r-Rabbānī, Futuḥu'l-Ghaib, Nuwāhibu'r-Raḥmānīyah,* and *Fuyūzatu'r-Rabbānīyah.* It is said that the sermons in the first mentioned collection are some of the very best in Arabic literature (*Encyclopaedia of*

Islam, I, 41). He is sometimes called Sulṭānu'l-Auliyā, and his mausoleum at Baghdād is visited by thousands of pilgrims every year.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm Makhdūmjī. The inscription says that Amīn Khān, whose original name was 'Abdu'l-Qādir Qurēshī, was the disciple of Shāh Muḥammad Qādirī who was the successor (خلیفہ) of Shāh Ibrāhīm Makhdūmjī (not *Makhdum Birkhi* as in *Wāqi'āt*). Makhdūmji was the son of Shaikh Muḥammad Multāni, and both the father and the son were divines of repute. It is said that Makhdūmjī had no worldly ambitions of any kind, and when Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh once desired to go and visit the ascetic in his abode, he declined to meet him. When he was told that he merely wanted his blessings and his prayers, he retorted that he prayed for the generality of the Muslims, and naturally Ibrāhīm came within that category. The saint died on 22-10-972/28-10-1564, and was buried in the city of his residence, Muḥammadābād-Bīdar. See 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān Malkāpurī, *Tadhkira-Auliyā-i Dakan*, II, 842.

139. *Qannaujī*, one of the proto-Hindi languages and one of the precursors of Dakhnī, which was given so much impetus during the reign of Ibrāhīm's successor, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

140. For the treaty of friendship between Ibrāhīm and Sri Ranga of Vijayanagar see *Aravidu*, 269. The quaint name Fal-k Khān stands for Faẓlu'l-lāh Khān of *Yāyaticharitram*. *Sources* 257, clearly names him as the envoy who brought Sri Ranga and Ibrāhīm together. See also *Further Sources*, 302-3.

Kachireḍḍipalli or *Kasreḍḍipalli*, a village in the Hyderabad district, about 20 miles south of Patancheru; 17° 24′ N., 18° 6′ E.

141. For these two farmans see *Farmans and Sanads of the Deccani Sulṭāns*, *op. cit.*, No. 5121, p. 29, and no. 5042, p. 34.

142. For the early relations between Rāmarāj and the Deccan Sulṭānates especially Gōlkonḍa-Tilānganā, see Saletore, *op. cit.*, II, 210. *Aravidu*, 92.

143. *Sewell*, *op. cit.*, 256-7. Note the contrast of this state of affairs with the intolerant conditions prevailing in the neighbouring Portuguese colony of Goa about this time; for which see *Purchas*, X, 272, where Van Linschoten remarks that "under Portuguese rule they (the Jews) cannot worship openly; there is death penalty unless they become Christian". Also see *Sewell*, pages 124 and 211 and note.

144. *Purchas*, X, 93.

145. For enrolment of the Muslims in Deva Raya's army see *Bahmanis*, 236, and under Rāmarāj see *Further Sources*, I, 267.

146. Narrative of Paes, in *Sewell*, 252

147. *Purchas*, X, 100. We find the *kulāh* on the head of the effigy of

Krishna Dēva Rāya at Tirupati, for which see Longworth, *Hampi Ruins*, 42. Also see *Aravidu* where reproductions of statues of Krishna's successors are given with kulāhs on. The long cap is still called *kollayi* in Telugu.

148. *Sewell*, 275.

149. *Ibid.*, 372.

150. The portrait will be found in *Aravidu*, opposite page 90.

151. The photographs of all these buildings except the royal baths will be found in *Longhurst, op. cit.*, pp. 46, 80, 81, 87, 78, 79, 83 respectively, while the photograph of the baths appears in Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, II, 235; Father Heras's opinion in *Aravidu*, 227. It may be noted that the style of architecture employed in the construction of the gateway on the Talarigaṭṭu road (*Longhurst, op. cit.*, 45) and the Lotus Mahal (p. 80) is a mixed one, and this definitely goes counter to the late Father Heras's theory.

It is interesting to note that Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 82 casts a doubt whether the so-called Elephant Stable were originally meant to accommodate elephants at all, while Havell, *Indian Architecture*, p. 185, says that they originally formed "the mosque built by Deva Raj II for his Muhammadan troops". The number of such troops is estimated to be over a lac, and it is quite possible that the great building which has nothing "Hindu" about it, was originally a mosque.

152. *Hampi*, 16. Havell rightly says in his book, *Indian Architecture*, p. 186, "It is necessary to bear in mind that in the sixteenth century it becomes impossible to draw distinctions between Muhammadan and Hindu buildings on account of the structural use of the arch or from the use of the pendentives and domes of the puritanised type which had been evolved by Indian craftsmen".

153. Prof. Subba Rao's introduction to I. Topa, *Saint Vemana*, p. 1.

154. *Ibid.*, p. 3; see also Ananta Krishna Sarma's Telugu work, *Vēmana*, pp. 26-39 where reference is also made to C. Virabhadra Rao, *Andhrūla Charitramu*, 197.

155. *Saint Vemana, op. cit.*, p. 1.

156. It was about 1825 that an English member of the Madras Civil Service, Charles Philip Brown, began to collect Vēmana's verses from a number of districts extending between Madras and Visakhapatanam, and the number of these piled up to nearly 2,500; out of these he selected 693 and translated them into English. They have now been reprinted and published as the *Verses of Vemana* by V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Sons, Madras, in 1911.

The number after each stanza refers to the number in Brown's translation.

157. See *Andhra Sanghika Charitra, op. cit.*, p. 391.

158. *Ibid.*, pp 321 ff.

159. *Ibid.*, p. 330.

160. Venkatadhwari, *Viśvaguṇadarašanamu; Andhra Sanghita Charitram*, 392.

161. For Muslim poets see *Andhra Sanghita Charitram*, 321, where reference is made to Palavekari Kādiripati (*Andhra Sanghita Charitram*, 325), mentions the existence of Muslim peons, while Vēmana says in one of his verses that Muslim soldiers settled down and became agriculturists; Rallapalli Anantakrishna Sarma, *Vēmana*, p. 38.

162. *Andhra Sanghita Charitram, Ibid.*, 256-60.

163. *Ibid.*, 353-4. The inscription referred to contains instructions to Mummadi Reḍḍī, Nāyaka and others to keep the *golla* or cowherd caste people in check, and incidentally names the professions of twelve "strong men" of sixteen villages of the vicinity. It may here be pointed out that the *karnam* is called *kārkun* in the Kōvilkoṇḍa inscription of January 12, 1550, while it also mentions persons belonging to certain other professions such as the well-diggers, the load-bearers, bandsmen and feudal tenants; see *R.H.A.D.*, 1928-9, pp. 2 ff. and 24 ff.

164. *Further Sources*, I, 111.

165. Gune, *The Judicial System of the Marathas*, p. 109.

166. *Andhra Sanghika Charitra*, 354, where *mirāsis* and *Reḍḍi mirāsis* are referred to.

167. *Gune*, 50-53. *Thalkarni* (orig., *Sthālkarni*); the term occurs in later Quṭb Shāhī *farmāns;* e.g., in document No. 5044, Hyderabad Record Office, *temp.*, Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, dated 1097/1686; *Farmans and Sanads, op. cit.*, p. 42.

168. Ibn-i Nishāṭī mentions four poets who predeceased him, in his Maṯnawī, *Phūl Ban*, lines 1940-44, as follows:

نہیں وو کیا کروں فیروز اُستاد - کہ دیتا شاعری کا کچھ منجے داد

اے دد حیف جونئیں سید محمود - کتے پانی کو پانی درد کو درد

نہیں اس وقت پر وو شیخ احمد - سخن کا دیکھتے بلندیا سو میں سد

حسن شوقی اگر ہوتا تو الحال - ہزاراں بھیجتا رحمت منج اپرال

اچھے تو دیکھتا ملا خیالي - یو میں بر تیا ہو سو صاحب کمالی

These lines appear on p. 171 of the book as edited by Prof. Sarwari and published by the *Majlis Ishā'at Dakhni Maṯbūʿāt, Hyderabad*, 1357 H.

See also Sarwari, *Urdu Maṯ̱nawī ka Irtiqā*, Hyderabad, 1940, p. 41. Naṣīru'd-dīn Hāshimī, in his valuable work, *Dakan mēn Urdu*, edition, 1952, (in which he traces the story of Urdu in the Deccan from the earliest times to the modern period) says that originally the language was indifferently called Dakhnī or Hindī in the South. On p. 44 he says that Mulla Khiyālī wrote in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, although it is clear from the inscription on the mosque named after him that he flourished in Ibrāhīm's time. It is, however, quite possible that he lived on to the reign of his successor.

Proto-Urdu :

I owe no apology to offer for using this epithet which answers to the progressive form of the language or languages which later developed into what came to be known as Urdu. The term "Urdu" used as a generic name of a particular language, to the exclusion of all others, came into vogue only in the middle of the 18th century, and even Muṣ-ḥafī (1750-1824) Ghālib (1797-1869) and Syed Aḥmad Khān (1817-98) have used the term "Hindi" for the language which had already taken the form of Urdu. There is no doubt that there were languages parental to later "Urdu", but they were not Urdu proper. Such were Dakhnī, Zabān-i-Dilhī, Hindawī, a form of Khaṛī Bōlī, Rēkhtah, etc. As we have no generic name for the forms of the parent language which took different names in different localities, we loosely call it "Urdu," although the word did not come into common use till much later. It is interesting to note that at least three outstanding modern writers on the history of Urdu language, Naṣīru'd-dīn Hāshimī, Dr. 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq and Dr. Mas'ūd Ḥusain Khān bracket these forms as "Qadīm Urdu" which comes very near the scientific epithet "proto-Urdu".

Webster's Dictionary, 1963 edition, has many pages devoted to scores of words formed with "proto" as a prefix. The enumeration begins on p. 1961 of the second volume. It says that the prefix *proto* comes from the Greek "protos" which is akin to the Latin "pro", and means (1) first in time, as in *proto-history*, (2) "giving rise to", as in *proto-fascism*, or (3) a substance held to be parent to the substance "to the name of which it is the preposition." In the case of a language the prefix denotes the forms "belonging to or constituting the recorded language that is ancestral to a language.....Usually spelled with *proto* and joined on to a capitalised second element with a hyphen (*proto-Arabic*)". The prefix thus denotes an original or an early phase of a "tendency towards", and is used in scores of English words, old or new; e.g., "protocol", an original draft; "proto-fascism," a political movement tending towards fascism; "protograph," an original writing; "protolithic", an early period of the Stone Age; "protoplasm," organised living matter; "proto-tonic", "charac-

terised by the accent on the first syllable"; "prototype", "an original on which a thing is modeled"; and finally, "proto-Arabic".

The epithet *Qadīm Urdu* cannot be translated as "Old Urdu" as that might easily mean the Urdu as was spoken, say, 75 or 100 years ago, which the scholars who have used the epithet did not mean. Proto-Urdu, the "organized living language which developed into Urdu" is the term which fully coincides with the purport.

Similarly, we have to find a term for the forms of "Hindi" which existed before the language came to be so known to the exclusion of all other names. Suniti Kumār Chatterjee says that "Khaṛī Bōli form of Hindi, which has been accepted by the Indian Constitution as the Official Language of India, is one of the youngest of the Indian languages", for "it did not come into literary use in any appreciable scale before A.D. 1800, and its effective literary enjoyment only started after 1850". (Chatterjee: section on "Hindi", *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 499). Thus Bangāro, Haryāni, Braj, Bundēlī, Awadhī, Rājasthānī, Bihārī and Maṯhīlī may be grouped, not under "Hindi" but under "proto-Hindi".

169. For Makhdūmji Shāh Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, who was the son of the saint Shaikh Muḥammad Multānī, whose tomb is still greatly revered at Bidar, see 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Malkāpurī; *Taḏkira Auliyā-i Dakan*, I, p. 420.

170. In the *Taḏkira Urdu Makhṭūṭāt*, Vol. II, Hyderabad, 1362 H., pp. 145-46 the book is called *Tauṣīf Nāma*, although the recently discovered manuscript in the library of Anjuman-i Taraqqī Urdu, Aligarh, the name is clearly *Pirat Nāma* which is a variation of *Prīt Nama*. Certain lines of the book have been quoted by Zor in his *Urdu Shāhpārē*, p. 85, where the book has been named *Tauṣīf Nāma*. Dr. Nazir Ahmad has contributed a reasoned out article, "Prīt Nāmah Quṭbu'd-din Fīrōz Bidrī" to the *Urdu Adab*, Aligarh, for June 1957, pp. 88-96, while Dr. Mas'ud Ḥusain Khān has a fuller discussion of the contents of the book in *Qadīm Urdu*, Hydarabad, 1965, pp. 335-368.

171. Wajhī's *Quṭb Mushtarī*, *Karachi*, 1953, pp. 12, 13.

172. *Taḏkira Urdu Makhṭūṭāt*, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

173. Here it might be stated that Maḥmud and Aḥmad have been mentioned both by Muḥammad-Quli Quṭb Shāh and by Ibn-i Nishāṭī. See *Dakan mēn Urdu*, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-91, for specimens of Aḥmad's poetry from *Maṯhnawi Laila-Mainun* and *Maṯhnawi Muṣibat Ahl-i Bait*.

174. *Tārīkh Elchi Nizām Shāh;* MSS. Salar Jung Museum No. 188/B. Shamsu'l-lah Qādirī, however, observes in his article, "Daken ki 'Ilmī Taraqqiyān", *Tārīkh*, April-June 1929, at pp. 117-22, that the name, "Tarikh Elchi Nizam Shah" is not correct as the author, Khūrshah, had

already settled down at Golkonda when he wrote his book and dedicated it to Ibrāhīm; in fact it was there that he died on 25-11-972/14-6-1565.

175. See Chapter I, f n. 123.

176. See *Tārīkh, op. cit.*, pp. 124-125. Qādirī refers to a copy of the manuscript in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where it is called *Laḏḏātu'l-Hawwām* or the "Pleasure of the Big Game". Z. A. Desai, in his learned article on "Abarqūh and his Dīwān, in *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta, 1962, p. 13, n. 1, refers to a copy of this book in the Kitab Khana-i Majlis or the Library of the Parliament House at Tehran.

177. The material regarding Ḥājī has been drawn from Z. A. Desai's article, "Haji Abarqūh and his Diwan" *op. cit.* The quotations are also from the same article.

178. Gune, *op. cit.*, 18, for the *Maḥẓar* of 1474. For the general history of the Deccan in the time of Maḥmūd Gāwān, see Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmani Wazīr.*

It is interesting to note that it was by means of *petitions* that the Commons of England originally drew the attention of the King to matters which seemed important to them. It was not till the reign of Henry VI (1422-51) that "the form of the bill was substituted to that of petition". See Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, II, 608. Deccan in the time of Maḥmūd Gāwān and the "petitions" of the House of Commons before Henry VI were more or less contemporaneous.

179. *Bahmanis*, 323.

180. *Burhān*, 474.

181. For the *Majlis-i-Kingāsh* see *Fer.*, II, 38. This *majlis* may well be compared to the Magnum Concilium of the Angevin kings of England, when "only the highest class was called upon to treat of the highest matters" and the king "no doubt exercised the right to include in the deliberations such counsellors as might seem convenient to admit". Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, I, 386.

182. *Q.S.*, p. 142.

183. *Burhān*, 412;

خدیر جہانگیر لشکر شکن پئے مشورت ساخت یک انجمن

431: بواسطۂ کبر سن بسلطنت حضرت مرتضی نظام شاہ اتفاق نمودہ

184. *Burhān*, 456. Instances have been given from 'Ādil Shāhī and Niẓām Shāhī history as all the Deccan sulṭānates were Bahmanī succession states and were more or less similar in the matter of administration.

185. *Fer.*, II, 102, *Basātin*, 116. The office of Mīr Jumlā goes back to the rule of Aḥmad Niẓāmu'l-Mulk who appointed Mukammal Khān

Dakhnī to that post. *Briggs*, III, 211 n. says that the Pēshwa was the "minister of foreign department" but quotes no authority for it, and Gune copies him without giving any reason.

186. *Fer.*, II 120; *Basātīn* 133. It may be noted here that the author of *Basātīn* is not *Zabiri* as in *N. & V.* but Zubairī.

187. *Fer.*, II, 139; *Burhan*, pp. 453, 484. For *Wakil-i-Muṭlaq* in the Mughal Empire see I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 58. Ibn Hasan, in his well-documented books, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, Oxford University Press, 1936, says that it was Akbar the Great in whose time "the determination of the position of the Vakil (Prime Minister of the Empire)" was effected (p. 4). He further says that the office of the Wakīl first came into being with Bairam Khān who was "virtually the Grand Vazir" of the Empire. On page 121 he likens him to "the first class Vazir of al-Mawardi", by which epithet he doubtless means the Wazīr of Delegation; for this type of minister in the Abbasid Empire see Sherwani; *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, 5th edition, p. 104, *Basatin* calls Abu'l-Ḥasan s/o Shāh Ṭāhir, and Changīz Khān Pēshwa and Madaru'l-muhām.

188. *Basātīn*, 453.

189. *Ibid.*, 117.

190. *Ibid.*, 123; *Fer.* II, 139. Khazānadār, in *Basātīn*, 116, 124.

191. *Ibid.*, 130.

192. *Further Sources*, I, 258.

193. *Ibid.*, I, 260.

194. *Ibid.*, I, 305, III, 254-5, where the *Kaifiyat* of Peda Pasupula, *L.R.*, 9 pp. 177-83, is quoted.

195. *Nāyakwāṛīs*, Hindu amirs; *Basātīn*, 125. For the inscription at Kōvilkoṇḍa, see above, Chapter II, note 63.

196. See above: anonymous poet's dirge on the death of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, *Chatupādyamanimanjarī*, 46.

197. *Q.S.* 231; *Taẕkira*, 60 a; Muzaffar Khāfī, *Tuḥfatu'l-Mulūk*, fol. 128 b,

The beauty and extent of the capital of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh impressed the Londoner Ralph Fitch, who was in India from 1583 to 1591, for he says that Golkonda "is a fair town with fair houses of brick and timber and abounds with great stores of fruit and fresh water". *Voyage of Ralph Fitch, Merchant of London, Purchas*, X, 172.

198. *Tadhkirā*, 60 b. "Groves and gardens"; *Q.S.*, 231.

199. Inscription on Makkī Darwāzā (which, it should be noted, is all in one huge line inscribed on chiselled granite built in over the great gate as well as over parts of the side walls); *E.I.M.*, 1913-14, p. 49; *Landmarks*, p. 121. The whole inscription is in fine *tughrā* style and, in spite of its immensity the letters are extremely well proportioned. It is in the handwriting of Muḥammad of Iṣfahān, no doubt one of the calligraphists who migrated from Iran into Tilang in the time of Ibrāhīm. I have a feeling that the construction of the Mecca Gate facing the most sacred city of Islam and the birth place of the Prophet, must have been undertaken on the completion of the circumvallation as an act of piety. The remarks of Roshan 'Alī in his *Tuzuk-i Quṭb Shāhī*, MSS., Idara Adabiyāt-i Urdu, Hyderabad No. 37, fol. 6 b, that the construction of the fortification was undertaken "after Talikoṭa" seems to be entirely off the mark. *E.I.M.*, 1913-14, pp. 48-50.

200. The inscription in *E.I.M.*, 1913-14, p. 51, was incomplete as the first line in the original was found to be cut diagonally; 'Ali Asghar Bilgrami, the author of *Landmarks* says on p. 153 that he was able to complete it as he found the whole inscription reproduced in Qādir Khān Bidrī's *Tawārikh-i Farkhundā*, which was then in manuscript. The inscription has now been completed in original as "in the repairs done to Mūsā Burj the remaining portions of inscription have now been found"; *E.I.M.*, 1937-8, p. 51; article by Khwāja Muḥammad Aḥmad on *Some New Inscriptions in Golconda Fort*.

201. It is strange that no scholar has yet noticed the fine workmanship which went to form the smaller gateway on the top of the hillock. It is moreover greatly to be regretted that hardly any historical building within the Fort has been surveyed so far.

202. *Tadhkirā*, 60 b and 61 a.

203. The chronogram صراط مستقیم in Siddiqui's *History of Golconda*, p. 389 does not give the date 986 as stated in the footnote there, but only 981; it is the epithet صراطِ مستقیم which works out 986 as in *Landmarks*, 12. The *Tozuk Quṭb Shāhī*, 8 b, perhaps following *Māhnāma*, says that the bridge was constructed nineteen years before the foundation of the Hyderabad City in 1000/1591-2; see Bilgrami and Wilmott, *Historical Sketches of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, II, 565.

The expansion of the capital to a site on the southern bank of the Mūsī was necessitated by the extreme congestion within the walls of the capital; this is graphically described in the *Māhnāma*, p. 298 thus:

درین اثناء از کثرت آبادي و وفور مردم هواگے گلکنده منغص شد و امراض متنوعه شیوع یافت

Bhownani in his article on "Short History of the Foundation and Growth of the City of Hyderabad", *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1917, at page 24, is wrong that the Purānā Pul was constructed in 1001/1593, i.e. one year *after* the foundation of the city.

204. *Husain Sagar;* Bilgrami and Willmott, *op. cit.*, II, 607. Fraser, *Our Faithful Ally, the Nizam*, p. 321, App. KK, describes the process in the construction of the tank by Ḥusain Shāh Walī ("the Saint"), the son-in-law and the Superintendent of Public Works of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. It is stated on the authority of "the record of a person who was descended from Ḥusain Shāh Walī himself" that the tank remained empty for four years and it was only when Nēknām Khān dug a channel that it was filled with water. This perhaps accounts for the divergence of four years in the date of the completion of the construction, i.e., 981/1573-74, and 985/1577-78.

For Ḥusain Shāh Walī see also 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān, *Taḏkira Auliyā-i Dakan*, I, 271-77, and Sayed Aḥmad 'Alī Ṣūfī Darwīsh: *Ḥaẓrat Ḥussain Shāh Walī*. Ḥusain was descended from the Saint of Gulbarga, Ḥaẓrat Khwajā Gēsū Darāz (for whom see *Bahmanīs*, pp., 151-2, 164-6) and was born at Muḥammadabad-Bidar. His first wife was the daughter of Haẓat Syed Rājū Ḥusainī Bijāpurī. It must here be stated that there is no mention of this marriage in the sketch of the life of Syed Rāju Ḥusainī in *Taḏkira-i Auliyā-i Dakan*, I, pp. 337-42. Although Ibrāhīm was a Shī'ah. he was much impressed by the reverence with which the memory of the Saint of Gulbarga was held by the Muslims and non-Muslims of the Deccan, and when Ḥusain came to Golkonda he was called to the palace and was received with great honour and regard. Ibrāhīm appointed him Superintendent of Public Works and later married to him his daughter, who was known henceforth as Pīr Mān Ṣaḥībā. It is related that Ḥusain Shāh kept away from his wife for three years, and it was only when the princess had given away to the poor practically all she possessed that he consented to have anything to do with her.

The tank now named as Ḥusain Sāgar was originally meant to have been named Ibrāhīm Sāgar, but the popularity of Ḥusain Shāh, who supervised the work, was such that the people began to call it by the name which it has retained for all time to come.

Ḥusain Shāh died at an advanced age in 1068/1657-8, though there is a local tradition that he died as early as 14.6.1035/4.3.1626, i.e., just a month after 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's death. He lies buried about two miles outside Golkonda Fort.

205. *Ibrāhīmpaṭan;* 17° 12′ N., 77° 3′ E.

206. *Landmarks*, 137.

207. *Taḏkirā*, 60 a.

208. *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, pp. 27, 28; for enacaustic tiles see also Māhnāma, p. 299.

209. Inscription on the sarcaphogus, *Landmarks*, 28; *E.I.M.*, 1915-16 p. 28.

210. "Muṣṭafa Khan's tomb": See *R.H.A.D.* 1937-38, p. 6 and plate II a. For reasons given in the text above I am afraid I do not agree with the surmise that "the middle tomb which has been tampered with contained his (Muṣṭafa Khān's) last remains". See also *Briggs*, III, 414-15 for Muṣṭafa Khān's end.

Mulla Khiyāli's Mosque: *R.H.A.D.*, 1937-8, pp. 6-7 and plate II b; *E.I.M.*, 1937-38 pp. 49-50, article on *"Some new Inscriptions from Golconda Fort,"* by Khwājā Muḥammad Aḥmad. There are one or two minor differences between my reading and that of the learned friend, the author of the article. The first line of the Persian chronographical piece should read منت یزداں کہ در آواں شاہ دیں پناہ

and the third line should read رکنے از جنت برائے پیش آمد باخدا

211. For Maḥmūd Gāwān's administrative and military reforms see Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmanī Wazīr*, pp. 146-150, *Bahmanīs*, 324-25; his murder, *Maḥmūd Gāwān*, 169-72; *Bahmanis*, 333-35.

212. *Bahmanis*, 396. We should remember that it was only fifteen years since Maḥmūd Gāwān's murder, and Qāsim Barīd was naturally careful not to attempt sweeping reforms in administration and thus endanger his own life.

213. Artillery in the reign of Muḥammad I, *Bahmanis*, 81. *Top Ibrāhim* Shāhī in action at Rājahmundrī; *Burhān*, 193. Various kinds of cannon; *Fer.*, II, 128. The *Malik-i Maidān* was originally cast at Aḥmadnagar in bell-metal which takes a very high polish. It is 14 feet long with a circumference of 13′ 6″, while the diameter of the bore is 2′ 4″. It now stands majestically on Sharzā Burj at Bijapur.

There are several instances of guerilla warfare during the Quṭb Shāhī period, such as the month long battle after the capture of Deglūr by Ibrāhīm's forces about 986/1578. For this see *Briggs*, III, 434.

214. Such as the appointment of Malik Bihzād Turk as Sipah-salar by Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh, for which see *Burhan*, 510.

215. For this phenomenon see Chapter 2 above.

216. Such as the mission of Sarnaubat Qubūl Khān along with other high officers and a large army to Rāmarāj against his rebellious brothers Khēmrāj and Gōvindrāj; *Q.S.*, 145.

217. See *Bahmanis*, 395, quoting *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Hakluyt Society, London; Introduction, p. lxiii.

218. For the general description of the book see *Ananda*, pp. xvi-xix. I am thankful to Mr. Khare, the Curator of the Library and Museum of the Mandala for having given me the opportunity of a close study of the book. The pagination of the book which is in Persian, follows the devanagari system, so that the number 96 appears on the front page of the manuscript and the number 1 on the last. For a discussion of the book from the point of view of art see Krammrisch, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, pp. 157, ff., where the book is wrongly named "Tarikh Husain-Shahi".

219. Narrative of Domingo Paes, *Sewell*, pp. —.

220. *Rajtarangini*, edited by Shankar Pandit, Husain Persian Publication Society, Hyderabad Deccan, 1948. See also Sherwani, "Deccani Diplomacy and Diplomatic Usage in the Middle of the Fifteenth Century", *JIH*., 1957, pp. 21 ff.; Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan the Great Bahmani Wazir*, ch. 5 and App. I; Sherwani, "Kavindracharya as a Source-book of Deccan History," *Proc. of the Ind. Hist. Records Commission*, 1940, pp. 170 ff.

221. Quotations from Firishta, Text No. 74, pp. 244-5 and No. 75 pp. 245-248. *Mahmud Khalji*, King of Malwa, 1436-; and *Mahmud Begarha* Sultan of Gujarat, 1458-511. *Muhammad III*, the Bahmani Sultan, 1463-1482. *Husain Shah*, the Sharqi King of Jaunpur, 1456-76. Murder of Mahmud Gawan, 1481.

222. Q.S., 138. The term for envoy is *ilchi* which literally means a messenger; *elchi* is used in Indian conversation. Marhari, *Fer.*, II, 158. 'Ali 'Adil Shah at Vijayanagar, *Burhan*, 111, 119, *Ferishta*, II, 97.

223. Masnad in Jagadish Rai, *Fer.*, II, 148. Masnad in Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, Q.S., 137. Ceremonial at Kalyani, *Burhan*, 137.

224. Alliances by marriage established between Husain Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Qutb Shah, Q.S., 137.

225. Safe conduct, *Fer.*, II, 148. Persons not given, *ibid.*

226. *Burhan Ma'athir*, Burhan, 461, 474.

227. Rules of Ambassadors at the Court of Vijayanagar, Sastri, 90.

228. For these and other instances see Ch. I above.

229. Ultimatum to Burhan Nizam Shah, *Fer.*, II, 135; to Ramaraj, *Burhan*, 94.

230. Depredations in the Nizam Shahi Kingdom, *Further Sources*, I, 255; *Burhan*, III, 130. It seems that today we are going back to the ancient, pre-historical jungle warfare, for even Hiroshima and Nagasaki are fading into oblivion with the H-Bombs which are looming in the horizon. *Quarterly*, *Burhan*, 362.

231. Safe conduct at Bijapur, *Burhan*, 328; at Rajahmundri Q.S., 153. This was sometimes called Qaul or Promise of Protection: Q.S., 226.

CHAPTER IV

CULTURAL UPLIFT

MUHAMMAD-QULI QUTB SHAH

(5-6-1580—11-1-1612)

Section 1. *Political and Military Aspects*

Muḥammed-Qulī's Accession

When Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh died he had six sons living. The eldest, 'Abdu'l-Qādir, was confined in the Dēwarkoṇḍā fort, the next Ḥusain-Qulī, was twenty, while Muḥammad-Qulī was barely fourteen, and the other three, 'Abdu'l-Fattāḥ, Khudā Bandah and Muḥammad Amīn were all younger.[1] A tradition seems to have been cropped up later that Ibrāhīm had nominated Muḥammad-Qulī as his successor and had even made high officers, both civil and military, swear allegiance to him, but this seems to have been an after-thought.[2] It is on record that Ḥusain was well versed in classical lore and was a scholar of logic, philosophy and medicine, while Muḥammad-Qulī himself confesses in one of his poems that whatever he acquired was by way of instinct and he did not mind being called unlettered.[3] This goes counter to the tradition that Muḥammad-Qulī has been nominated by Ibrāhīm, for in that case there was no reason why his education should have been neglected. His accession was probably due to some kind of palace intrigue. Ḥusain's prospective father-in-law Mīr Shāh Mīr was away at the siege of Naldurg, while Rāi Rao was all powerful at the court when Ibrāhīm died. He obviously thought that in case he lost his opportunity he would at least be demoted by Shāh Mīr when he returned, and before his opponents at the capital (there must have been many of them) could raise their heads he had a farce of an election gone through and raised Muḥammad-Qulī to the throne.[4] It is also possible that those in high office at the capital showed

218. For the general description of the book see *Aravidu*, pp. xvi-xix, I am thankful to Mr. Khare, the Curator of the Library and Museum of the Maṇḍala for having given me the opportunity of a close study of the book. The pagination of the book, which is in Persian, follows the devanagari system, so that the number 98 appears on the front page of the manuscript and the number 1 on the last. For a discussion of the book from the point of view of art see Kramrich: *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, pp. 137, ff., where the book is wrongly named "Tarif-i Husain-Shahi".

219. Narrative of Domingo Paes, *Sewell*, 275-77.

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221. Quotations from *Riyāẓu'l-Inshā*, No. 19, pp. 94-97 and No. 75 pp. 245-248, *Maḥmūd Khalji*, King of Malwa, 1436-1469. *Maḥmūd Bīgarā* Sulṭān of Gujarat, 1458-1511. *Muḥammad* III, the Bahmanī Sulṭān, 1463-1482. *Ḥusain Shāh*, the Sharqī King of Jaunpūr, 1458-79. Murder of Maḥmūd Gawan, 5-4-1481.

222. *Q.S.*, 130. The term for envoy is *rasūl*, which literally means a messenger; pl., *rasūlān*, Ibrāhīm congratulate Murtaẓā, *Fer.*, II, 138. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh at Vijayanagar, *Briggs*, III, 118; *Aravidu*, 87.

223. Mission to Jagadēva Rao, *Fer.*, II, 133. Mission to Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, *Q.S.*, 175. Conference at Kalyāni, *ibid.*, 187.

224. Autograph letters exchanged between Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh; *Q.S.*, 157.

225. Bribe offered, *Fer.*, II, 138; "persona non grata"; *ibid.*

226. *Ḥājib-i Muqīm; Burhān*, 461, 474.

227. *Vakīls* or Ambassadors at the Court of Vijayanagar; *Basātin*, 90.

228. For these and other instances, are Ch. I, above.

229. Ultimatum to Burhān 'Imād Shāh; *Fer.*, II, 135; to Rāmarāj, *Basātīn*, 94.

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231. Safe conduct at Bijapur, *Burhān*, 522; at Rajahmundri *Q.S.*, 153. This was sometimes called *Qaul* or Promise of Protection; *Q.S.*, 226.

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their preference to Muḥammad-Qulī because he was soft and gentle to a fault and was more inclined to art, poetry and hail-fellow-well-met sort of atmosphere than to affairs of state, while his elder brother was serious-minded; the amīrs therefore threw their dice in favour of the former because they would thus be able to have influence in matters of state to a larger degree.

Coinage

Before proceeding to discuss the political history of the new reign it would be well to describe the coinage of the Sulṭān as this would throw an interesting light on the change of the capital from Golkonda to Haidarabad. We have one non-dated and three dated types of coins extant belonging to the reign; the first dated has no mint name but only the date "89", the second bears the date 991/1583 with the name of the mint, "Dāru's-Salṭanat Kalkunda" while the third bears date 1012/1603-4 with "Dāru's-Salṭanat Haidarabad". Up to the present no coins have been unearthed bearing dates other than these. Not only do they show that there was no other mint besides these two but that the Golkonda mint ceased to strike coins after the institution of the mint at Haidarabad. The half-fuls of "89" which no doubt stands for 989/1581, the year after the accession of the new Sulṭān, has the representation of an *'alam* or the standard of Imām Ḥusain sacred to the Shī'ah, and this shows that the new king had a decided bent of mind towards Shī'ism almost immediately after he had ascended the throne.[5]

War and Peace with Bijapur

During the thirty odd years of his reign Ibrāhīm had so much endeared himself to all sections of the population that it was with difficulty that the besieging forces at Naldurg could believe the news. In fact the commander of the Quṭb Shāhī forces, Mīr Shāh Mīr, who was at Nandgaon near the beleaguered city, kept the news back for some time, and it was only after reassuring himself of the consequences that he published it. Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh immediately ordered Mīrak Mu'īn

Sabzwārī (who was well-known for his knowledge of the niceties of protocol) to Golkonda for condolence and congratulations. But Mīr Shāh Mīr had a certain amount of trepidation to proceed to Golkonda himself as his daughter had been betrothed to the new Sulṭān's elder brother Ḥusain-Qulī, and to be on the safe side he sent Khwājā Muḥammad Samnānī in advance to probe into the atmosphere of the Court. It was probably when he was assured that no harm would come to him that he himself proceeded to Golkonda where he was received in right royal fashion, and robes of state were conferred on him. He reported to the new King that the siege of Naldurg had been going on for many weeks without much success, and if His Majesty were to go to the battlefield himself it would greatly hearten the troops. The King accepted the proposal and started for Naldurg.[6]

Muḥammad-Qulī reached Naldurg in Ramaẓān 989/September, 1581. "The fort was one of the best fortified in the whole of Hindustan" and was further well commanded by Wazīr Khān entitled Wazīru'l-Mamālik. In spite of this the allied commanders were so sure of its capture that they fixed their artillery pieces opposite the driest part of the wide moat so that when a breach was affected they could easily cross over to the fort itself. At the same time "every one, man and beast, were put into service to fill the forty-yard wide moat with earth, stones and wood". Cannon shot from the heavy artillery like the Nine-yard piece, the Laila Majnūn, the Hawā'ī from Ahmadnagar and the Muḥammadī and Ḥaidarī from Golkonda played havoc with ramparts opposite; but the commander of the defending garrison was so alert that the moment there was a breach he managed to erect another rampart within right opposite the breach. When Naldurg could not be taken by fair means messages were sent to the brave commander of the garrison offering a large amount of money and honours if he would hand over Naldurg to the invading army; but he replied that he was a faithful servant of his august master and he would not lay down his arms so long as he lived.[7]

The siege therefore went on, and in order to hearten the

soldiers further the young Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī went into action himself. Bombardment continued and portions of the wall were demolished; but the mounds of debris were so high and perhaps so soft that it was difficult for the besieging army to take the fort by escalade. The siege had now gone on for four or five months, and when it was learnt that there was considerable civil commotion at Bijapur just then[8] it was decided to leave a small force at Naldurg and to move on to the capital itself. The invading army was forty thousand strong while the citadel of Bijapur was defended by a small force of just two or three thousand men. It was an ill omen when two of the Bijapur commanders, 'Ainu'l-Mulk Kan'ānī and Ankas Khān went over to the enemy with their eight thousand horse which had just arrived in the capital. On the other hand there was no love lost between two Aḥmadnagar generals, Syed Murtaẓā and Bihzādu'l-Mulk, and assault after assault was postponed because they could not agree to the exact timings. Within the citadel the reins of government were now grasped by King Ibrāhīm's aunt, 'Alī 'Ādil Shah's widow Chānd Bībī, and by her native patriotism and tact she soon brought about a complete overhaul of government and rejuvenated the whole political structure. She began by appointing the influential Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan, son of Shāh Ṭāhir, Mīr Jumlā of the Kingdom. Immediately on assuming charge the new Mīr Jumlā sent messages to the enemy camp, especially to his old friend Syed Murtaẓā that it was futile to continue aggression, while on the other hand he sent word to the *bergī* guerillas, most of whom were from the southern Maratha country, to rejoin Bijapur service which they had quitted in the time of the late Sulṭān. His general policy and treatment was so commendable that even those who had lately been divested of power, namely the Ḥabashi party, paid homage to the boy Sulṭān and signified their loyalty to the State. The guerilla *bergīs* continually kept the invading army fully occupied and further prevented any provisions from entering the enemy lines. When conditions of famine began to pervade the large Tilang-Aḥmadnagar army, the generals held a *Majlis-i Kingāsh* or Council of War which decided that

there was no alternative except to break the camp and retreat, the Aḥmadnagar forces to the capital *via* Muṣṭafābād-Miraj and Kalhar and the Tilang forces to Golkonda *via* Gulbarga. Muḥammad-Qulī, who must have been thoroughly disgusted at the result of the war which had gone on for a whole year, now left Mir Zainal Astrābādī, whom he gave the title of Muṣṭafā Khān, with seven thousand horse and a large number of elephants to occupy certain places on the Bijapur-Tilang border which he thought were his birthright, and marched back to Golkonda'. On his arrival at the capital he deposed Mīr Shāh Mīr and ordered his externment to the place of his birth Isfahān in Persian. The Mīr, however, never reached Persia and died on the way.[10]

The Mughals in the Deccan

(i) *Early contacts*

We have reached a point at which it is necessary to digress a little from the flow of events in the Quṭb Shāhī dominions to an event of primary importance to the future history of the whole of the Deccan, namely the advance of the Mughal power southwards. It was as early as 1398 that Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī sent an envoy to Tīmūr at Delhi offering to pay homage to him as the Emperor of India, in return for which Tīmūr had sent a *farmān* conferring the sovereignty not merely of the Deccan but also of Malwa and Gujarat on the Bahmanī king.[11] The first battle of Panipat, fought on 10-7-932/22-4-1526, which entrenched Babur in India, coincided with the virtual extinction of Bahmani authority in the Deccan. The rulers of Bijapur, Aḥmadnagar, Berar and Khāndēsh made a correct estimate of the rising power of the Mughals and sent envoys to Babur offering congratulations on his decisive victory against Ibrahim Lodi.[12] The Bahmanī *roi fainéant* Kalīmu'l-lah also wrote to Babur offering him Berar and Daulatābād (which he no longer controlled) if he would help him in throwing off the yoke of Amīr Barīd, the Mayor of the Palace, at Bidar. The news, how-

ever, leaked out and Kalīmu'l-lah had to fly for his life from his capital at Bidar to Bijapur.

Babur had to conquer North India piecemeal and was not spared long enough to look towards the Deccan. His son Humayun had enough to deal with at home and had eventually to vacate his throne for Sher Shah and his progeny for fifteen long years. But such was the awe of the Mughals in the Deccan that "Burhān Niẓām Shāh, 'Imād Shāh and other rulers of the Deccan" were ill at ease when they heard that Humayun had actually crossed the Satpuṛas and was in Khāndēsh some time about 942/1535-36.[13] As early as the twentyfifth year of Akbar's reign. i.e. 988/1580 Abu'l-Faẓl complains that the rulers ('marzbānān') of the Deccan failed to act according to the Imperial decrees, but at the same time he confesses that they did not desist from submitting petitions and consider themselves as protected princes of the Empire. He mentions that "not so very long ago the ruler (*'wālī'*) of Golkonda sent a petition *('arẓdāsht)* to His Imperial Majesty which was full of flattering terms. This was graciously given favourable consideration on behalf of the Emperor giving solace to the heart of the sender."[14] Ever since the surrender of Gujarat at the hands of Muẓaffar Shāh in 1572 Akbar had begun to cast his longing eyes towards the Deccan. The senseless internecine wars after the short-lived truce preceding the Battle of Bannihaṭṭī in 1565, the squabbles at Aḥmadnagar on the death of Ibrāhīm Niẓām Shāh II, the never-ending quarrel over the border town of Shōlāpūr between Aḥmadnagar and Bijapur, and the self-complacency of the Sulṭāns of the Deccan—all this must have encouraged Akbar to the possible elimination of the Sulṭānates. Moreover almost immediately after the conquest of Gujarat the discontented element had again raised Muẓaffar to the throne, and in spite of the full weight of the Empire which was brought to bear upon the rebels they continued to oppose the Imperial arms for nearly twelve years.[15] It therefore appeared necessary that Malwa should be covered by Imperial arms which would stultify the rebels' movements. Malwa had been an appanage of the

Sulṭāns of Gujarat ever since 1531,[16] and now Akbar appointed his confidant Khān-i A'ẓam Mirzā 'Azīz Kōkā governor of the region and himself proceeded to the south to supervise operations in the Deccan.

The immediate target were Khāndēsh and Aḥmadnagar. The problem of Khāndēsh proved to be easy of solution, for the ruler, Raja 'Alī Khān Fārūqī' had realised his inferiority and put himself under the protectorate of the Mughal power. Even on his accession to the throne in 984/1576 he had made up his mind not to adopt the royal title and was content to bear the simple title of Khān.[17] He was a permanent ally of the Mughals, and it was to him that Akbar wrote a commendatory letter in favour of Burhān in 999/1590-91,[18] when the latter was sent southwards to reclaim his patrimony from Murtaẓā Niẓām Shah whom he considered to be a usurper.[19] Faiẓī, who was sent as an envoy by Akbar first to Burhānpūr and then to Aḥmadnagar, is quite clear about the position of Raja 'Alī Khān *vis-a-vis* the Emperor. He says in one of his petitions addressed to Akbar that when he visited the Imperial envoy he got down from his steed and walked quite a long distance before reaching his camp. When he saw the (vacant) Imperial throne he took off his shoes, bowed low and then received the royal *farmān* at the hands of Faiẓī.[20] Right through his long reign of thirty-one years he was a staunch supporter of the Mughal power in the Deccan, and was fatally wounded fighting for the Mughals in the great battle fought near Sonepat on the banks of the Godavari on 17-6-1005/26-1-1597.[21]

In spite of the Mughal conquest of Gujarat and Malwa and the protectorate over Khandesh and in spite of the internal turmoil in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar itself, its conquest proved to be a vastly difficult problem to solve. The conditions in that kingdom seemed so favourable to the Mughals that it appeared like a ripe fruit ready to fall in the lap of Akbar's army at its bidding; but it was after two major efforts lasting many years that the kingdom of Ahmadnagar was finally eliminated.

(ii) *Dynastic turmoil at Ahmadnagar.*

While delineating the progress of Mughal influence in the Deccan we have strayed slightly from the important events which were unfolding themselves in the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom where the first contacts between the Mughal army and the army of Tilang-Andhra was about to take place. Aḥmadnagar had been in a state of uncertainty ever since the flight of Burhān to Akbar's court in 992/1584. There was a most unnatural rivalry between Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh and his son the Crown Prince Mīrān Ḥusain since his marriage to Bībī Khadījā Sulṭān, popularly known as Rāja Jio, sister of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur.[22] Murtaẓā had been a complete failure in administrative matters, and was so fickle and uncertain of his own likes and dislikes that he appointed as many as five *pēshwas* or Prime Ministers within a few months, one of whom, Mīr Ṣādiq, was in office for just nine days.[23] It is related that it was partly his madness which he is reputed to have contracted that he became the deadly enemy of his own son Mīrān Ḥusain and ordered the Kōtwāl or Police Commissioner of Daulatābād where the Prince was, to put him to death. But the son had luck with him. He escaped from Daulatābād, hurried to the capital and in his turn had his father suffocated to death! The young Mīrān now proclaimed himself king on 18-7-996/13-6-1587. But he was not destined to rule for long and was himself murdered by the dakhnīs who now raised Ismā'īl, son of the fugitive Burhan, on the throne in preference to his elder brother Ibrāhīm as he was the son of a negress and was too dark for the dakhnīs to be owned as king.[24] The accession of Ismā'īl is a landmark in the downward trend of the Niẓām Shāhī State, for it brought about the ascendency of the Mahdawī sect in Ahmadnagar in preference to Shī'īsm which had been the state religion ever since Shāh Ṭāhir converted the royal family to that faith in the reign of Burhān I.[25] Religious antagonism now became imbedded in racial antagonism, for the party in power consisted of dakhnī nobles most of whom were mahdawīs, while most of the *gharībs* in opposition were of the Shī'ah faith and of Persian extrac-

tion. On Ismā'īl's accession many of the *gharībs* were expelled to Bijapur and we learn from Ferishta that a few weeks later, on 19-2-998/18-12-1589 he too left Aḥmadnagar for Bijapur, there to write his famous chronicle named *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* named after the reigning Sulṭān of Bijapur.[26]

It was about this time that Burhān came back to the Deccan from his jāgīr near Delhi to claim his patrimony against his son, Ismā'īl. In the battle fought on 13-7-799/27-4-1591 Burhān was victorious and he now ascended the throne. The struggle was not so much of the father against his son as between the Shī'ah and the Mahdawīs, and the former had now the upper hand. Burhān immediately put an end to the Mahdawī heterodoxy and reenthroned Shī'ism as the religion of the Niẓām Shāhī State.[27] But Burhān's reign also failed to put any order in the administration, and when he died on 18-8-1003/18-4-1595 he left the embers of discontent smouldering after him. On his deathbed he appointed his elder son Ibrāhīm (the same as had been disinherited on Mīrān Ḥusain's death) to be his successor. To add fuel to the fire the new king proved to be a man without any vision, and the few months during which he was destined to rule were marked by further rifts in the body-politic of the State. He allowed a party at the Court to treat Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's envoy Mīr Ṣafawī with disrespect, with the result that the weak Ahmadnagar kingdom had to fight a losing battle with the army of Bijapur at Naldurg where Ibrāhīm was killed by an arrow. This was on 18-12-1003/14-8-1595.[28]

(iii) *Chānd Bībī*

Ibrāhīm's death saw the widening of the rift which marked the different self-seeking groups in the ruling aristocracy of Aḥmadnagar. The candidature of Ibrāhīm's infant son Bahādur was sponsored by Murtaẓā's sister and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's widow Chand Bibi who had returned to Aḥmadnagar ostensibly to condole on the death of her brother but really because she felt she had no place in the highly intriguing atmosphere of Bijapur.[29] But she found Aḥmadnagar to be in a far more chaotic condition,

for the Mughals were knocking at its gates, and this fact reacted on the policy of those who held the reins of government in their hands or who wanted to oust those who were in power. The ruling clique, which was headed by Miān Manjū the *pēshwa*, would not countenance the rule of the astute Chānd Bībī, and he now quietly imprisoned the infant Bahādur and proclaimed one Aḥmad, who was reputed to be the descendent of Burhān II, as king.[30] Then there was the section of the Ḥabashī party headed by Ikhlāṣ Khān who proclaimed a person of little known extraction named Mōtī as the Sulṭān, while another Ḥabashī noble named Āhang Khān crossed over to Bijapur and there found one Mīrān 'Āli, an old man of seventy (who was then living at the 'Ādil Shāhī court and who claimed to be the son of Burhān Niẓām Shāh I), brought him over to Bīṛ along with his twenty years old son, and proclaimed him king of Aḥmadnagar.[31]

Thus Miān Manjū was opposed not merely by the legitimist group led by Chānd Bībī but by all sections of the Ḥabashī party, which, though divided, would not see eye to eye with him. Knowing how critical the state of affairs was, Ikhlas Khān lost no time to have Mōtī Shāh's *khuṭbah* read and coins struck.[32] Miān Manjū was greatly overcome by these developments, and in his nervousness sent word to Prince Murād, who was then in Gujarat, to come and help him in ousting the usurper. The die had now been cast and the road to the Deccan lay wide open to Akbar's forces.

Akbar had been waiting for the opportunity to interfere actively in the affairs of the Deccan for a long time.[33] It was as early as 988/1580 that "envoys from Quṭbu'l-Mulk" had been received in audience by the Emperor, and although "they extolled and flattered" him it was clear that the "marzbānān-i Dakan" were not prepared to accept orders from Agra.[34] Moreover the reports sent by Abu'l-Faiẓ Faiẓī were none too bright.[35] In 1000/1592-3 Akbar appointed Prince Murād to the Governorship of Gujarat, and now that Miān Manjū had applied to the Prince to interfere in the affairs of Aḥmadnagar there was

no further reason for the mincing of words. Murād left Aḥmadābād on 20th Ābān, 39 R.E./30-10-1594, stopping at Broach on the way, while 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān Khān-i Khānān started from Bhilsa in Central India on 9th. Amardād/19-7-1595 and joined the Prince at Chandōr about fifty miles from Aḥmadnagar on 9th Adhur, 40 R.E./29-11-1595. The united forces were joined by Rājā 'Alī Khān of Khāndēsh. Within Aḥmadnagar the turmoil was still continuing. After sending urgent summons to Prince Murād, Miān Manjū felt strong enough to give battle to his rival Ikhlās Khān near the 'Idgāh on 25-1-1004/20-9-1595. Ikhlās Khān was defeated and fled from the city while Miān Manjū took the pretender Shāh 'Alī prisoner. But when the joint army of the Mughals, twentyfive thousand strong, was seen to invest the city on 23-4-1004/16-12-1595 Miān Manjū realised his mistake and knew that it was not civil war which would decide the fate of the kingdom but the formidable army which the State had to face. He now knew the seriousness of the situation. Although he was no friends of Chānd Bībī he filled the fort with ample provisions and transferred the ultimate command of the kingdom to her.[37] Taking his protégé Aḥmad with him he left Aḥmadnagar for Aussa on the Bijapur frontier and there he appealed to Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh for help against the common enemy. It was now that Chānd Bībī put her grand-nephew, the infant Bahādur, on the throne in order perhaps to gain sympathy of all sections of the population. The appeal to Golkonda and Bijapur was perhaps supported by Chānd Bībī herself as (though there was perpetual warfare raging in the Deccan) there was a tradition that "if a foreign army entered their country they united their forces and fought against the enemy notwithstanding the dissensions and quarrels they had among themselves."[38]

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh correctly gauged the situation and sent messengers to various claimants to the Niẓām Shāhī throne and their protectors not to quarrel among themselves but to ward off the Mughal aggression and then decide who should ascend the throne. At the same time both Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh

and himself responded to the appeal of Chānd Bībī, but instead of sending their contingents to Aḥmadnagar they sent them to the strategic post of Naldurg which was situated on the border separating Tilang and the Bijapur territory from the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom.[39] This move was no doubt designed to protect the flank of the two kingdoms against the possible advance of the Mughal troops as well to provide a reserve, but it could not give immediate succour to the defenders of Aḥmadnagar proper where the Mughal onslaught was imminent, as Naldurg happened to be more than a hundred miles from the besieged capital. Tilang-Andhra and Bijapur were represented at Aḥmadnagar by their envoys Ḥājī Muḥammad Isfahāni and Shamsu'd-din Muḥammad Lārī respectively, and it is interesting to note that the author of *Burhān-i Ma'āthir,* 'Alī b. 'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā, was also present there when the great siege was going on.[40]

The siege of Aḥmadnagar went on. Chānd Bībī, who was now in sole charge of the defence of the capital, appointed Muḥammad Khān as her *vakīl or* Prime Minister. It appears that the appeal of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh had the desired effect and we find the old Shāh 'Ālī, who had been proclaimed king by Āhang Khān, coming into line with Chānd Bībī and fighting against the Mughals. Although the armies from Golkonda were stationed at Naldurg the presence of the envoys at Aḥmadnagar must have had a heartening effect of the defenders. Evidently in order to check the progress of the Mughals Chānd Bībī had sent a body of her troops to Bīṛ, but this was either defeated or outflanked by the Mughal army, for we find it taking its stand on Kālā Chabūtrā in Aḥmadnagar. The first encounter between 'Abdu'r Raḥīm Khān Khān-i-Khānān and Muḥammad Khān took place on 24-4-1004/17-12-1595. In the beginning it seemed certain that the Mughal army would be defeated, but at the approach of the evening fresh troops were thrown in the fray under Prince Murād. This turned the possible defeat into victory, and barring the citadel, the city of Aḥmadnagar fell into the hands of invaders.[41] Murād had given strict orders that the inhabitants of the city and their property should be spared,

yet Shāhbāz Khān Kambōh, who was attached to Khān-i Khānān looted the inhabitants the very next day and razed to the ground many public and private buildings including certain edifices sacred to the Shī'ah, thus making enemy of the population which both Khān-i Khānān and the Prince wished to reconcile. The Prince took Shāhbāz Khān to task and punished him for his highhandedness, but the harm had been done already.[42]

Thus while the Mughals were victorious everywhere against the scattered Niẓām Shāhī forces the citadel was still in Chānd Bībī's possession, and a formidable force of the united contingents of Tilang and Bijapur was stationed at Naldurg. The question which had to be decided by the Mughal command was whether Naldurg was to be reduced first or an attempt made to capture the Aḥmadnagar fort. The generals and high dignitaries advised Prince Murād to reduce Aḥmadnagar immediately before help could reach the defending garrison.

We have the record of an interesting letter from Raja 'Alī Khān addressed to Chānd Bībī in which he appeals to her to lay down her arms. He says that it was mainly to save the Kingdom that he had accompanied the Mughal army. He warns the defenders that this army was so strong that it would reduce the fort almost without an effort, and instead of losing so many lives in the vain attempt to defend the citadel it would be advisable to submit to the Mughals and in return "to keep some forts and provinces of the Kingdom". When this letter reached the garrison it created great consternation among the defenders. But Chānd Bībī was not a person to be cowed down like this, and on her behalf Afẓal Khān wrote back to Raja 'Alī Khān expressing great surprise at the tone of the letter telling him that the Sulṭāns of the Deccan would never forget the way in which the Mughals had launched this attack on their country. He also told him bluntly that the time would soon come when the invading army would have to retrace their steps homewards.[43]

The defences of Aḥmadnagar were so strong that it was impossible to capture the fort except by mining the walls. It took three days to lay five mines under the battlements, and it was

intended to fire them after Friday prayers on 1-7-1004/ 20-2-1596.[44] But the defenders proved to be more alert than the aggressors and had their spies in the enemy's camp. Khwāja Muḥammad Khān Shīrāzī, who was without doubt, one of them, came to know of the plan, and "for purely humane and noble purposes" secretly informed the commander of the citadel the exact spots where the mines had been laid, Chānd Bībī immediately ordered that countermines should be burrowed in the ramparts, removed gunpowder from two of the mines and filled them with stones and rubble. What she wanted was that all mines should be so treated, but she could not do so for want of time. She herself supervised the work and was actually seen digging the trenches. It was then that Prince Murād ordered the firing of the mines, and he must have been greatly surprised at finding that two of the mines were already "dead". Chānd Bībī "now put on her armour, and with a veil on her face and a naked sword in her hand, flew to defend the trenches." The high dignitaries of the capital as well as envoys from Haidarabad and Bijapur all turned towards the breach which had been caused by the firing of three mines with all the forces they could command. So great was the enthusiasm that even those who had never handled a gun, like the 'Adil Shahi envoy, took charge of pieces of artillery and began to fire. Chānd Bībī is said to have brought poison to the firing line with a resolve that if the fortress fell she would commit suicide rather than be taken prisoner. Exchange of gun-shot led to hand to hand fighting resulting in a terrible massacre on both sides, and this went on till night-fall. But even during the night there was no rest for Chānd Bībī or her men. She set upon to close the breach made by the three mines which had been successfully fired, and had a wall four or five yards high erected in the breach in the dead of the night. Guns, rockets and other ammunition were brought in place. The next day the fire of the defenders was so effective that they drove back successive storming parties of the aggressors who attempted to gain admittance into the citadel through the breaches which had been built over the previous night.[45]

Conditions of famine were staring in the face of both parties. While scarcity within the citadel needs no explanation, the Mughal camp was faring no better, for both the army stationed at Bīṛ and the allied forces at Naldurg were barring the way of all supplies from reaching the Mughals. Murād, hedged in on all sides, now thought it best to make overtures to Chānd Bībī and sent a messenger to her to nominate a delegation with which he might enter into pourparlers. It was on 10-7-1004/29-2-1596 that the delegation reached the Mughal camp and was formally presented to Prince Murād, who received it in a right royal manner and presented the richest robes of honour and Arab steed to its members. The actual conference began the next day and went on for a number of days, the treaty being signed on 26-7-1004/16-3-1596. The main condition of the treaty was the cession of Berar to the Mughals in return for which they agreed to withdraw from the rest of the kingdom. The condition of the cession of Berar was a hard one, and Chānd Bībī was at first averse to accept it. But Khān-i Khānān pointed out that Berar had been promised to the Emperor by Burhān while he was at the Imperial court, and the time had come when that promise should be fulfilled. Moreover Chānd Bībī was advised that if she rejected these conditions it was quite possible that the Mughals might be persuaded to carry on the fighting to a finish. Anyhow the treaty was signed, and the Mughal army with Prince Murād and Khan-i Khānān retraced their steps by way of Daulatābād leaving the bulk of the old Niẓām Shāhī Kingdom intact.[46]

Looking back at the strange episode of the wartorn Aḥmadnagar defeating the mighty army of Akbar, we would find that this demonstrated a second time within thirty years how a strong enemy could be met successfully if the Deccan Sulṭānates were to create a will to unite. In 1565 it was the League of the Four Sulṭāns which gained the day; in 1595 it was a house divided against itself leagued with Haidarabad and Bijapur, which had defeated a mighty enemy. Strategically also the Deccan had proved its superiority; for, with forces of the allies massed at Naldurg and a contingent of Aḥmadnagar troops in readiness at Bīṛ, the

Mughal army was hedged in on all sides. Although it must have been disappointing for the Aḥmadnagar garrison at first that the help sent by the allies should stop at Naldurg and not march straight on to Aḥmadnagar, the strategy of the allies proved to be efficacious in the long run. Then again, the high statesmanship of Chānd Bībī, her dynastic connections, and her great valour and intrepidity as a soldier showed in vivid contrast to the cracks in the Mughal command caused by the continued rift between Prince Murād and Khān-i Khānān.[47] The conduct of Muḥammad Khān Shīrāzī also demonstrated that all was not well with the average Mughal soldier. The imminent danger to the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom had been warded off by the cession of Berar, but it was still to be seen how long the internal unity of Aḥmadnagar was to last and what lesson the Mughals would themselves take from their obvious defeat.

(iv) *Fall of Aḥmadnagar*

The turn of the tide was soon to come, and this was preceded by the usual dissensions and turmoil at Aḥmadnagar. While Chānd Sulṭānā was resolved to see Bahādur placed firmly on the throne Miān Manjū would have no other ruler except Aḥmad. Now a strange thing happened which clearly pointed to the depths to which the kingdom had fallen. The rift between the factions became so wide and unbridgeable that the Queen invited her nephew Ibrāhīm of Bijapur to come and arbitrate between her and her antagonists. The idea of asking the king of a State which was the sworn enemy of Aḥmadnagar to interfere in the internal affairs of the kingdom would have been an anathema to the local politicians; but then Miān Manjū had set the ball rolling by inviting Prince Murād to invade it. The result of Ibrāhīm's arbitration was a foregone conclusion and Bahādur was confirmed to the throne. Not only that; the King of Bijapur actually sent his general Suhail Khān with a large expeditionary force, and ordered him to remain at the Niẓām Shāhī capital to support Chānd Bībī in case of emergency. But worse was still to come. Muḥammad Khān, the minister, chafed at this apparent success of the Queen who was regarded

as an intruder, and sent word to Khān-i Khānān, who was in Berar, offering to put the whole kingdom under the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor and inviting him to attack the citadel and place Aḥmad on the throne. The news, however, leaked out and Muḥammad was confined to the citadel. But it was too late, and when Khān-i Khānān began his fateful march the die had been cast once for all.

Chānd Sulṭānā now sent urgent messages to Bijapur and Haidarabad for help. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh sent Suhail Khān, who had returned to Bijapur, while Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh sent Mahdī-Qulī Sulṭan with a large army to fight the common enemy. The allied armies now marched towards Berar to meet the Mughals in their own occupied territory and came face to face with them at Sonepat on the Godavari on 17-6-1005/26-1-1597. It was in this hard fought struggle that many generals of the Mughal army, such as Raja Jagannāth lost their lives, while others like Raja 'Alī Khān of Khandēsh, who had stood by the Mughāls through thick and thin, were wounded beyond recovery.[48] On the first day of the battle the allies were successful to the extent that they actually penetrated the enemy lines, and the Niẓām Shāhī and the Quṭb Shāhī contingents were so sanguine that they plundered the enemy camp as much as they could and retreated homewards.[49] The next day Suhail found himself alone facing the Mughal army. He was not able to follow up his success as Khān-i Khānān drove him from the battlefield, and it was with some difficulty that he could make his way to Naldurg. There is no doubt that with the field clear of the defenders, the Mughal army would not have much difficulty in marching right into Aḥmadnagar, but counsels were divided in the Mughal camp between Prince Murād and Khān-i Khānān who stood in the way of the immediate occupation of the capital as there were still many forts to deal with on the way. On hearing of this rift Akbar recalled Khān-i Khānān and appointed Abu'l-Faẓl to the command of the army of the Deccan.

While all this was happening in the Mughal camp things were most uneasy at Aḥmadnagar and Āhang Khān the Pēshwa was trying to concentrate all power in his own hands to the ex-

clusion of Chānd Sulṭānā and even to seize and imprison her. He had succeeded to the extent that he had actually reoccupied Bīṛ which had been in Mughal possession. The Emperor was greatly concerned with this setback and was on the point of replacing Abu'l Faẓl when news arrived that Murād had breathed his last on May 2, 1599, and he now took the opportunity of sending Prince Dāniyāl as the Viceroy of the Deccan provinces along with Khān-i Khānān as the Commander. Dāniyāl now ordered the forward movement of his troops. There was a feeble opposition on the part of the Niẓām Shāhī troops, and on reaching the capital the Mughals had immediate recourse to mining operations. The amount of gunpowder thus expanded was enormous, one hundred and eight maunds being exploded in a single day. Chānd Sulṭānā felt herself friendless and helpless and thought that the best way to keep even a portion of the kingdom intact was to make peace with the invaders. But the party opposed to her would have none of it, and even her confidential secretary, the eunuch Ḥamīd Khān, raised a hue and cry and said that the queen was proving to be a traitor to the cause of the independence of the kingdom. They therefore caught hold of her and put her to death. Once the fortifications were breached by firing the mines the Mughals entered the fort on 18th August, 1600 and carried Bahādur Niẓām Shāh and the whole of his family to Burhānpūr from where Akbar was following the events.[50]

(v) *Advent of Malik 'Ambar*

The fall of Ahmadnagar had a very disturbing effect on the politics of the Deccan Sulṭānates. The attempt of Chānd Bībī to present a united front to the northern invaders, her own resourcefulness, her dynastic connections with both Bijapur and Haidarabad, her personal charm and withal, her intrepid and unsurpassed courage—all this could neither save the capital nor her own life. From the point of view of the states of the Deccan there were just two silver linings in a very dark cloud: one was the change in the policy of Khāndēsh after the death of Raja 'Alī Khān in 1597, and the other was the unscrupulous

courage of a section of the nobles of Aḥmadnagar under the leadership of the manumitted negro slave, Malik 'Ambar who put Shāh 'Alī's son and Burhān I's grandson Murtaẓā on the shaky throne at Parenḍā in 1012/1603. Raja 'Alī Khān's successor Bahādur Khān Fārūqī offered strong opposition to Mughal penetration, and it was with a considerable effort that Akbar was able to reduce the fort of Asīrgaṛh and annex Khāndēsh to the Empire.[51] But the opposition of Malik 'Ambar was far more stubborn, and under him the Niẓām Shāhī state continued to oppose the mighty Mughal Empire for three decades.

The rise of Malik 'Ambar to the supreme place in the Niẓām Shāhī State was meteoric. Born in 955/1548 at Ḥarrār in Ethiopia, of negro parents, he demonstrated to the world in his life-time that colour was no bar to adeptness in strategy and excellence in administration. He was thrice sold as a slave, first to the Qaẓiu'l-Quẓāt of Mecca, then to a dealer in slaves and finally to the Niẓām Shāhī *amīr* and statesman, Khwājā Mīrak entitled Changīz Khān. While it was the Qaẓī of Mecca who gave 'Ambar proper civil education and training as he would give to his own son, it was Changīz who made him a master in the art of war and strategy which was to be of such a good service to him in after life.[52] It is interesting to note that after Changīz's execution by the order of Murtaẓā I in 982/1574 'Ambar left Aḥmadnagar first for Golkonda and then for Bijapur, but as neither of these two capitals proved congenial to him he gyrated back to Aḥmadnagar in 1006/1597-8 after he had spent all that he possessed. It is said that he was able to lay hands on a big treasure trove and thus to get together a small army of 150 horse as a kind of personal guard. He was espied by Āhang Khān who took him into his service, and a short while after passed him on to the service of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh. The first time we hear him taking part in an important engagement is in the battle of Bīṛ resulting in its evacuation by the Mughals in 1007/1598-9.

After the death of Chānd Sulṭānā and the fall of Aḥmadnagar 'Ambar was already a prominent member of the Niẓām Shāhī administration and it was he who backed effectively the en-

thronement of Murtaẓā II as the king of Aḥmadnagar and the removal of the capital to Parenḍā. Internal dissensions due to personal motives were the order of the day, but there were at least two men in the Kingdom, Miān Rājū Dakhnī and Malik 'Ambar who wanted to recover the lost territory from the Mughals and regain the pristine glory of the kingdom. It was mainly through their effort that the fall of Aḥmadnagar meant only the fall of a single city, for a very large part of the kingdom remained in the possession of one or other of the two commanders and the Mughal army of occupation was virtually hemmed in on all sides. The clash between the two forces was inevitable and it came on the banks of the Mānjira where Malik 'Ambar inflicted a severe defeat on the Mughals and captured the Mughal general 'Alī Mardān Khān.[53] In 1010/1601-2 Prince Dāniyāl sent a petition to his father the Emperor Akbar that 'Ambar had inflicted a defeat on the ruler of Bidar who had tarried in the payment of "tribute" to him.[54] Dāniyāl could see no way out of the *impasse* in which he had been placed except to sow the seed of discord in the Niẓām Shāhī camp. He sent an emissary to Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh egging him to try and free himself from the clutches of the Ḥabashī dictator, and there is also a suspicion that it was about this time that Mughals were successful in enticing Rājū Dakhnī away from Malik 'Ambar. One of the results of Mughal machinations was the defeat of Malik 'Ambar at Nānder in 1010/1601-2.[55] This victory had its repercussions on the policy of the Deccan Sulṭānates in much the same way as the fall of Aḥmadnagar had reacted on it. For instance, in Muḥarram 1013/June 1604 Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh was made to marry his daughter Sulṭān Jahān to the debauchee Dāniyāl, who died within a year of his marriage in Zil-Ḥijjah 1013/April 1605, leaving the young girl a widow. In spite of the defeat of Malik 'Ambar the Mughal commander 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khān-i Khānān showed great cordiality to the leader, and the two met each other in fond embrace both suspecting that the other would strike at his power at the first opportunity.

On the other side Niẓām Shāhī commanders like Patang Rāi,

Farhād Khān, Malik Ṣandal and others urged Murtaẓā to shake himself off from 'Ambar's yoke and persuaded him to rise against the Malik. 'Ambar, who controlled the resources of practically the whole state, defeated Murtaẓā towards the end of Rabi' II, 1012/August 1603 and virtually imprisoned him in Parenḍā fort.[56] Murtaẓā surreptitiously complained to Rājū about the treatment meted out to him. Khān-i Khānān now began to play a double game. He actually sent two or three thousand horse to 'Ambar to strike Rājū, and with this substantial help 'Ambar drove Rājū back day after day till he took sanctuary within the walls of the Daulatābād Fort. Malik 'Ambar's star seemed to continue in the ascendent. In 1013/1604-5 Akbar's favourite son Salīm revolted against his father. Akbar was already struck by Murād's death in 1599 and Dāniyāl's death in 1604; and Salīm's revolt now virtually broke the back of the proverbial camel; and the great Emperor died on 13 Jamādi II, 1014/17 October, 1605. Things did not prove to be happy even after Salīm's accession to the throne as the Emperor Nūru'd-dīn Jahāngīr, for he had to contend the claim of his step-brother Khusrau. In the meantime Malik 'Ambar had penetrated the Mughal territory as far as Malkāpūr which is just thirty miles from the capital of Khāndēsh. He defeated Rājū in a decisive battle and annexed the whole territory over which he ruled. He now carried Murtaẓā to Junnār which had been the virtual cradle of the Niẓām Shāhī state, and made it once more the capital.[57]

Jahangir wanted to send an expedition to the Deccan immediately on his accession; but certain occurrences within the State, such as Khusrau's revolt and restiveness in the other parts of the Empire, kept him fully occupied for some time. Moreover a clique was forming against Khān-i Khānān who was accused of being in league with that "evil one, the black-faced and discredited being", 'Ambar. There is hardly any epithet of calumny which the Emperor fails to use for 'Ambar, and the suspicion that Khān-i Khānān was in any way at one with him touched Jahangir to the quick. In the meantime Malik 'Ambar occupied Antūr which had been a Mughal possession for some years, and had it not been for the persuasion of his mother as

well as the grandees of the Empire Jahāngīr would have proceeded to the south himself.[58] Instead of that, in 1018/1609 he sent his son Prince Parvīz as his deputy along with Raja Mān Singh and Aṣaf Khān to Burhānpūr and Aḥmadnagar with twenty thousand horse and ten elephants. This naturally made Malik 'Ambar feel a certain amount of insecurity. He sent urgent messages to Haidarabad and Bijapur for help and warned Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh and Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh that if he had to bow before the Mughals they would also be swept away and their dynasties eliminated altogether.

There was an immediate response on the part of these two Sulṭāns. Ibrāhīm put the strong fort of Qandhār at the disposal of Malik 'Ambar apart from a large force consisting of ten thousand horse; while on his part Muḥammad-Qulī sent his full quota of sixteen lakh hons which were demanded by the Malik.[59]

Malik 'Ambar had gauged the situation in its proper perspective. Immediately on his arrival in the Deccan Parvīz ordered his army to march into Malik 'Ambar's territory, while Malik 'Ambar himself marched towards the Mughal border along with the allied army. He was again feeling some diffidence and sent messages to Bijapur and Haidarabad for further help, which was given. He was perhaps the first to perceive the fighting value of light Maratha cavalry and mobilised ten thousand Maratha horse to swell his army for the supreme trial. This light cavalry proved to be of great use, and with its help he adopted the scorched earth policy and destroyed everything within a circumference of about sixteen miles right round the Mughal headquarters. Khān-i Khānān sensed the seriousness of the situation and advised the Prince not to be lured into Aḥmadnagar territory, but the Prince was unscrupulous and marched right into 'Adilābād near Burhānpūr which lay in Malik 'Ambar's country. There his forces were incessantly harassed by the Maratha levees, and he had to bow before superior strategy and flee to Burhānpūr with a safe conduct given by the enemy.[60] Immediately after this, in 1019/1610 'Ambar fell upon the fort of Aḥmadnagar, which was the solitary stronghold of the Niẓām

Shāhī kingdom still remaining in the Mughal hands and captured it after ten years of Mughal domination.[61]

Venkata II

We have digressed much from the internal history of Tilang-Andhra in order to trace the advance of the Mughal influence into the Deccan, and thus, in a way, forestall the march of events in the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom. We have brought the story of the Mughal aggression practically to the end of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. The closing years of the Sulṭān's rule were full of moment for the future of the State and it is remarkable how the ease-loving monarch was to a large extent successful in beating back the enemies of the kingdom mainly owing to his selection of advisers of worth and merit.[62]

The first hurdle which the kingdom had to overcome was the rebellion of 'Alī Khān Lūr who had been entitled Malik Nā'ib by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. When Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was at Naldurg measuring swords with the army of Bijapur, he had appointed 'Alī Khān to be in charge of Koṇḍavīḍu. When 'Alī Khān reached the citadel he found that Rāi Rao, the Brahman Commandant, would not quit his charge. Such was the selfishness rampant even in some of the highest officers of the State that instead of appealing to the Sulṭān, 'Ali Khān actually went to the length of appealing to Venkaṭa II of Penukoṇḍā for help. Venkaṭa obliged him by ordering his son-in-law Mekur Timma to proceed to Koṇḍavīḍu with three thousand Vijayanagari horse and fifty elephants. The invading army first besieged Kumbum which lay on the way but it was driven back and pursued by the royal troops under Rāi Rao, and it was with some difficulty that the traitor 'Ali Khan could betake himself to Penukoṇḍā. But he was ill-received by Venkaṭa, and as he expected no quarters with the Quṭb Shāhī command either, he collected a private army and ravaged the country-side while the young Sulṭān was away at Naldurg.

When the state of affairs was brought to the notice of the Sulṭān he sent two of his Paṭhan officers, Raḥīmdād Khān and

Ṭāhir Muḥammad Khān against the rebel. They chased him out to Nekonḍapallī and out of the fortress of Addanki. 'Alī Khān now repaired to Niẓāmpatam and forced the merchants to a levy in money as well as in kind, then with great intrepidity marched on to Konḍāvīḍu. He was for a moment successful and was able to take a number of forts one after another. But in the end the two commanders who had been sent from Golkonda proved to be too strong for him and he was killed in battle.[63]

This rebellion itself was of some importance as it opened the eyes of the administration that it was necessary to put the army on a sound basis when mere freebooters could keep it at bay for a long time. Moreover it had involved the Court of Penukoṇḍā in a serious quarrel with Tilang, and evidently Muḥammad-Qulī did not forget this attempted hit in the back. Just now, however, he was busy planning and founding the magnificent city of Haidarabad over the plans prepared by his Pēshwa, Mīr Mu'min.

There was to be no peace for the King, even on his western frontier. We have already noticed elsewhere that during the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh the two frontier outposts of Kaknī and Nawalki had been occupied by the Golkonda army. The Sulṭān now appointed his tried general Raḥīmdād Khān whom he gave the title of 'Ālam Khān, to guard the Tilang-Bijapur frontier. The 'Ādil Shāhī Pēshwa, Dilāwar Khān Ḥabashī, sent a large army of ten thousand regulars under 'Ainu'l-mulk and 'Askar Khān to dislodge the Tilang forces. Muḥammad-Qulī now approached Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar to help him. Murtaẓā immediately responded and sent Mirzā Yādgār Bēg, Rustam Khān and Shamshīr Khān with two or three thousand horse towards frontier. The terrain seemed to be difficult and the allied commanders preferred to fight a guerilla war. The prolonged fighting resulted in the evacuation of the district by the Bijapurīs.[64].

Bijapur was in those days hemmed in by a number of enemies, and Dilāwar Khān considered it advisable to approach Muḥammad-Qulī for a settlement. He therefore sent Khwāja 'Alī Maliku't-Tujjār to Haidarabad with valuable presents for the

King accompanied by a proposal for the marriage of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh with Muḥammad-Qulī's sister Chānd Sulṭānā. The cavalcade proceeded to Golkonda, and was met at each stage by deputies of the Haidarabad court to receive them. When they reached the capital they were received right royally by the King. The nuptial ceremonies were celebrated *in absentia* and the Princess was taken to Naldurg where Ibrāhīm met her. She was given the title of *Malika-i Jahān* or "The Queen of the World" by her husband.[65]

Muḥammad-Qulī must have been touched to the quick by the defalcation of 'Alī Khān Lūr and his traitorous conduct that he had sought the help of Venkaṭa II against his own royal master. He remembered the comparative ease with which his grandfather had subdued Koṇḍāvīḍu and has thus brought practically the whole of the Telugu speaking population under one sceptre. But the Sulṭān was not in a great hurry. He evidently wanted to organize his government and his army before undertaking any punitive expedition, and it was "many years" before any move was made southwards.[66]

It was in fact after 1000/1592-3 that Muḥammad-Qulī sent his Mīr Jumla Amīnu'l-Mulk with a strong force to the south. He had heard that Rāmaraj's son-in-law Basawanta Rāj and his sister's son Narasimha Rāj had come in occupation of the forts of Nandyāl and Kalāgūr respectively, and it was necessary to dislodge them. In order to make the campaign fully effective he himself followed and joined the main army. He crossed the Krishna at Musalimuḍugu and laid siege to the fort which was soon captured. When Narasimha Rāj heard of this calamity and of the invading army he thought it futile to offer any resistance and sent messengers to the royal camp saying that he would lay down his arms provided that he and his family were allowed to depart in safety. The Sulṭān thereupon ordered not merely that his family should be left unmolested but also that his property should be left intact and secure.[67] This was followed by the evacuation of Nandyāl by Basawanta Rāj and the voluntary submission of the other chiefs of the locality all of whom agreed to pay tribute to the Sulṭān in exchange for

their being left in possession of their territory. It also resulted in the occupation of the forts of Gooty, Karnūl and Gaṇḍīkōṭa.[69]

This sweeping movement of the royal forces and the submission of practically all the chiefs between the Krishna and Penukoṇḍā encouraged the Sulṭān to strike at the capital itself, and after the reduction of Gaṇḍīkoṭā he ordered Amīnu'l-mulk to press forward against it. It appears that Venkaṭa did not offer any resistance before the royal army reached the walls of Penukoṇḍā. The Rāya, being fully aware that he would not be able to face the army in the open field had recourse to a ruse. He sent his ministers Goparāj Timma and Pāpaiyah Seṭṭī with an autograph letter and costly presents to the Sulṭān requesting him to agree to an armistice of three days preparatory to a permanent treaty. The Sulṭān accepted the presents and was so much impressed by the apparent sincerity of the envoys that he ordered the royal troops to raise the siege. Taking advantage of this God-sent opportunity the Rāya filled the citadel as well as the city with provisions. When the period of the truce ended, instead of offering to sign a permanent treaty he called some of his feudatories such as Achyuta Nāyak of Tanjore, and ordered Jagadēva Rāo, Velugōṭī Chinna, Maṭlī Ananta, his own son Venkaṭāpati and others to attack the Quṭb Shāhī army with thirty thousand horse and four thousand musketeers.[70] It was now that the king discovered his mistake in having put faith in Venkaṭa's word, and when he ordered that the fort be besieged again his own officers told him that now Penukoṇḍā was well provided for and it would take months to reduce the city by which time the Krishna would be in floods and it would be impossible for the army to get back home.

This must have been a terrible blow to the prestige of the Sulṭān. His army had proved its strength on the battlefield and conquered fort after fort; it had maintained its commissariat arrangements against heavy odds; it had coped with the defences of the southern kingdom and it was on the point of finally eliminating it. But the Sulṭān had utterly failed as a diplomat and, far from being on the brink of precipice, the enemy was now entrenched not merely in a safe but in an aggressive position.

It is difficult to understand the reason which prompted the Sulṭān to withdraw his forces from the capital when all that was asked for was just three days' truce in preparation of a permanent peace treaty. It shows either an utter lack of diplomatic talent on the part of the Sulṭān's advisers or, which is more or less the same thing, the moral tone of the Sulṭān which bordered on an absence of correctly judging his mortal enemies by their own standards. It is also quite possible that some of the leaders of the royal army had been in secret pourparlers with the insurgents and had advised the Sulṭān to take the unwise step of withdrawing his forces. However that might be, a great opportunity was lost by the army of Tilang-Andhra and it had no alternative but to fall back on the line of the Krishna.[n]

Our Persian authorities do not mention the fighting which must have raged between the two opposing forces before the retreat of the Quṭb Shāhī army. It is related in some of the copper plate grants of the period that the action on the banks of the Pennar was so intense that "the river was crimson with the blood of the soldiers killed" in battle. The fighting may have been protracted, for it is said that the Sulṭān's army was defeated over and over again by the army of Penukoṇḍā. Before recrossing the Krishna the Sulṭān made sure that the defence of the territory lying between the Pennar and the Krishna was made as secure as possible; he therefore gave charge of Musalīmaḍugu to Asva Rao, of Gaṇḍikōṭā to Sarnaubat Sanjar Khān and of Nandyāl to Jagat Rao. He also appointed Murtaẓā Khān the chief commander of the forces which were left behind. After making these arrangements the Sulṭān retraced his steps towards Haidarabad.[n]

The ruse on the part of Venkaṭa as well as the utter simplicity of the Suṭān's temperament had turned scales definitely in favour of Penukoṇḍā, and the Rāya now ordered the invasion of Telangana proper. However, when he consulted his generals they advised him that even in defeat the army of Tilang was too strong to be faced in the open field at once and suggested that a diversion be made against Koṇḍavīḍu. At the same time they advised him to send an army to help Kapiladēva, the ruler

of Udayagiri, who was evidently laying waste the surrounding country which belonged to the State.[73] On the other hand the commandant of Koṇḍavīḍu, Afẓal Khān, entered into agreement with the loyal chiefs of the neighbourhood to lay waste the territory lying immediately round the fort of Udayagiri. There must have been some fighting between the opposing forces, but we are not aware of the details. Probably there was no pitched battle but a protracted guerilla warfare, as the result of which Koṇḍavīḍu was saved for the Sulṭān.[74]

But Venkaṭa would not let Muḥammad-Qulī rest in peace. The Kṛishna was in spate and it was impossible for the Quṭb Shāhī army to be sent for the help of those who were virtually besieged at Koṇḍavīḍu and elsewhere. Venkaṭa now sent a large army consisting of a lakh of troops under Timayya, Gulranga Seṭṭi, Manuparāj and Velugōṭī Chennappa to Gaṇḍikōṭā. The fort which was under the command of Sanjar Khān was closely invested. On the other side Murtaẓā Khān swang round and made a sudden attack on Cuddapah. This completely upset Venkaṭa's plans and he ordered Timmarāj and Manuparāj to proceed against Murtaẓā Khān, but they were defeated and put to flight. The Sulṭān now sent *sarnaubat* Ghazanfar Khān, alias Rustam Khān, with five thousand horse to help Murtaẓā Khān. A rift soon appeared in the counsels of the Sulṭan's army, for Rustam Khān began to insist that he was the Commander-in-chief and it was his orders which must be followed. The result was that Rustam Khān precipitately crossed the river, resulting in the complete rout of his army and the capture of Gaṇḍīkoṭā by Velugōṭi Chennappa. The net result of this was the shifting of the frontier of Tilang-Andhra back to the Krishna, and the sole outpost now left to the Sulṭān on the other side of the river was the stronghold of Koṇḍavīḍu. When Muḥammad-Qulī heard of the debacle he forthwith dismissed Rustam Khān and expelled him from the kingdom.[75]

Turmoil in the East

The confidence which the Sulṭān had reposed in some of the commanders who had been sent to frontier posts on the

south-eastern border of the State did not bear fruit. Some time about 1589-90 Khān-i Khānān, Bhāle Rao and 'Ālam Khān Paṭhān entered into a conspiracy, unfurled the banner of rebellion, and even sent word to Venkaṭāpati of Penukoṇḍā to help them against the Sulṭān. The Rāya sent a strong force of ten thousand horse, and joining hands with the traitors, they began to lay waste the country round Koṇḍavīḍu. When the Sulṭan heard of these developments he appointed Amīnu'l-Mulk Pēshwa of the kingdom and sent him to the eastern border to chastise the rebels. As Kowlananda, the chief of Udayagiri was actually siding with the rebels he was caught and beheaded. This seems to have greatly frightened the rebels who now retreated to the fortress of Aridingi without offering battle. Amīnu'l-Mulk now pursued the rebel and put to sword all who barred his way. After the campaign was over and the rebels subdued, Amīnu'l-Mulk repaired to the capital and was received by the Sulṭān with much honour.[76]

This rebellion was followed by further turmoil, and this time on the north-eastern frontier of the kingdom. It has been pointed out elsewhere that the part of southern Orissa with its centre at Qāsimkōṭa was ruled by chiefs of the Bahubulendra family, and this was constituted as a Quṭb Shāhī protectorate in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī's father, Ibrāhīm, when the Gajapati Raja of Ganjām was ousted by the Golkonda forces. The name of the feudatory Raja of Qāsimkōtā appears to be Narasimha *alias* Singabhūpāla, and when he died in 1590 he was succeeded by his twelve year old son Mukandrāj Bahubulendra as the feudatory of Haidarabad.[77] He received the robe of honour at the hands of the Sulṭān himself who issued a proclamation to all the chiefs and officers of the Qāsimkōṭa locality to do honour to their new chief. But when Mukandrāj returned home from Haidarabad he raised his standard of rebellion against the paramount power, and after putting to death all those who were loyal to the Quṭb Shāhī throne seized the royal treasury located there.[78] The Sulṭān now appointed Khān-i-Zamān Mīr Zainu'l-'Ābidīn as *Sar-lashkar* and sent him with a large army to Qāsimkōṭa to quell the rebellion. The King wanted to lead

the defence force himself but he was dissuaded by his courtiers who represented to him that the campaign was, after all, not of such a great importance that the King should assume the command himself. He also ordered that Amīnu'l-mulk and Shankarrāj, who was a near relation of Mukandrāj but was of proved loyalty to the throne, should accompany the royal troops.[79] Mukand now sent urgent messages to Venkaṭa of Penukoṇḍā to hurry to his help and to attack Koṇḍavīḍu by way of diversion, while he himself advanced into Quṭb Shāhī territory towards Rājahmundri. Before engaging Mukand in battle Amīnu'l-mulk sent a message to the rebel to desist from fighting, but it was of no avail. He engaged the royal forces with thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry at Rājahmundri where he was defeated and had to fly to Qāsimkoṭa where he put to death the Quṭb Shāhī Resident Barlās Khān and other high officials. He was pursued by Amīnu'l-mulk as far as Piṭhāpuram and thence into the thick jungle which surrounds this place. Knowing fully well that he would not be able to withstand the royal army he wrote for help to Rāmchandra, one of the powerful chiefs of the locality, as well as to Mādhava Singh who was Akbar's Rajput governor of northern Orissa.[80] Madhava Singh did proceed southwards with a large army but thought fit to retire on Amīnu'l-mulk's approach. While Ramachandra laid down his arms, Amīnu'l-mulk left Asva Rao and Malik Nā'ib in charge of the pacified territory and himself returned to Qāsimkōṭa.[81]

It was probably the softness in the Sulṭān's character which was responsible for the trouble even at home. We are aware that the name of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's eldest son was 'Abdu'l Qādir. He was married with great pomp to a girl of the family of Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh son of Shāh Ni'matullāh Kirmānī. It was this union which earned for him the nickname of Shāh Ṣāhib, a title which is usually given to persons who are closely related to the *mashā'ikh* or hereditary guardians of some shrine or other. It appears that it was not all well for the young prince for he was confined at the fort of Dēwarkoṇḍa even in the time of his father soon after his marriage. When he was afflicted by the

illness which cost him his life his brother the Sulṭān sent his own royal physician to treat him, but it was of no avail and the prince did not survive his illness. His mortal remains were brought to the royal necropolis near Golkonda and buried there.

It was about 990/1582 that a person who was born about the same time as the prince claimed that he was the real Shāh Ṣāhīb who had escaped from the prison and had not met his death at all. As it was at Bidar that the claim was made, Muḥammad-Qulī wrote to 'Alī Barīd II of Bidar that the pseudo Shāh Ṣāhib was an impostor and should be arrested and confined to prison. But the descendants of Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh, who exercised a considerable amount of influence at the Barīdi court and who no doubt wanted to make capital out of their relationship with the real prince, somehow secured his release. He immediately hurried southwards, got the support of some of the discontented amīrs and grandees of the kingdom and proclaimed himself King of Tilang on the banks of the Krishna.

Muḥammad-Qulī now appointed I'tibār Khān, who then commanded the garrison of Koṇḍavīḍu, to proceed to Pangal and check the impostor from marching into Tilangana. By that time the pseudo Shāh Ṣāhib had gathered a considerable force under his banner. But I'tibār Khān was able to give him a signal defeat and he had to fly to Bijapur and seek the protection of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II. We hear nothing more of Shāh Ṣāhib.[82]

Shāh Ṣāhib's rebellion was only an interlude in the series of rebellions on the north-eastern frontier of the kingdom. The apparent defeat of Mukandrāj did not mean the pacification of the district. With the Quṭb-Shāhī army centred at Qāsimkōṭa the chiefs of the Rājahmundri locality thought that it was a good opportunity to join forces and rise against the royal authority. The first to revolt were the chiefs of Ellūrū, Nirdal and Bahārjallī. The Sulṭān thereupon appointed 'Ādil Khān Bangi, who was then commanding the royal forces at Koṇḍavīḍu, and the *sarnaubat* Changīz Khān to proceed against the rebels. A river, which had to be crossed, was in spate, and it was very

difficult for the army to go over to the other side, especially as the rebels were encamped in full force on the northern bank. On hearing of the predicament the king sent another army fully equipped with fire-arms, under the *hawāladār* 'Abu'l-Karīm to the scene. It was after days of effort that a way was found to cross the river mainly through the help of two Hindu officers Sābājī and Dharma Rāo. The enemy had erected a strong bastion between two large hills on the other side of the river, and when they had to retreat through the pressure of the Haidarabad army they retired behind this. But the prop proved to be too weak, and when the bastion was attacked in full force they had no alternative but to sue for peace.[83]

It seems that the chief commander of the royal forces, Amīnu'l-mulk, was a man of stern temperament. He was primarily a soldier, and as such was not prone to the habit of bending before his subordinates or opponents. It appears that at least some of the revolts against the Throne were caused by his straight-jackedness and his undiplomatic behaviour. When Mukandrāj rose in rebellion, his brother Harichand and his nephew Shankarrāj were at the Sulṭān's court and they joined Amīnu'l-Mulk against Mukandrāj. In the fight which ensued Shankarrāj was killed fighting for the Sulṭān. There was another Hindu officer, Rāwat Rao, who was in command of a possé of the Sulṭān's troops and who had acted under Amīnu'l-mulk a number of times. But Amīnu'l-mulk offended him by his haughty behaviour.[84] He surreptitiously left his army camp and sent word to Harichand to join hands with him and drive out the Haidarabad army from his patrimony at Qāsimkōṭa. The two managed to collect a formidable force of nearly ten thousand foot soldiers. But Rāwat Rao was killed in the first skirmish by an arrow shot at his chest and the opposition was thereby slackened to a certain extent. Harichand however, continued the fight, sought the help of another local chief Vaijnāth Dēo, and persuaded Mukandrāj to invest the royal outpost at Jurjura. Mukandrāj was on the point of capturing the place by escalade and assault when Changīz Khān arrived with a large reinforcement and turned the scales against the besiegers. But the enemy

would not rest. Both Vaijnāth Dēo and Harichand marched against the main Quṭb Shāhī army under Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, but they were driven back. Vaijnāth now fled to the fort of Veraghaṭṭam while the Quṭb Shāhī army betook itself to Narāyanpūr.[85]

But when Mukandrāj, who was besieging the fort of Muḥammad-Qulī-Quṭbshāhābād, heard of the successive defeats of the allies at the hands of the Sulṭān's forces he fled to his own capital at Jilmūr "which was situated in the midst of jungle and mountains". When this news was brought to the royal army, Changīz Khān, 'Abdu'l- Karīm Khān, Dharma Rao and Bhālē Rao proceeded to Jilmūr and engaged the enemy. The fighting, which must have been of a guerilla type, went on for a couple of months. Mukand now sent urgent messages to Vaijnāth to come to his help otherwise all would be lost. Vaijnāth now sent a strong army consisting of two thousand horse, thirty thousand foot soldiers and a hundred elephants under the command of his nephew. But it was most difficult to pass through thick jungle and mountainous paths with such a large army. It seems that although the royal army got the upper hand in certain preliminary engagements they were followed by protracted guerilla fighting which went on for many weeks. At last "the whole country was now surrounded", and although the rebels "fought with the greatest bravery" they were at last defeated. Harichand now saw no purpose in opposing the royal forces any more and sent a message to Dharma Rao of the royal army with proposals for peace. The army must also have been tired of months of fighting and was at the same time operating in a difficult terrain, so that a proposal like this was not at all unwelcome to the commanders. It was agreed that Harichand should be allowed to keep his patrimony as the vassal of the King and should send a tribute of thirty thousand hons and fifty elephants every year to Haidarabad.[86]

In spite of this fighting continued as Mukandrāj Bahubulendra was adamant and did not wish to lay down his arms. He was firmly seated both at Jilmūr and Ellūru and felt his position more secure than Harichand. Zainu'l-'Ābidīn now detailed

Changīz Khān to go and unseat him from his lair. When the two armies joined battle both were balanced in the beginning and fighting went on for two days, at the end of which the Quṭb Shāhī army was victorious and Mukand had to fly to Bengal. But even that was not the end of the struggle. For Krishna Rāo, son of Rāwat Rāo rose in rebellion and on seizing Madwāṛā and Poṭnūr, wrote to Mukand to return and reclaim his patrimony. It redounds to the continued toleration of the Sulṭān that among the officers who were sent to oppose the pretentions of these rebels we find the names of two Hinduṣ, namely Dharma Rāo and Asva Rāo (Asīr Rāo). The royal troops forced Mukand, who had returned and was commanding his troops, to shut himself up at Madwāṛā, but as the fort was surrounded by a thick jungle and it was difficult to make much headway, Dharma Rāo suggested to the Chief Commander Zainu'l-'Ābidin that Mukand might be allowed to retain his patrimony as the vassal of the Sulṭān much in same way as Harichand had been allowed a short time previously. But this move on the part of Mukandrāj was probably a ruse, and when Muḥammad-Qulī sent another commander, Ḥasan Khān to take charge of the operations, the first thing which the new commander had to do was to construct two new forts which he named Muṣṭafānagar and Muḥammadābād as a line of defence.

The doubt on the part of the new Quṭb Shāhī commander proved to be correct, and Mukand assumed the offensive. He first of all sent Krishna Rāo against Muḥammadābād but he was killed in the fighting. Another attack was made against Muṣṭafānagar but that was also unsuccessful. These operations made Ḥasan Khān bold enough to attack Madwāṛā and he forced Mukandrāj to fly to Bengal never to return. This time also the Sulṭān put his complete faith in a Hindu, Sūrya Rāo, made him his chief representative accredited to the province of Qāsimkōṭā and commissioned him to partition up the newly acquired gains among the jagirdars of the Kingdom.[87]

Muḥammad-Qulī's Last Days

It was after this campaign that the king sought the advice

of "the nobles and high officers of government" as to whom he should appoint Mīr Jumlā. After seeking their advice he appointed Muḥammad Amīn "who was the most eminent in the integrity of his opinions among his peers". It is related that under the new minister the affairs of state "which had wavered like an aigrette affixed to the head of a beautiful maiden" became fixed and firm. He proved to be an asset to the kingdom as the counterpart of the ease-loving and none too circumspect a Sulṭān.

The year 1012/1603-4 is important in the history of the foreign relations of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty, for in that year Shāh 'Abbās the Great, the Ṣafawī king of Persia, sent Prince Aghuzlū Sulṭān as his envoy to Haidarabad.[88] When news arrived that he would disembark at the Portuguese port of Goa, the Sulṭān sent Mir Ziyau'd-dīn Muḥammad Nīshāpurī to receive him there with all the honour due to the envoy of a great ally. The Prince was escorted from the border of the kingdom to the capital by a number the nobles deputed by the Sulṭān. On arrival at the capital he was received in audience by the king and delivered to him an autograph letter from his master the Shāh along with most valuable presents including a royal crown studded with rubies. It appears that the envoy was accompanied by no less than a hundred high ranking officials to each of whom His Majesty conferred royal robes of great value.[89]

It is related that the main object of the mission was the message sent by Shāh 'Abbas to Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh for the marriage of "one of his sons" with the Sulṭān's daughter Ḥayāt Bakhshi Bēgam. The envoy was at the capital for six years and was allowed to leave only in 1018/1609 for Iran. The Sulṭān ordered Mahdī-Qulī Sulṭān (whose name shows that he was the scion of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty himself) to accompany the Iranian envoy with rich presents for the Shāh. But in spite of Aghuzlū Sulṭān's long stay at the Quṭb Shāhī capital he was not successful in his mission, for it was in 1016/1607, while he was still there, that the princess was married to her cousin Sulṭān Muḥammad who eventually succeeded Muḥammad-Qulī as Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.[90]

As has been mentioned elsewhere, one of the great figures of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was the Pēshwa of the kingdom, Mīr Mu'min Astrābādī, who has left a lasting mark on the culture of Haidarabad. He seems to have arrived at Golkonda, which was then the capital of Tilang, from Iran soon after the accession of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh to the throne, and was probably appointed Pēshwa of the Kingdom as early as 993/1585. He was a great architect, a lover of culture and a poet and critic of some eminence. He died some time in 1034 or 1035/1624-26. There is a controversy regarding the date of his death, and the fact that there is no epitaph on the grave reputed to be his (or for that matter on any of the sixteen graves within the mortuary chamber) is by no means conducive to the clarification of the problem. But what is certain that he died at a great age and remained the chief minister of the state right up to his death.[91]

The perennial rift between the two sections of the Muslim nobility of the state, the dakhnīs and the āfāqīs, raised its head again towards the end of Muḥammad-Qulī's reign. And this was aggravated by the presence of the Mughals at the gate of the kingdom. It appears that some Mughals from Agra and Lahore went up the Nabāt Ghāt overlooking the Ḥusain Sāgar lake and forced their way into the royal pavilion which stood on the top of the hill. This impudence on their part was immediately reported to the king and he ordered the kōtwāl, 'Alī Āqā, to turn the trespassers out of the grounds and warn them that they should not do so again in any circumstances. 'Alī Āqā informed the Sulṭān that the trespassers were really a part of the Mughal population, which had surreptitiously infiltrated into Haidarabad and were a dangerous element of the population of the capital. The response of the Sulṭān was immediate, and he ordered that not merely the Mughals but also the Paṭhāns and the Arabs who were not in government service should be expelled. The Kōtwāl, who evidently did not belong to any of these groups, roped them all in, and it was bruited that they were to be put to death. This led to wild disorders

in the city and looting of warehouses and property of the Mughals who had settled down there. The Mīr Jumlā happened to be transacting some business in one of the offices attached to the royal palace when he heard of the disorders. He immediately went to the king's bedroom where the Sulṭān was fast asleep and informed him how serious the situation had become. The Sulṭān now ordered to make short work of the rioters. 'Alī Āqā, who had acted in such a precipitate manner against the innocent as well as the guilty, now laid a heavy hand on the perpetrators of the riots, and it was not till law and order had been reinstated that the king had any peace of mind.[92]

This led to another disquieting episode. Muḥammad-Qulī had a full brother named Muḥammad Khudā Bandah who, it is said, was well treated by him, and he on his part, reciprocated by being loyal to him. He was a fairly docile person and was not prone to revolt. But it appears that the dakhnī party, led by Shāh Rājū, engineered a conspiracy with the object of eliminating the Shī'ah element of the city who were mainly of Persian extraction and had the strong support of the Palace, and to put Khudā Bandah on the throne. The Sulṭān however, got the information in the nick of time, and imprisoned the conspirators including Khudā Bandah in the fort of Golkonda, where the prince died some time later, in 1020/1611.[93]

As has already been noted, the Mughāls were fast advancing into the Deccan, and had it not been for the strategy and fortitude of Malik 'Ambar they would have made short work of the remaining kingdoms of the Deccan. The arrival of prince Parvīz in the vicinity of Aḥmadnagar in 1018/1609 was a signal for the rebellious elements of the Quṭb Shāhī dominions as well. Vaijnāth Deo, who had been so signally defeated by the royal troops, rose again and surrounded the Quṭb Shāhī army under the sar-lashkar, Ḥasan Khān at Qāsimkōtā. The Sulṭān again put his confidence in Changīz Khān and Dharma Rāo, and sent them with a large army to go and fight the rebels. Vaijnāth Deo shut himself up in his fortress. He had grown old and could not keep his subordinates in the discipline that was

demanded of them, while his own nephew Krishnarāj actually went over to the royal camp and was well received by Changīz Khān. In the meantime the gallant Vaijnāth Deo died of old age. Dharma Rao felt that the situation was now well in hand, and he wrote to those who were in power after Vaijnāth to lay down their arms otherwise Changīz would occupy the whole area by force and thousand of innocent lives would be lost. Vaijnāth had left no son, and his nephew who was regarded as heir to the *gaddī* was already a royal protégé. A treaty was now entered into between the commander of the royal army and Krishnarāj that the latter would succeed Vaijnāth Deo and would pay the Sulṭān an annual tribute as well as a pēshkash of three lakh hons and three hundred elephants when he allowed him to take charge of the state. He was presented by the Sulṭān a full robe of honour and costly accessories, with silver *accoutrements* for his steed.

But peace was not kept by Krishnarāj for long, and not only did he not fulfill his undertaking of the full quota of his tribute but actually rose in rebellion against the paramount power. It was however, not long before Changīz overpowered the rebellion. Krishnarāj, however, managed to keep his patrimony under his immediate control and paid homage to the Sulṭān.[94]

The success of the royal troops was not so pronounced in another field. In 1019/1610 the ruler of Bastar named Pratāp Shāh revolted against the central authority. It shows the spirit underlying the Quṭb Shāhī state that the task of facing Pratāp was entrusted to Asva Rao who was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces with Syed Ḥaidar, Amjadu'l-Mulk and other officers under him. In the battle which ensued it was Asva Rao who opposed Pratāp Rao in person and forced him to fly from the battlefield taking refuge in his fort of Jagadalpūr. Asva Rao now wrote to the Sulṭān for further help as it was necessary to dislodge Pratāp from his eerie. Muḥammad-Qulī now ordered Mīr Jumlā to go to Bastar with a large army. But in spite of his march to Bastar, which was wholly unopposed, he could not dislodge Pratāp from the fortress as a sudden fall of rain damped both his gunpowder and his spirits, and he could not

get further help from the centre in time. He was therefore forced to retreat, and as the Godavari was in spate it was with some difficulty that he could reach the capital.[95]

It was not long after this, on 17-11-1020/11-1-1612 that the Sulṭān breathed his last after a short illness of only a couple of days, at the age of a little over forty-seven lunar years and a reign of thirty-three lunar years. As he had no son he was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Sulṭān Muḥammad.

The Sulṭān's personality

There are some definite traits which are noticeable in Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's personality. He lived a life of ease and luxury, and as his poems clearly demonstrate, it was by no means one of continence. It is probable, as one of his modern panegyrist says, that "his untimely death generally attributed to his life of ease and sensuality.[96] It is to his credit that he left the administrative problems of his kingdom in the hands of capable ministers like Rāi Rāo, Mīr Mu'min Astrābādī, Mīrza Muḥammad Amīn, Asva Rāo and others, with the result that in spite of his inherent weaknesses the Kingdom went on progressing both internally and externally. Unlike Charles II of England (with whom he had much in common so far as personal character is concerned) he rarely took an active part in politics. He was an artist by nature. Although the details of the layout of the new capital must have been worked out by Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min, there is no doubt that the full credit for the plan should be given to the young king. It was his idea that advantage was taken of the construction of the Purānā Pul by his father and an outlet from the congested atmosphere of Golkonda was found in the level ground on the banks of the Mūsī on the direct road from Golkonda to the most important seaport on the Golkonda Coast, Masulipatam. Like any other artist he was a patron of literature, both prose and poetry, of music and dance as well as architecture, and had the distinction of being the author of the first *dīwān* in *Dakhnī*.

We have a number of miniature portraits of Muḥammad-Qulī

Quṭb Shāh. He died when he was comparatively a young man and there is not much of contrast between most of the portraits distributed in various museums. Nearly all his portraits are executed in the dakhnī *qalam,* and as this developed after the advent of the Mughals in the Deccan it may be surmised that Muḥammad-Qulī's portraits, or most of them, are posthumous.[97] His picture in the two portrait groups, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and the other in the Hyderabad State Museum, which depict all the monarchs of Golkonda flanking their ancestor Sulṭān-Qulī Baṛē Malik, must naturally have been posthumously executed in the time of the last Quṭb Shāhī ruler, Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, if not later. In both these groups Muḥammad-Qulī is shown as a mere boy, perhaps in order to contrast his face with those of his father and grandfather. It is noticeable that in the Paris group the artist has not dressed Muḥammad-Qulī in the Mughal costume in which Jamshīd, Ibrāhīm and Abu'l-Ḥasan are dressed but in the dakhnī costume of the period with a long embroidered *anga-vastram* or kerchief on his shoulders. The kerchief has borders of brocade but the texture is so fine that it shows both the *jāmā* and the tight guady *pāijāmā* through it. On the head is rather an undersized turban, much smaller than the usual Mughal turban, with a broad, embroidered *sarpēch* keeping the folds in place. Round the waist is a golden belt, but only the jewel-studded buckle is in evidence.[98]

The two-solo portrait of Muḥammad-Qulī in the Hyderabad Museum stand on their own plane.[99] One of them is a miniature in the approved Mughal style, 7′ 5″×5′ 2″ in size, with a plain buff border, showing the king standing profilewise. It depicts the face of a sedate young man with very small moustaches and a semblance of growth on his cheeks and chin. His head which is surrounded by the traditional halo, is covered with a regulation Mughal *dastār,* vermillion in colour, with a bejewelled *sarpēch* bordered with pearls and a black aigrette drooping at the back. In the right hand is a flower while the left is gripping the hilt of a sword. A *kaṭār* or dagger with a square hilt is tucked into a *kamarband* with a *pallū* in brocade.

A muslin kerchief of the finest texture with embroidered border is thrown over the shoulders in the approved Andhra fashion. The arms are bedecked with armlets inlaid with pearls and precious stones, while there are strings of pearls and precious stones adorning the neck. In spite of the dignity and beauty of the portrait very little use is made of gold ornamentation which is one of the peculiarities of the dakhnī *qalam*. The whole composition leaves a pleasant feeling in the mind of the onlooker and is certainly one of the best portrait of the monarch in existence.

Ferishta has righly prefaced his short description of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh by calling him "forgiving and gentle", and if we scan his reign we would find that these traits cost his kingdom a great deal. A classical example of the failure of the king as a leader of men will be found in the episode of the rebellion of 'Alī Khān Lūr and his alliance with Venkaṭa II of Penukoṇḍa in 1593. As has been related, the Sulṭān's forces marched into the Rāya's territory and had almost a walkover right up to the gates of the capital. Penukoṇḍa was invested and it seemed that it would fall like a ripe apple. But Venkaṭa's superior diplomatic talent, coupled with the "forgiveness" of the Sulṭān, who was commanding the troops in person, resulted in a humiliating retreat of the Tilang army. The request of the Rāya for a three days' armistice to open pourparlers for a final treaty, his reorganization of the army during the precious interval, the immediate retreat of the Sulṭān's forces and the invasion of his dominions in turn, have been described above. Muḥammad-Qulī was less than thirty years old then, and a little firmness on his part and the alertness of his officers might have changed the history of the South India at least for the time being.

Again, in continuation of the same campaign, when Ganḍikōṭa was in turn invested by Venkaṭa, Murtaẓā Khān, the commander of Sulṭān's forces, made a flanking attack on Cuddapah. The Sulṭān, who had now returned to Haidarabad, thought that the army on the east was not particularly strong, so he sent another large army under the command of Ghazanfar Khān, *alias*

Rustam Khān, for Murtaẓā Khān's help. But it is strange that he perhaps forgot to indicate which of the two commanders would be the commander-in-chief of the joint army. The result was that there was a tussle between the two officers and the consequent rout of the Sulṭān's forces.

All this shows the lack of the quality of leadership in the Sulṭān. Pleasure-loving as he was, he was successful in all those undertakings which were initiated and followed up by his capable ministers; but whenever he had an opportunity of taking a personal decision the possibility was that his "gentleness", which bordered on vacillation and weakness, would turn the scales against him and the State.

There was one silver lining which was characteristic of the epoch, and that was a spirit of *camaradérie* which existed between the Hindu and the Muslim sections of the population. A remarkable thing was that this was so in spite of the perennial conflict between Tilang-Andhra on the one hand and Orissa and Vijayanagar on the other. The fact that 'Alī Khān Lūr sought the help of the "Hindu" kingdom of the south against the Sulṭān is an instance of the utter non-communalistic tendency of the period. But that provides only a negative instance. On the positive side the whole policy of Government seems to have been that of equality of opportunity for both the Hindus and the Muslims for practically all the high officers of the State. It was Rāi Rao, the chief actor in the enthronement of Muḥammad-Quli on the throne, who was in command of the important fort of Koṇḍavīḍu when 'Alī Khān rose in rebellion. And when the royal army was forced to retreat from Penukoṇḍa it was Asva Rao who was left in control of the fort of Musalamiḍugu which had lately been occupied by the Sulṭān's army. The great confidence which the Court reposed in the high Hindu officers of the Kingdom is again shown by the appointment of Dharma Rao along with Changīz Khān against Vaijanāth Deo. Further, the King went out of his way when he invested Vaijanath's nephew, Krishnarāj with robes of honour and issued a proclamation to the chieftains of the locality to accept him

as their paramount chief. Lastly, when Pratāp Shah of Bastar state revolted against the authority of the Sulṭān it was the king's confident commander, Asva Rao who was sent to quell the rebellion.

Another aspect of the policy of the administration was directly connected with the incursion of the Mughāls into the Deccan. Muḥammad-Qulī's advisers fully realised the danger which threatened the remaining three states of the Deccan by the continued incursion of the Mughals into Berār and Aḥmadnagar. It is well-known that except for the interlude of 1565 there had been a continued friction between Aḥmadnagar, Bijapur and Tilang-Andhra in the past, but now all the three states stood like one in the face of the invaders and forgot their quarrels. Bijapur and Haidarabad both realised that the fall of Ahmadnagar would spell their own doom, and when Chānd Bībī and later. Malik 'Ambar appealed to Muhammad-Quli to consider the cause of Ahmadnagar to be his own he fully responded to the appeal. On the other hand the marriage of the king's sister, Chānd Sulṭānā to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah must have led the rulers of the two Kingdoms to bury their hatchets in face of the grave danger from the north. The contempt with which the emissaries of Delhi viewed the Shī'ah potentates of the Deccan, especially Muḥammad-Qulī, may be instanced in what a man of such catholic temperament as Faiẓī writes about him in one of the reports he sent to the Emperor Akbar from Aḥmadnagar. It must have been a reaction to such a treatment as well as the enormity of the situation which resulted in the immediate response of the Haidarabad court to the appeals from Aḥmadnagar.

It was only natural that the aesthetic aspect of the entourage of the Sulṭān reacted on the life of the people in general. Literature, especially poetry, was patronised by the Sulṭān, and in this respect little discrimination was shown between Persian, Telugu and Dakhnī. It was perhaps due to the rather loose morals of the court which gave an impetus to the writing of uninhibited poetry as also to the vivid nature-studies which we find in the writings of the Sulṭān as well as others like Wajhī.

The unreserved frankness of Muḥammad-Qulī in the description of his amours is strangely mellowed by his religiosity and his faith in the Shī'ah doctrine which is visible in practically all his compositions, whether religious or profane.

It may thus be said that the whole outlook of the State as centred in the person of the Sulṭān was non-communal, and if the epithet may be used without any intention of anachronism, it was also national. The dress people wore, the music and dance which was patronised, the spirit of comradeship which was visible in all sections of the population, the confidence which the Hindus and Muslims had in each other producing a sense of unity in the face of a common danger—all this must have been inspired by the spirit of harmony shown by the Court, and which not merely persisted but increased during the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī's successors, 'Abdu'l-lāh and Abu'l-Ḥasan.

Section 2. *Haidarabad*

The reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was marked not so much by fresh conquests as by the blossoming of all that was latent in Tilang-Andhra in the field of literature, art, architecture, song and dance, and the cumulative effect of all these tendencies was the planning and construction of the new capital on the southern bank of the Mūsī which the King named *Ḥaidarabad* or the *City of Ḥaidar,* a standing and lasting monument to his own fine taste and to the glory of the epoch dominated by the rulers of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty.[100] As has been related above, the influx of the population to the walled city of Golkonda, caused by the name and fame of the rulers of Tilang in India as well as overseas, resulted in its congestion and consequent unhealthy atmosphere, and necessitated the extension of the limits of the capital even during Ibrāhīm's reign.[101] But that monarch at first thought of extending his capital towards the west and the north of Golkonda, and it was probably for that purpose that he laid out a vast resort in the shape of Bāgh Ibrāhīm Shāhī and constructed a number of pavilions in it some of which still exist. But this project partly

failed because of lack of water in the neighbourhood as well as the rocky surface of the area, and the question of the congestion of the population in Golkonda still remained. East of Golkonda, the Mūsī was a very tricky river, for while it was merely a fordable *nullah* for the greater part of the year, it became most turbulent during the rainy season and was prone to rise many feet and even to overflow its banks. But when the noble bridge now called *Purānā Pul* was thrown across in 986/1578 it showed the way to the side where the extension of the capital would take place.[102]

Foundation of Haidarabad

It was in 999/1590-1 that the plans for the construction of the new capital were ready. It is related that the King, who was fond of the chase, went out to hunt, and when he had crossed the bridge over the Mūsī he came to a level ground which pleased him well. It may be remarked here that such episodes are found in our chroniclers in a number of contexts, and only add a romantic element to the otherwise prosaic narrative.[103] The Sulṭān must have been aware of the area lying south of the Mūsī as there was already a bridge on the river constructed by his father in 1578. He must also have been informed of the considerable population which had already grown in that area. We learn that the Muslim divine, Shāh Chirāgẖ, had already made his home in the predominently Brahman locality of Chichlam where he was later buried and where grew the great necropolis named after Mīr Mu'min the Pēshwā of Muḥammad-Qulī and Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.[104] Muhammad-Quli rightly thought that he could lay out the new capital on the plain south of the Mūsī on a grand scale and with much greater facility. So "when the moon was in the constellation of Leo and Jupiter was in his own mansion", the Sulṭān ordered architects and masons to prepare the plans of a city which would be "unequalled the world over and would be replica of paradise itself".[105] The new city was built on the gridiron system in the forms of a giant double cross. There was already a road running

from Golkonda eastward as far as Masulipaṭam and the east coast towns of the Kingdom, and this road was made to intersect a new road running nearly north and south at the place where the *Chārminār* now stands.

The Chārminār was completed in 1000/1591-2. Its four stately arches had four broad roads jutting out from them. The northern road runs as far as the Mūsī river to a point near where the Afẓal Bridge now spans it, while the southern road went straight to what was then called the Koh-i-Ṭūr and is now the site of the Falaknumā Castle.[106] The eastern road ran to the coast of the Bay of Bengal and the western to Golkonda and beyond. About eighty yards north of Chārminār was the great square known then as *Jilu Ḵẖānā* and now called *Chār Kamān,* flanked by four large arches fifty feet in height, each arch separated from the centre of the piazza by about one hundred and ten yards.[107] One of the four wide streets which intersected this area led to the great gate of the Royal Palace which was situated on its western side, and extended right up to the Mūsī and covered a huge area said to be 1,000 yards square. The centre of the piazza was ornamented by a very large fountain with a number of water jets, which came to be known later as *Chār-Sū-Kā-Ḥauz* or the "Cistern of Four Directions". When the main lay-out of the new city was complete the Sulṭān ordered the construction of fourteen thousand shops with schools, mosques, caravanserais and baths built on both sides of these roads, and when everything was ready the court moved into the new city.[108]

The Chārminār

The Chārminār or the Four Minarets has been called the *chef d'oevre* of the Quṭb Shāhī period,[109] and is certainly one of the grandest buildings in the whole country. The plan is square, each side measuring sixty feet, while the four arches are 36 ft. broad with the pitch sixty feet above the plinth level. The minarets, which are four storeys high, rise to eighty feet from the roof of the building and one hundred and sixty feet from

the plinth level. The uppermost storey of each minaret is reached by one hundred and forty-six steps. As Dr. Yazdani says, the four minarets add to the dignity and picturesqueness of the building while "in order to minimise the height to the observer the architect has set up a double screen of arched openings at the top of the roof between the minarets".[119] The varied designs of these openings are extremely delicate, and although the arches in the lower row are nearly nine feet high, they, along with the upper ornamental arches, appear "like a border of lace when seen from a distance". The western section of the roof is taken up by a mosque which is perhaps one of the most beautiful in the whole range of Quṭb Shāhī mosques. It has five double arches representing the *Panjtan* or the five great personalities of Islam, held particularly sacred by the Shī'ah, namely the Prophet, 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusain. The style of these arches is peculiar, as each pointed arch has been framed by a cusped arch, a device which is rare in contemporary structures. We must remember that the cusped arch, was not entirely unknown to the Quṭb Shāhī architects of this period. Moreover Mughal influence was slowly but certainly creeping into the Deccan. Gujarat and its concomitant Malwa had been annexed to the Empire of Akbar in 1573, and the Mughals were knocking hard at the gates of Aḥmadnagar, which was ultimately forced to cede Berar to the northern power in 1573. There is no doubt that the Mughals brought with them their dress, their manners and their architectural *motifs*, and the cusped arches which we find in the Chārminār mosque and the Jāmi' Masjid of Haidarabad signify the influence of the Mughals architecture in the Deccan.

There are forty-five *muṣallās* or prayer spaces within the covered *liwān* of the mosque, and there is a large open space in front of the mosque which might have been utilised as an adjunct of the mosque on Fridays. This space is dominated on the eastern side by a beautiful verandah of fine proportions, with a large open arch in the middle flanked by a number of small arches on either side. This large central arch is again dominated by a copula supported by small arches and pillars

but open on all sides, which may have possibly served either as an observation post or a *ma'dhanah* from which the mu'azdhdhin called the faithful to prayers.

Many theories have been propounded recently regarding the purpose for which the Chārmīnar was originally built, but almost every one of these ignores the fact that it was primarily the centre of the planned city. The architect wanted to utilise the structure to its best advantage, and it is related that he turned the upper storey into a school for both Muslims and non-Muslims with its vast covered corridor running right round. As one ascends the minarets from the ground floor one comes across fairly large apartments on each landing, the total number being twelve, and these, along with the large corridor, the mosque and the copula, completed the whole picture.[111]

Thèvenot, who visited Haidarabad sixty-six years after the foundation of the new city, says that "all the galleries of the building seems to make the water mount up so that it be conveyed to the King's Palace and reach its highest apartments," while a later author Girdhārī Lāl says that the water was brought from the reservoir of Jalapallī. At present there are no pipes visible which might have taken the water up the Chārminār. Jalapalli tank is 1851 feet above the sea level and even if we include the silted up surface and the adjacent 'Umdāsāgar, it is not more than six square miles in area, while its embankment is not more than eighteen feet above its bed. Thus it is hardly possible to bring water to the city from such a distance in sufficient volume to provide the needs of the vast area which covered the palaces of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah. The only trace of a tank on the topmost floor of the Chārminār is an area seven feet square which has now been filled up with rubble and paved with stone, and it is so small that it can only store up water for the use of the students and teachers who lived there.[112]

A tradition seems to have cropped up about the beginning of the eighteenth century that the Chārminār was constructed after the model of a *ta'ziah* or conventional replica of the mausoleum of Imām Ḥusain. This story is first mentioned in Mir Raushan 'Alī's *Tozuk-i Quṭb Shāhiya* which was compiled

under the orders of the Dīwān of Haidarabad, Raja Chandulāl, in 1265/1848.[113] It is said that a *ta'ziah* was originally set up in the place where Chārminar now stands, on Sunday, 1-1-1000/9-10-1591. But we do not find any evidence of there being a *ta'ziah* on this site in any other work.[114] Apart from the fact that the first of Muharram, 1000 H. happened to be a Saturday not a Sunday, we have ample evidence that the construction of the edifice started as early as 999. The *Tuzuk-i Quṭb Shāhiya* on which the story is based, a booklet of just 10 folios, is an unreliable document and contains a number of historical *faux pas*. Thus it gives the title of *Baṛē Malik* to Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh while it was really borne by his grandfather. Then the author thinks that the name of Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafawī was Shāh Ḥayāt Ṣafawī, which is incorrect. It is not possible to bank on any of its statements unless it is corroborated otherwise.

There is another misunderstanding regarding Chārminār, that it served as a "gateway in front of the beautiful piazza, on which the lofty portals of the royal palace opened."[115] This misunderstanding is caused by Thèvenot's statement that "the Palace is continued to the Four Towers." Of course this is not the truth, as the Palace proper was situated beyond the western of the four great arches, originally called *Jilu Ḵẖāna* but now called *Chār Kamān* as the area is enclosed by four stately arches which are called *kamān* in the Deccan.

In fact Muḥammad-Qulī and his architects followed the pattern of the lay-out of well-planned cities both ancient and modern. The *tetrapylae* of the old Greek towns, the military camps of the Romans, the Persians and the Mugẖals, the great central square of Hirāt, the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, and nearer still the Chaubārā at Bidar and the lay-out of intersecting canals in Mugẖal gardens all over India are cases in point. The Sulṭān himself was an artist of some merit, and when he began to plan the new city on a clean slate it was only natural that he should fix a pivotal point in the shape of a finely proportioned centre-piece. The architect improved upon similar structures elsewhere by making it not merely ornamental but useful as well, and it is this which makes the structure unique.

The building was later utilised as the place from where important proclamations were read out to the public,[116] and was occupied by the French commander Bussy as his headquarters in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Chārkamān, Palaces, Gardens, Parks

As has been mentioned above, about 80 yards north of the Chārminār begins the great piazza popularly known as the *Chārkamān* or the Four Arches. What the architect has done in this case is that, instead of bringing together four great arches to form a single unit, he has kept them distinct, separated from the centre of the piazza by nearly 375 feet in each case, so that the space between any two arches facing each other is nearly 750 feet. Like the arches of the Chārminār these lofty arches, each 60 feet high and 36 feet wide at the base and six feet in thickness, they nearly face the four cardinal points, and have steps leading to the top with a fine view of the surrounding streets. The vast square, which was originally the *Jilu Khānā* or the Guards' Square and an appanage to the Palace, has unfortunately been considerably defaced at the corners by the addition of shops. The western gate, once called the *Shēr-e 'Alī Gate,* served as the eastern gateway of the Palaces which extended right up to the river. The three remaining arches or gates were collectively known *Tripōlia* or the Three Gates.[117]

This was the period when the fashion of erecting lofty arches as entrance to buildings was much in vogue both in northern and southern India. The *Buland Darwāzā* of Fatḥpūr-Sīkrī was completed in 1575, i.e., only a few years before the lay-out of the Haidarabad city, while the great entrance of the Aṭālā Dēvī Mosque at Jaunpur still evokes the wonder of the traveller. In the Deccan itself the two huge masonry blocks with large gateways which flank the entrance to the open ground in front of the *Bālā Ḥisār Darwāzā* at Golkonda may well have inspired the builders of the *Chārminār* and the *Chārkamān.*[118]

On the top of the eastern arch, now called the *Kālī Kamān* sat the royal musicians playing *Shahnā'i* and other instruments

five times a day, while the northern and southern gateways, were guarded by troops. The western arch which led into the royal palace, was further guarded by a very costly gateway in the pillar and lintel style, the stone frame of which was 60 feet high and 36 feet wide, while its shutters were made of costly ebony and sandalwood and were studded with nails of gold and inlaid with precious stones. The privacy within the Palace was ensured by a screen made of cloth-of-gold which was hung by the lintel of this gorgeous gateway. It is said that Mīr Mu'min, who was the Pēshwa of the Kingdom in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and his successor, erected a large stone pillar by the side of this gate and inscribed on it certain Qur'ānic verses and charms which were reputed to have the power of warding off the effect of any magic which might be worked against the royal family. It was for this reason that the name of the arch was changed from *Kamān Shēr-i-'Alī* to *Kamān Siḥr-i Bāṭil*, which has now been corrupted into *Kamān Shēr-i Bāṭil* and even to *Mittī kā Sher*.[120] The Sulṭān would not allow the huge piazza to be left without further decoration and ordered coconut and betelnut trees to be planted right round, which must have enhanced the beauty of the great square.

The *Siḥr-i Bāṭil* Gate was therefore one with a distinct individuality of its own as the entrance to the Royal Palace, and yet was part of the general scheme which went to form the great square, and which connected it psychologically with the centre of the new town, Chārminār. As one entered this gate one was face to face with a large area about one thousand yards square, full of buildings, tanks, parks, groves and fountains which went to form the palace. The area represents today practically the whole triangle covered by Ghāsī Bazār, High Court, City College and Pēṭlā Burj. Perhaps the oldest palace was the Dād Maḥal or the Palace of Equity, which was nine storeys high, the main building covering a plinth area 156 feet by 66 feet, and it is said that the Sulṭān himself distributed justice there. This palace was constructed in such a way that one side of it overlooked the main thoroughfare so that it might be easy for

those who wanted to lay a complaint before the Royal person to have recourse to it.[121]

In order, perhaps, to avoid frivolous complaints it was ordered that all complaints should go to the King through his secretaries and chamberlains. On the other hand Muḥammad-Qulī was bent on keeping his offices in check, and decreed that every morning just after sunrise the amīrs, nobles, nāyakwāṛīs and others should come and salute him, while one thousand footmen were always ready at his beck and call on the main gate of the Palace.[122]

As one passed the *Kamān Siḥr-i Bāṭil* the first place one faced was the royal Record Office and other offices, then the *Jāmadār Khānā* or the Department of the Royal Wardrobe, and certain other *kārkhānahs* or Royal stores and factories. On the northern side of the compound was another great gate near which were platforms reserved for soldiers, *ḥawālādārs*, elephant keepers and newswriters. The next edifice was called the *Lāl Maḥal* or the Red Palace and was meant to be the *locale* of royal servants. Next came the *Chandan Maḥal* or the Sandalwood Palace, then *Sajan Maḥal* or the Palace of the Firmament, where Turks, Arabs and Dakhnīs were posted. The last apartments nearest the Palace proper was occupied by the learned and those versed in religious lore as well as persons in whom the King reposed special confidence. Towards the east of this was a large platform about a hundred yards long on which food of the best quality was served to thousands of the inmates of the campus.[123]

The largest palace occupied by the royal family was the *Khudādād Maḥal* which was constructed in 1019/1610 after the marriage of the King's daughter, Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān. The Palace was seven or eight storeys high named after God, the Prophet, 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Ja'far Sādiq and Mūsā Kāẓim. Of these the storey named after 'Alī, the Ḥaidar Maḥal, was the most resplendent, and its roof and pillars are said to have been studded with precious stones and nails of pure gold. When the palace was ready the Sulṭān distributed robes of honour to those present among whom were

nobles and learned men who had been specially invited for the occasion.

Apart from the palaces proper Muḥammad-Qulī built three vast pavilions, two on the top of the hills and one, the *Nadī Maḥal,* overlooking the southern bank of the Mūsī, to which he sometimes retired by way of relaxation. It is related that once the Sulṭān was out for *shikār* in the jungle about four miles to the north of the new city, and he was so much engrossed in the game that he lost all count of time. It was already noon, and no water seemed available to quench the thirst. Servants and followers were sent in all directions, and a party of them reported that there was plenty of water round one of the hillocks nearby. The Sulṭān liked the site and ordered a vast pavilion to be erected on the top of the hill, and large cisterns and gates facing the four cardinal points at the base. When the buildings were ready he had a garden planted right round which he named Nabāt Ghāt or the Hillside Botanical Park. This hill was the one which was later known as Naubat Pahāṛ, and the water "discovered" on the day must have been the fine sheet of Ḥusain Sāgar. The Nabāt Ghāt was later extended right upto the river to form the Bāgẖ-i Dilkushā and covered the whole area now taken up by Bashīr Bāgẖ, the Bāgẖ-i 'Ām, the Fatḥ Maidān and the Residency, totalling about nine square miles.[125]

About two miles south of the Chārminār was another hill which was covered with greenery all round and had a very salubrious climate. It was just outside the limits of the new capital and it must have struck the artistic monarch that just as he had erected a vast pavilion on the Nabāt Ghāṭ in the north it would be in the fitness of things if a similar pavilion were erected on the southern hill as well. A pavilion was therefore constructed there, consisting of four large halls and a platform 30 yards long and 20 yards broad, with a large tank 45 yards by 30 yards at the back. The King named it *Kōh-i Ṭūr.* It commanded the southern part of the city much in the same way as the Nabāt Ghāṭ commanded the northern parts. This hill has still the pride of place among the suburbs of Haidarabad, for it is on it that the world famous Falaknumā Castle

has been constructed, and as has been mentioned, it is possible that at least some parts of that castle have been built over the strong foundations laid down by the builders of the pavilion on the Kōh-i Ṭūr.[126] The whole area from Nabāt Ghāṭ to Kōh-i Ṭūr was full of gardens, groves and parks, and the buildings of the new capital of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh must have glittered like gems in the midst of the all-pervading greenery. It was not merely the palaces which were set in the midst of gardens, but parks were laid out in other places as well. Some of the gardens were planned even on the roofs of palaces, and Tavernier expresses his great surprise how the roofs garden of the Ḥinā Maḥal should contain "trees of that bigness, that it is a thing of great wonder how these arches should bear so large of a Burthen."[127]

To find out the internal plans of these gardens it would be well to quote here the description of one of them, probably the *Bāgh Lingampalli,* left for us by Thèvenot:

"There are many fair Gardens in this Town, their beauty consists in having long walks kept very clean, and lovely Fruit trees.... The gardens without the Town are the loveliest, and I shall only describe one of them.... At first one enters into a great place: it is planted with Palms and Areca trees, so near to each other that the Sun can hardly pierce through them.... The Walks of it are straight and neat with Borders of wild Flowers which they call Ghoul-Daūdi.... The House at the end of this Garden has two great Wings adjoining the main Body of it. It is two Storeyed high.... From the lower Diwan, a Terrass-Walk two hundred Paces long, and fifty broad, faced with Stones, runs along all the Front of the House; and two little Groves of Trees, that are on the side of it. This Terrass that is at the Head of the second Garden .... is raised a fathom and a half above it, and has very neat Stairs for going down into it.... The first thing that is to be seen—is a great Reservatory or *Tanqui,* each side whereof is above two hundred Paces long.... in it there are great many Pipes that rise half a Foot above water and Bridge upon it, raised about a Foot over the surface of the Water,

and above six Foot broad, with wooden Railes. This Bridge is four score Paces long and leads into a Platform of Octagon Figure in the middle of the Reservatory, where there are Steps to descend into the Water.... There are Pipes in the eight Angles of it, and in the Pillars of the Railes, from whence the Water plays on all sides, which makes a very lovely sight. In the middle of the Platform there is a little House built two Storey high.... The roof of this Building is bordered with Balisters, and covers the whole Platform also.... The Garden .... is planted with Flowers and Fruit-trees; all are in a very good order, and in this as well as in the first Garden there are lovely Walks well Gravelled, and bordered with diverse Flowers: There runs a Canal in the midst of the great Walk, which is four Foot over, and carries away what it receives from little Fountains of Water, that are also in the middle of the Walk in certain distances: In short this Garden is very large, and bounded by a Wall which has a great Gate in the middle that opens into a Close of a large extent, planted with Fruit-trees, and as nearly contrived as the Garden."[128]

The extent of such gardens and groves may be realised by the statement that whole area bounded on the north by Paṭancheru, on the south by Ibrahimpaṭam, on the east by Bhongir and in the west by Narkunḍa was full of groves and gardens, and it was only natural, as Tavernier says that the capital was called Baghnagar or "the City of Gardens" by the common people.[129]

Other Buildings of Public Utility

It has already been stated that when Muḥammad-Qulī was planning the new city he took care to order the construction of fourteen thousand shops on the roads radiating from Chārmināra and *Jilu Khāna* and allowed tradesmen to ply their trade in them. One of these was the Trunk road which extended from Golkonda to the east coast, and ran over the bridge which Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh had constructed over the Musi in 986/1578. This bridge must have looked its best when Tavernier visited

the city in 1676, for he was much struck by its beauty and proportions and likened it to the Pont Neuf of Paris which, incidentally began to be constructed in the year the "Old Bridge" was completed.[130]

Haidarabad was meant at first to accommodate the overflow population of Golkonda. Time had not yet come for the granting of the prayer of the founder of Haidarabad in which he begs the Almighty to increase the population of the new city to the extent of the number of fish in a river.[131] The population of Haidarabad in those early days could not have been very large, for writing in 1676, Tavernier says that it was less than the population of the city of Orleans in France,[132] which has even now not more than a hundred thousand inhabitants. The measure of the small population of Haidarabad in those early days can be found in the *Jāmi' Masjid* (the first mosque completed after the mosque on the top of *Chārminār*), which cannot accommodate more than seven hundred and fifty, or at the outside, eight hundred worshippers.

The view expressed by Bilgrami and Willmott regarding this mosque, that "it has no pretensions to architectural merit", is strange. For if we were to consider only the beautiful calligraphy on the *miḥrāb* containing the first *rukū'* of the second part of the Qur'ān, in fine *thulth* style in the hands of Jalūlu'd-dīn Muḥammad al-Fakhkhār of Shīrāz, or the chronogram executed in *nasta'līq* over what was once the main entrance of the mosque in the handwriting of Bābā Khān, it would make the mosque an outstanding monument of the Quṭb Shāhī period. Dr. Yazdani says regarding the chronogram that its style "represents perhaps the finest *nasta'līq* script in the Deccan," while the inscription on the *miḥrāb* "is a good specimen of the ornamental *naskh* which, in a simple form, assumed the name of *thulth*. The bold sweeping curves and the fine crisp vertical and horizontal strokes of these inscriptions exhibit an art of a very high order."[133] Completed in 1006/1597-8 the Jāmi' Masjid has a double hall, 72′ 6″ by 32′ 6″, with a paved courtyard 74′ by 70′. The roofed hall is entered by one wide double arch of simple design flanked by three smaller arches on both

sides. While in the case of the mosque on the top of the *Chārminār* the simple arch is framed in each case by a cusped arch, here in the Jāmi' Masjid the architect has superimposed a false cusped arch about three feet higher than the real opening in the case of each of the flanking arches like a crown over the lower arch. The whole composition is extremely pleasant to the eye. There are only two massive pillars on each side of the roofed double hall. They can hardly be called "lofty" as Dr. Yazdani says, and their shortness is purposeful as the architect perhaps wished to contrast them with the grandness of the southern arch of the *Jilū Ḵẖānā* which overlooks the mosque, and with the stature of the Chārminār nearby. It may be remarked there that the entrance to the mosque, which is (different to all other mosques) situated *by the side of* the building proper so as to face the main road running between the Chārminār and the *Jilū Ḵẖānā,* is the pillar and lintel style again superimposed by a cusped arch, thus marking room for the fine *nasta'līq* chronogram mentioned above.

It must be remembered that the Jāmi' Masjid was not the first purely religious edifice built in the new capital. The first such structure was what is still called the *Badshāhī 'Ashūrḵẖānā* the construction of which was commenced immediately after the Chārminār and continued from 1001 to 1005. An *'Ashūrḵẖānā* is the building which houses the *'alams* or conventional copies of the standard carried by Imām Ḥusain, and as the Quṭb Shāhīs were Shī'ah it was only right that the building of an *'Ashūrḵẖānā* should have priority over all other buildings of the sacred type. There have been several later additions to this *'Ashūrḵẖānā* building ranging right up to 1179/1765-6, and its extensive repairs were undertaken many times in more recent years. The earliest part of the building is the central niche and the western wall on which certain verses of the Qur'ān are inscribed in the best *tughrā* style on fine enamelled tiles. As later additions are also commemorated on similar tiles, the whole composition is remarkably resplendent, especially because the joints are almost imperceptable. Here it must be remarked that the inscription on the central niche,

mentions the Sulṭān as *Ghulām-i 'Alī* or Slave of 'Alī, without the epithet "Qulī" being joined on to "Muḥammad". Had it not been for the date, 1001 H. clearly mentioned in the inscriptions, one might have taken it to have been executed during the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī's successor, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, especially as certain inscriptions belong to the reign of Muḥammad's successor, 'Abdu'l-lāh. The most outstanding feature of the building is the lavish use of enamelled tiles made by the architect, "which compares favourably with the best buildings of Lahore and Multan" and even now the resplendence of the enamel has not been blurred by the lapse of centuries.[124]

A very important building of public utility, perhaps unique in the whole range of secular architecture in the Deccan, is the famous *Dāru'sh-Shifā* or General Hospital built by Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh in 1004/1595-6. It is a great pity that this fine monument of the public spirit of the founder of Haidarabad is in the continued process of decay and delapidation, and no one seems to be responsible for its upkeep. The inner courtyard of the building is approximately 175 feet square, so that the total area covered by it extends to nearly twenty-five thousand square feet. It is a double-storeyed building, of which the eastern, western and southern wings have twelve double rooms on ground floor and the same number on the first floor, while the northern wing is taken up by a fine gateway and eight double rooms on the ground floor and the same number on the first floor. The rooms are amply wide and each double room could easily accommodate four beds each. There are staircases leading right up to the top of the building, and convalescent patients could well breathe the best air available and in addition have a fine view of Muḥammad-Qulī's Haidarabad.

The *Dārush-Shifā* was a hospital as well as a College of *Yunānī* medicine. We are told that *ḥakīms* who were highly experienced and learned and specialists in various diseases were employed by the State to attend to the patients and lecture before medical students. There were two departments, namely the hospital proper and the College. Medicines, lodging and

diet were provided free to the patients. Those young men who wished to join the College were given scholarships by the Government and were assured employment after they had taken their medical degree. The splendid mosque to the north-west of the hospital, with its tall graceful minarets still stands in all its glory, and its enamel tiled medallions ornating the three arches still glitter in the sun. But the *ḥammām* or Bath attached to the hospital does not exist any more, and the caravanserai which perhaps provided board and lodging to those "on the waiting list" has been occupied by squatters and built over to form some extremely ugly houses.[134] Haidarabad was the home of a number of eminent physicians some of whom were possibly attached to the hospital and the College. Of these two have left books on their specialised subjects. Ḥakīm Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ḥusaini was the author of the voluminous *Ikẖtiyārāt-i Quṭb Shāhī* which was itself a commentary of Zainu'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār's *Ikẖtiyārāt-i Badī'ī*. The other physician was Ḥakīm Ṣafīyu'd-dīn Gīlānī whose book the *Tadẖkiratu'sh-Shahawāt* was regarded as the standard work on the subject of sex.[135]

Works of public utility instituted by Muḥammad-Qulī included baths, caravanserais and schools. We have already dealt with the *sarāi* attached to the General Hospital; but it was not the only one. For we learn that even when the Sulṭān ordered the construction of the Chārminār, wide streets radiating from it and thousands of shops he did not forget the public needs of the people who were to populate the new capital. *Sarāis,* schools and public baths were built along with the palaces and state guest houses. One such *sarāi* was the *sarāi Ni'matu'llāh* where Thèvenot stayed when he visited Haidarabad in 1666. While describing the location and the comfort of the *sarāi* he says :

> "At the end of the Bridge we found the Gates of the City. . . . We marched quarter of an hour through a long street with Houses on both sides, but as low as those of the Suburbs . . . though they have very lovely Gardens. We went to a *Carvanseray* called Nematoolah which has an entry from the same Street. Every one took his lodging there, and

I hired two little Chambers at two Rupees a Month.... The *Carvansarays* are nearly all handsome and the most esteemed is that which is called Nematoolah in the great Street opposite the King's Garden."

Apart from such *sarāis* or inns Tavernier says that mosques were also used as inns for travellers. Ḥammāms were also attached to these mosques such as the Jāmi' Masjid and public buildings such as the General Hospital, where barbers, paid by the State, were ready for a haĩr cut and clean towels were provided to those who came to have a bath.[136]

Section 3. *Cultural Aspects*

Architecture

With the founding of Haidarabad and the construction of the basic buildings of the new capital it was only natural that the city should begin to spread its wings in all directions, and soon the countryside became dotted with caravanserais, mosques, and civil structures on the great arterial roads radiating from Chārminār. Mīr Mu'min Astrābādi, who occupied the Pēshwaship as early as 993/1585 and was no doubt directly associated with the layout of the new capital, has left a number of edifices, both religious and civil, which he constructed on his own account within and without the city. Most of these buildings were erected in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī's successors Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh and 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh, but at least two mosques, one at Syedābād (now corrupted into Saidābāgẖ) and the other at Mīrpēt, may be regarded as typical. The Syedābād mosque is not a large structure by itself, the covered prayer hall being barely 30 feet by 21 feet opening out into the court-yard by three arches. But it has one peculiarity which distinguishes it from many a larger and more imposing mosque, and it is the finely built quadrangle constructed more or less on the model of the great quadrangle of the Dāru'sh-Shifā in the capital, but on a smaller scale. This quadrangle originally contained fifty-six covered rooms, most of which have now been filled in. There are, however, seventeen rooms still remaining,

and these furnish us with a picture of what the whole layout would be like. Two theories are possible regarding this. It may have been used as a caravanserāi, but is quite possible that it served as a school for the children of the fast growing suburb on the direct road to the east coast. While Syedābād is a little over two miles from the centre of Haidarabad and a caravanserāi would be quite apt there, we also know that every mosque of any pretensions had a school attached to it, and the rooms all round the mosque might well have served as a kind of boarding school where both teachers and pupils lived together. It is clear from the beautiful inscription on black basalt over the niche of the mosque that it was erected in 1014/1605.[136a]

The other typical mosque built by Mīr Mu'min in the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh is at Mīrpēt about eight miles south-west of Haidarabad, and this show in some way the extent to which the partially built-up area of the capital had reached even during the lifetime of the founder. This mosque is constructed more or less on the same pattern as the Syedābād mosque. The chronogram on the fine basalt inscription on the central niche records 1019/1610 as the date of its completion. The five years which had elapsed between the construction of the Syedābād mosque and this one have given a new look to the latter, and while the small arches which adorn the façades of both the mosques have increased in number, in this case, two beautiful medallions have been added to make it even more handsome. Moreover instead of there being a quadrangle with cubicles right round the mosque we have here a vast rectangular area 216′ by 277′ surrounded by a high wall and pierced by a solitary gateway on the eastern side. It is possible that this compound was once covered by a garden.

The fine black basalt inscriptions in both the mosques contain Qur'ānic verses as well as the Shī'ite *durūd* and are the work of the same calligraphist, Ḥusain b. Maḥmūd of Shīrāz, who, thanks to the patronage of Mīr Mu'min, rose to be the tutor of Prince 'Abdu'l-lāh, later 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, in 1030/1621. The medallions in Mīrpēt mosque have an interesting play on the word Mu'min, which was the Pēshwa's name as

well as the epithet indicating a true Muslim. The right hand medallion has قال النبی الثقلین ("So said the Prophet of the Two Worlds"), while the left one reads المؤمن حیّ فی الدارین ("The Mu'min is alive in this life as well as the Hereafter").[137]

But the building which may be said to epitomise the artistic temperament of Muḥammad-Qulī is his own mausoleum, for it contains practically all the elements of his artistic genius in a short compass. Of all the imposing tombs of the rulers of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty at the Langar Ḥauẓ this tomb is definitely the most prominent, and it contains certain peculiarities which are not found in any other structure in the area. The main platform on which the mausoleum stands is eighteen feet from the ground level, and in order "to make the monument imposing the artist has planned it on a double terrace", the lower terrace being 200 feet square and the upper 126′ square. The dome reaches a height of 130 feet from the ground level. The distinguishing mark of the structure is a beautiful colonnade twenty-two feet high which runs right round the exterior of the mortuary chamber in the pillar and lintel style, and this was "designed in order to make the base symmetrical to the otherwise heavy dome. Moreover there is a beautiful ornamental parapet right round the roof relieved by turrets at the four corners which make the whole composition proportionate and symmetrical". The actual vault where the mortal remains of the King are buried, can be reached by steps from the terrace, and this is another prominent feature of the mausoleum.[138]

A description of the layout of Muḥammad-Qulī's Haidarabad would not be complete without a consideration of the great necropolis which is named the Dā'irā Mīr Mu'min or Mīr Kā Dāi'irā even today, after the great Pēshwa who planned it. It seems that Mīr Mu'min felt the need of a large burial ground almost simultaneously with the foundation of the new capital, and this was to be commensurate with the increasing population of the city. There was already the grave of a saint, Shāh Chirāgh there. Unfortunately we do not know much about this saint except that like many Muslim saints of old, he was perhaps the solitary Muslim living in the locality before the foundations of

Haidarabad, and it is quite possible that his fame reached the Sulṭān and led him to look for the side south of the Musi where he could plan his new capital. However that may be, Mīr Mu'min surrounded a vast plot of land which was to serve as the necropolis for the new city. He sanctified it by bringing some earth from Karbalā, the site of Imām Ḥusain's martyrdom, and sprinkling it on the proposed necropolis.

Shāh Chirāgh must have died before the lay-out of Haidarabad, and being the only cemetery which can be traced back to these days it is very likely that among the thousands of graves there must be scores without any epitaph where the early denizens of the capital lie buried. The first dated grave is that of Abū-Turāb which has an epitaph giving us the date 1012/1603, and since then many eminent statesmen, soldiers, *litterateurs,* poets and men of note have been buried there. Of course the most prominent mausoleum, which is, however without an epitaph is that of Mīr Mu'min himself, who died in 1034/1625.[139]

Taking the whole scheme of architectural composition in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh into consideration there is no doubt that advance had been made from the simple arch of the Jāmi' Masjid outside the Bālā Ḥisār Gate of the Golkonda Fort, built in 924/1518, to the highly ornamental buildings of the New City. Stucco decorations which begin to have some prominence in the mosque on the way to Bālā Ḥisār attributed to Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, become markedly prominent in the minarets of Chārminār, in the double arches of the mosque on the top of Chārminār, in the Jāmi' Masjid of Haidarabad and to a certain extent, in a more sedate and sombre manner, in the panels of Dāru'sh-Shifā. The use of the dome is not prominent in the buildings constructed in the new capital except in the dome-like arched roof of the Chārminār, a semblance of domes on the top of the four minarets, and over the rather dwarfed minarets of the Jāmi' Masjid, but it makes its forceful appearance on the tomb of the Sulṭān where it rises magnificently to a height of sixty feet from its base. Another characteristic feature of some of the buildings of the city are enamelled tiles of the most approved Persian pattern, which were tried in

some of the Golkonda tombs and which show out magnificently in the Bādshāhī 'Āshūr Khānā constructed by Muḥammad-Qulī immediately after the Chārminār. This form of decoration combines intricate geometrical and floral designs as well as some fine pieces of calligraphy, and the tradition was continued right up to the end of the dynasty and even into the period covered by the early Aṣaf Jahs.[140]

This brings us to the development of calligraphy under Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. The buildings constructed during the reign are inscribed with practically all the known styles, namely Nasta'līq, Naskh, Kūfic, Tughra and Thulth, and some of the inscriptions are remarkable for their proportions and regularity. As has been noted above, Dr. Yazdani says that the inscription on the detached gateway of the Jāmi' Masjid "represents perhaps the finest example of the nasta'līq in the Deccan", while the inscription round the prayer niche of the same mosque, which is in the hand of Muḥammad Fakhkhār Shīrāzī and contains a series of verses from the second chapter of the Qur'ān, "is a good specimen of the ornamental Naskh."[141] Most of the inscriptions on the mosques are either verses from the Qur'ān, Shī'ite *duruds* invoking God's Blessings on Muḥammad and the twelve Imams, or else invocations to 'Alī, and it is no wonder that the scribes, who were mostly from Iran and themselves belonged to the Shī'ah persuasion, should have executed the work allotted to them with so much fervour and excellence.

It was not merely the edifices constructed under direct royal orders where eminent calligraphists were commissioned to execute inscriptions but, even mosques in villages like Syedābād and Mīrpēt have inscriptions in fine thulth from the pen of such a distinguished calligraphist as Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd Shīrāzī who later rose to be a tutor to Prince 'Abdu'l-lāh.

The inscriptions on tombs such as those of the Sulṭān and his brother Muḥammad Amīn naturally consist not merely in verses from the Qur'ān but also the name and date of the death of the persons buried. The calligraphy on Muḥammad Amīn's sarcophagus represents the *kufic*, the *thulth* as well as

the *tughra* styles, while on the Sulṭān's own sarcophagus his name as well as the date of his death are inscribed in *naskh*. Muḥammad Amīn's grave is distinguished by a beautiful Arabic composition which may well be translated here as an illustration of the piety of the Prince who was the father of Muḥammad-Qulī's successor, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh :

يا قاهرا بالمنا يـاكل جبـار - بنور و جهك اعتقنى من انهار
اليك اسلمنى من كان يعضدنى - من اهل ودّي و اصحابى و انصاري
فى قعر مظلمة قفـراء موحشة - فـرداً غريباً وحيداً تحت احجار
اصبت ضيفك يا ذالمجد مرتهنا - و انت اكرمه منزول بـه قـار
فاجعل قراي بفضـل منك مغفرة - انجـو اليـك بها يا خير غفار
ان الملـوك اذا شابت عبيدهـم - فى رقهـم عتقوهم عتق ابرار
141a و انت يا سيدي اولىٰ بهـم كرمـاً - قد ثبت فى الرق فاعتقنى من النار

Literary Patronage

(i) *Telugu :*

Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was born and bred in the heart of Tilangana and nurtured by that patron of Telugu, Ibrāhīm, and it is no wonder that he also patronised Telugu which must have been like a mother-tongue to him.[142] He must have been quite fluent in that language as in quite a number of cases he uses Telugu words even when he is composing poetry in Dakhni-Urdu.[143] As will be seen in another context, he also carried forward the tradition of employing non-Muslims to some of the highest posts under his command, and as most of them were Telugūs by race and language, it follows that in his court little distinction was made in the patronage offered to one language and another. We find that the Sulṭān appointed Paṭṭameṭṭa Somayāju Kavī as the Telugu Poet-Laureate of the Kingdom,[144] while another Telugū poet, Ganēśa Panḍitulu became the *Kutubshahi Samasthana Panditulu* or the Head Pandit of the Quṭb Shāhi State.[145] Other persons of note in

literary circles, such as Kāmi Reddī, "was granted jewels, palanquin, mōrchhal and chatar" by the Sulṭān. Kāmi Reddī was a patron of Telugu in his own way, for his ward and relative, Malla Reddī has left *Sivadharmottramū* and *Padmapurāṇamū* both of which are worthy compositions in the language.[146]

We have also an interesting devotional story, *Vāijayanti Vilāsamu* or *Vipranarāyaṇa Charitra* from the pen of Sārangu Tamayyamaṭenḍu or Tammā Mantrī, who was *karṇam* or revenue officer in the old capital, Golkonda, at the time of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.[147] Tamma says that he was descended from Bhāskara, and his father is said to have been a man of means and "known all over the land". In the preface to the book, which is novelesque in its design, the author says that Muḥammad Shāh's (meaning Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's) name was the most resplendent among all the kings of the epoch, "The *Janapatī* (common people) as well as the *Pammupommana* "those who came and went"), all prayed for the Jayaveṭṭu or success of the Sulṭān and the State. Although Tamma was only a Karṇam he says that he lived the life of ease and comfort.

The story which Tamma relates is doubly interesting as it demonstrates the orthodoxy of the official Hindu element of the population and is, besides, a typical composition of the period. The author says that one day he felt the presence of a person with a resplendent golden body and a crown on his head. This person was no other than Shri Rāmachandra himself and he related the story of Vipranarāyaṇa and bade me take it down. The story was as follows:

> Vipranarāyaṇa was a Vaishnava Brahamachāri of Srīrangapaṭam on the Kāvērī. He had a flower garden at his *kuṭī* and lived on the price of the flowers which he sold to his devotees. There were two women of the street living at Srīrangapaṭam, named Madhuravānī and Dēvadēvi, the younger of whom wanted to entice the holy man but did not succeed. She was, however, so sure of her charms that she vowed to her sister that if she did not succeed in her attempt she would give up her profession. She thereupon

dressed like a devotee and going to Vipranarāyaṇa told him that she was no more a *vaiśya* and that she would like to serve him as his *dāsī*. In course of time she was so much taken by the piety of the holy man that she even surpassed him. Vipranarāyaṇa was in turn so much taken by her piety that he actually consented to come to her house even as domestic servant, and thus Dēvadēvī won the bet she had made to her elder sister. But she was a changed woman. She refused to re-enter her base profession to the great chagrin of her mother who locked her up in a room and drove Vīpranarāyaṇa out of the house. Vipranarāyaṇa now went to his *kuṭī* and prayed till Brahma himself came in the guise of a Brahman and gave him gold ornaments which Vipranarāyaṇa had brought to the mother of the girl; and when the saint was accused of theft Brahma appeared before the executioner telling him that Vīpranarāyaṇa was absolutely blameless."

Although perhaps Telugu literature of Tilangana does not attain the heights reached in the time of Ibrahim, still there is no doubt that the young monarch who was now on the throne extended his patronage to Telugu like his father.

(ii) *Dakhnī or Proto-Urdu*

The reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh forms a distinct landmark in the development of Dakhnī. There is hardly any question of a mere "patronage" of Dakhni as the Sulṭān himself was a poet of no mean merit in that language, and the odd fifty thousand lines which he is said to have composed are remarkable for the everchanging vista of life which they represent. Before Muḥammad-Qulī, all that we have of the new literary language in the Deccan are just passing references to Maḥmūd, Aḥmad and Mullā Khiyāli, while recently a valuable manuscript of Fīroz's *Piratnāma* has been discovered.[168] This is all we know about them. But here was a poet who is mature enough to write poetry on practically all the topics known to him, from the sublime and religious to the profane and the near nude, writing with such candidness and frankness that at times he

makes the reader one with him. And there are no forms which seem to be unknown to Muḥammad-Qulī, for he has composed odes, dirges, quatrains, *mathnavis* and *ghazals* with the same ease. From his praise of God, the Prophet and 'Alī he passes on to the mundane and the profane with facility and describes his amours with the same freedom and nonchalance as he describes the beauties of nature and the vast palaces that he built.[149]

Muḥammad-Qulī was to Tilangana and the Deccan what Geoffery Chaucer was to England; but while Chaucer's vision was limited to a certain extent, Muḥammad-Qulī's vision included almost everything that existed round him. Being of a romantic bent of mind the love of the profane had become an obsession for him even to the extent of morbidity, but this was curiously intertwined with an intense belief in God and a reverence for Shī'ism to the exclusion of other forms of Islam. This has led to certain curious phenomena met with in his poems; for even those in which he describes his indulgence in wine and his affaires with his amours, he ends by an invocation to God and an umbrage under the Prophet and 'Alī. Thus the piece beginning with

اب عیش اچھے دائم ہمیں اچھلیکا ہنگام ہے
ساقی صراحی نقل ہور پیالے سو ہمناکام ہے

ends with the invocation:

قطبا نبی کے ادھار تھے رحمت ہے نت کرتار ہے
تو تج علی کے پیار تھے تلتل نوا انعام ہے [150]

And the poem addressed to Lālan ends:

نبی صدقے کروں اب سے سیوا قطب شہ کا ہے شاہاں میں موزوں

Again although he is fully conversant with the literary masterpieces of Persia and has translated scores of Ḥāfiz's *ghazals* in Dakhnī poetry he is aware of his own position in the literary world of his day and boldly asserts:

خاخانی و نظامی کا قطب شہ ہے شاگرد
شہنامے کی کہانیاں سر تھے سناتی منج کوں

کرتے ہیں دعوے شعر کے سب اپنی طبع سوں
بخشیا کہ فصیح شعر معنی کے تُئیں خدا

شعر تیرا درد گرہر ہے معانی سب میں
شعر حافظ کے سر اُوپر ہے تاج پرویز [151]

It is not merely his amours whom he has at heart. For when he begins to describe the phenomena of nature he goes much beyond the period he was living in, and apart from the language which is naturally archaic, he becomes intensely modern. Wordsworth has said somewhere, "to me the meanest flower that blows can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears",[152] and this can well be said of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. He has poems on the rainy season, winter and summer, on gardens, groves and parks, on fruits and vegetables and on such rather humble household things as coriander and asa-foetida and has definitely taken the cue from purely Indian objects which he sees found himself. He welcomes the first showers of the year when everything becomes young again and there is a prospect of green grass and scented blossoms, thus:

گرجا ہے بیگھہ سر تے تازہ ہوا ہے بستاں
پھولاں کی باس پایا بلبل ہزار دستاں
اے خوش خبر صبا تو بے جا جواں قداں کن
چمناں کی اُرزو میں بیٹھے ہیں مے پرستاں
وہ نونہال پھولاں ہے جام خوبے سو بادہ
نرگس اپس پاک سوں جھاڑو کرے شبستاں

In the praise of the garden he had laid, called the Bāgh-i-Muḥammad Shahi he says:

محمد ناناں سے بستا محمد کا ہے بن سارا
سو طوباں سوں سہاتا ہے جنت نمنے چمن سارا
سوک تے باغ کوں دیکھت کھلے منج باغ کے غنچے
سو اس غنچے کے باساں تے لیا جگ مگمگن سارا

سو خوشے' داکھہ لاکھاں کے ثریا سنبلاں ہے جوں
سہے اس داکھہ منڈوا سوجیا امبر کہن سارا
کھجوراں کے دسیں جھونکے کہ جوں مرجاں کے پنجے
سہاریاں لعل خوشے جوں دسیں ہور رین سارا
دسیں جامروں کے پھل بن میں نیلم کے نمن سالم
نظر لاگے نہ تیوں میویاں کوں راکھیاں ہے جتن سارا [153]

These are only some specimens of this "poet of nature." If we go deep into his poetry we would find that the utter lack of reserve he has shown in the intimate description of his love is perhaps due to his habit of describing whatever came before him whether it was a garden or vegetables or the person he loved or the one he ridiculed.[154] His poems depict the festivals, both of the Hindu and of the Muslim origin, in which he joins as freely as any of his subjects, and incidentally transports the reader to the life in Haidarabad nearly four hundred years ago. So far as vocabulary is concerned Muḥammad-Qulī's language is interspersed with Persian, Arabic and Hindi words all over, so much so that while the Urduists claim him as their poet, the protagonists of Hindi say that he is the representative of the earlier stages of that language. It cannot be denied that the structure of his poems, especially of his *ghazals*, has been taken directly from Persian, and it is this characteristic which makes his *ghazals* so mellow, tilting and musical. An oft-quoted piece may give the reader the swaying impression that his poems even now create in the minds of the Urdu knowing public inspite of their archaic forms :

پیا باج پیالا پیا جائے نا – پیا باج یک تل جیا جائے نا
کئے ہیں پیا بن صبوری کروں – کہیا جائے امّا کیا جائے نا
نہیں عشق جس وہ برا کوڑ ہے – کدھیں اس سے مل بیسیا جائے نا
قطب شہ نہ دے منع دوانے کو پند – دوانے کو کچھہ پند دیا جائے نا [155]

While judging the part which Muḥammad-Quli Quṭb Shāh, played in the development of Dakhni we must remember that he was the first author of a *dīwan* in that language not merely in Tilang but in the whole of south India. His poetry shows a

maturity which fills some of our highest *litterateurs* with amazement.[156] He belongs to an epoch when Urdu had not even been given the name by which the language was dubbed in later times, and not merely his vocabulary but also his similes and metaphors as well as his disdain to inhibitions would seem strange to our ears. But we should judge him in the environments in which he was born, bred up and flourished and not try to place him in our own day and thus be anachronistic in our argument.

A poet and romancier of note who wrote in Dakhnī during Muḥammad-Qulī's reign is Wajhī, or as he sometimes calls himself, Wajīhī. Wajhī has at least two books to his credit, namely *Quṭb Mushtarī* in poetry and *Subras* in prose.[157] He wrote the *Sabras* in later life when he was the court poet of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, and the book would be discussed when we come to that reign. He completed his *Quṭb-Mushtarī* in 1018/1609-10, i.e., a little over two years before Muḥammad-Qulī's death. As the editor of the work says, the reference to the Sulṭān's father, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, and the praise he bestows upon him as a just king does not mean that he began to compose the *mathnawī* in Ibrāhīm's reign. For Wajhī is quite precise that it took him barely *twelve days* to complete the romance. The reference to Ibrāhīm may therefore be regarded as a kind of historic present by which artifice the author takes the reader back to the previous reign and describes Ibrāhīm's character as if he was alive when he wrote his book. The other book, *Sabras* was written in 1045/1635-36, years after Ibrahim's death, and it is very unlikely that Wajhī was more than a boy in Ibrāhīm's reign if he was born then at all. In any case there is no doubt that he did not commence his book in that reign.[158]

In Muḥammad-Qulī's *Kulliyāt* we find a variety of topics classed under their proper headings, while Wajhī introduces unconnected topics intertwined in the romance itself which makes the story sometimes interesting but at time boring. As Wajhī grew to an old age he became steeped in moral philosophy and in the value of morality in human life; but even in *Quṭb-Mushtarī* he has a definite leaning towards the ethical side of

life, although the story is based on the supposed love of the King to Mushtarī, the Princess of Bengal. His *obiter dicta* include such topics as the desiderata for poetic compositions, the need of love in life, a number of *ghazals* thrown in at random with hardly any connection with the story, certain most unrealistic suppositions such as when he makes the gift of the Kingdom of Bengal to one Mirrīkh Khān, and so on. In the appendix are found a series of adventures attributed to Muḥammad-Qulī where certain most impossible personages are introduced. The book is on the whole couched in fairly sedate language even when the author describes in great detail the consummation of the marriage of the Sulṭān with the Princess of Bengal.[159]

The story, which is a pure romance, may be epitomised as follows:

"It so happened that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (whom Wajhī calls Rājā Adhirāj) had no issue for a long time. So when he did have an issue, whom he named Muḥammad Qulī or "the Servant of the Prophet", there were great rejoicings in the state. When the Prince grew up he proved so intelligent that it was not long before he became a *savant*, a poet and a callīgraphist of note. But he had an amorous nature, and he soon began to indulge in drink, song and dance. One night he dreamt of a beautiful girl with whom he fell in love immediately, and the thought of the girl would not leave him even when he was awake. He now consulted his friend and companion 'Uṭārad the painter, and both of them left home in search of his dream lady. After going through many turmoils and hardships they reached the Kingdom of Bengal where they at last found the girl who was a princess in her own right and whose name was Mushtarī. 'Uṭārad managed to get himself introduced to those in charge of the Palace and get a commission to paint the apartments of the Princess. He was able to introduce the portrait of Muḥammad-Qulī in his composition, and when Mushtarī saw it she was so much taken in by it that she swooned of the love which she began to have for the person whose portrait it was. At last Muḥammad-Qulī was able to

persuade her to accompany him to Haidarabad where they were married with great pomp . . . . And they lived happily ever after."

The whole structure of the romance turns round the person of Muḥammad-Qulī who is the pivotal actor in the drama. It would be noticed that all the other actors and actresses are purely fictitious and allegorical. Out of respect for the dynastic title of the Sulṭān, namely Quṭb or the Polestar, Wajhī calls all the other *dramatis personae* by astronomical names. The boon companion of Quṭb is *Uṭārad* or Mercury, who is the *dabīr-i-Falak* or the Heavenly Secretary according to the Persian mythology; the Princess of Bengal whom the king loves and who is finally married to him, is *Mushtarī* or Jupiter, the largest planet in the Solar System; *Mirrīkh* or Mars, called the Turk-i-Falak ("Heavenly soldier") or Jallād-i-Falak ("Heavenly Executioner") by the Persians, is the name given to the strong man who is granted the Kingdom of Bengal by the Sulṭān; a girl, *Zuhrá* or Venus, comes in the life of the Sulṭān, and as is well known, Venus is the most resplendent of all the planets in the firmament, second only to the moon in brilliance; lastly even *Mahtāb* or the Moon, the solitary natural satellite of the earth, is the name of another girl with whom Quṭb comes into contact. All these *personae* revolve round Quṭb, in the same way as the stars in the firmament seem to rotate round the Polestar. Obviously the whole romance is a fiction. As for the young Prince, he has been brought in for a number of reasons. Firstly, his dynastic title served as an inspiration to the author and egged him to bring in astronomical names in the book and to clothe the whole drama in this garb. Secondly he was out to please the monarch by the affection of his parents and by the praises showered upon him by every one who crossed his path. Then his personal appearance was such that his portrait painted by 'Uṭārad on the wall of the palace was enough to make Mushtarī swoon by love. There is absolutely no mention of any actual amour of the Sulṭān in the whole book. The marriage of the Sulṭān to Mushtarī is as fictitious as the romance itself, and just as there was no 'Uṭārad or Mirrīkh or Mushtarī, the

Princess of Bengal, in actual life, so there was no marriage ceremony nor did any painter 'Uṭārad ever paint the palace of any King or Queen of Bengal.[160]

(iii) *Persian*

Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was an artist by nature, and the movement towards the synthesis of cultures which had commenced in the time of his father now began to bear abundant fruit. The advent of Mīr Mu'min Astrābādī on the political arena immediately after the young king's accession spurred the influx of Persian men of letters into the Deccan and make the capital full of new trends of life which in turn made the Kingdom known all over the east.

Mīr Mu'min was a statesman, a litterateur, a divine and a polished courtier, and he exercised a great influence on the person of the Sulṭān. He was without doubt one of the chief advisers of the Sulṭān in planning the new capital. He must also have been one of those who caused such a rapid introduction of orthodox Shī'ism in the State, and it is significant that one of the very first public buildings erected at Haidarabad after its foundation was the great Bādshāhī 'Āshūrkhānā built in almost pure Persian style. No doubt the ground for the propagation of Shī'ism had been prepared from the time of the later Bahmanīs, but now it had a hold on the court of Haidarabad to such an extent that the court circles of the capital must have appeared like a slice of Ṣafawī Iran itself,[161] and even in the walks of life in which he does not seem to be outwardly in evidence he is like the invisible man bringing his powerful personality to bear on the major policies of the State and on almost all matters in which he was interested.

Unluckily we do not possess the fund of the Sulṭān's own Persian compositions in the same way as we have his poetry in Dakhnī. Certain stray ghazals are found here and there but these do not cover more than a few printed pages.[162] The manuscript of his *Kulliyāt* which Dr. Maulvī 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq had before him when he wrote his article on the Sulṭān's *Kulliyāt*

in 1922, evidently contained a number of the Sulṭān's Persian ghazals, for the photograph of one of the pages of the *Kulliyāt* appended to his article contains the last few lines of one Persian ghazal, one full ghazal and the first line of a third ghazal.[163] All the three are in the redif of د , the tenth letter of the Persian alphabet, and this shows that the Persian ghazals of the Sulṭān must have been represented in that copy of the *Kulliyat* by hundreds of lines. It would be of great service to Persian literature produced if someone at home with the subject were able to have recourse to this most valuable manuscript and edit the Persian part of the *Kulliyāt*. Out of the extant poems the following lines have been taken at random:

با شمع بگو گرمی دیوانهٔ خود را – کاتش زنداز رشک تو پروانهٔ خود را

من غم عالم ندارم عاشقی کار من است
بادشاه کشور عشقم خدا یار من است

حرفے ز لب یار شنیدیم شنیدیم – صد شکر که این باده چشیدیم چشیدیم

در آن وادي که آتش میزود گلشن در آ زاهد
هزاران جنت است اینجا چرا دوری ازین وادي

ساقی بیار باده که فصل بهار شد
صحن چمن ز آب و هوا لاله زار شد
بر وعدهٔ وصال دلش خوش کن اے حبیب
چون قطب شه ز هجر رخت بیقرار شد

جبریل خاک کرد به سر از غم حسین
خون شد دل ملائکه از ماتم حسین [164]

It was the patronage of learning on the part of the Court of Haidarabad which made poets of Persia throng into the city, and the capital became like a place of refuge for those who did not find Iran big enough to appreciate their talent. Two such poets strike one as outstanding personalities of the Deccan.

One of them was Mirza Muḥammad Amīn Shahristānī who came to the Deccan and was forthwith appointed Mīr Jumlā by the Sulṭān on Mīr Mu'min's recommendation, in 1011/1602-3. He proved to be the "strong man" of Tilang and the Sulṭān relegated practically all governmental powers to him both on the civil side and in the military field. He remained at the helm of affairs till the death of the Sulṭān ten years later. Somehow he had the premonition that he would not be favoured by his successor, and he left with a vast treasure first for Bijapur and then for his native country, Iran, finally coming back to India to join service with the Emperor Jahangir at Agra. He died at the Mughal capital in 1047/1637 and was buried there.

In spite of his obvious preoccupations as a statesman and a soldier, Mirza Amīn found time to compose some fine poetry. He was so confident of his own capacity that he in a way challenged such a masterly work as the Khamsā Niẓamīya of the great poet Niẓāmī Ganjawī, and while at Haidarabad, began to compose his own *Khamsā*, or Five Mathnawīs, four books of which he was able to complete. These are *Khusrū-Shīrīn, Lailā-Majnūn, Maṭmahu'l-Anẓār* and *Falaku'l-Burūj*, while the collection of his other poems, both ghazals and quatrains, called *Gulistān-i-Nāz*, is a book of considerable volume and merit.[165]

Another poet who was honoured at the new capital was Mulla Mu'īn Mīrak Sabzwārī who began by acting as envoy of Ahmadnagar sent to Golkonda to felicitate the young king on his accession to the throne and then represented the Niẓām Shāhī Kingdom on being sent on the occasion of the marriage of the King's daughter, Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam in 1016/1607-8. On this occasion he composed an ode which begins thus:

دوش سر کردہ خیالم رہ بزمی چو بہشت
اہل آن بزم چو چو ران ہمہ نورانی چہر [166]

It was probably after he had settled down at Haidarabad that the Sulṭān constructed his famous palace called Khudādād Maḥal, on which occasion Mulla Mīrak composed the following Chronogram:

تاریخ مرتبت شدنش کلک قضا – بر لوح بقا بنائے جان بخش نوشت [167]

There were a number of minor poets of Persia who came, settled down in Haidarabad and ended their life there. Apart from this a kind of fashion had set in for travellers of note coming from Persia to an Indian court to come and pass a few years at Haidarabad as well, for they were sure of being accorded a warm welcome with the prospect of leaving the State much richer than when they arrived there.

The tradition of compiling a metrical chronicle of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty which had begun in the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was continued during the reign of his successor.[168] We have the *Nasab Nāmah Quṭb Shāhī* or *Nisbat Nāmah Shahryārī* by Ḥusain b. 'Ali Fursī who compiled this metrical history during the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah. The story begins with the origin of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty and ends with the year 1016/1607-8, i.e., four years before the Sulṭān's death. There is a reference to the poet Thanā'ī who is said to be a "contemporary" in one of the lines, although we know that Thanā-'ī died as early as 996/1588; but this may be due to a realistic touch on the part of the author to treat Thanā-'ī not his contemporary but contemporary of the events of 996/1588 which he was recounting. The work is divided into four parts; the first part is a kind of introduction and takes the reader up to the ends of the Bahmanī dynasty; the second takes him right up to the accession of Ibrāhīm; the third deals with the reign of Ibrāhīm, while the fourth brings the history up to the compilation of the work.

There is another and a shorter work called *Tawārīkh Quṭb Shāhī* reputed to be by Munshi Hīrā Lāl Khushdil, private secretary of Prince Haidar-Quli. This is a much smaller composition and Professor Storey is of opinion that it may be only an abridgement of Fursi's work, Ivonow calls him a plagiarist, and if it is not possible to give the book an independent place then a more appropriate epithet than plagiarism would be abridgement, for the lines in the two histories differ in their essentials. This book is also divided into four parts: part I deals with the birth of the founder of the dynasty up to his accession to power, part II with his rule, part III with the reign of

Ibrahim Quṭb Shah and part IV with the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.[169]

History was not the only branch of knowledge which was patronised by the Court. We have already dealt with the establishment of the General Civil Hospital, the Dāru'sh-Shīfā, and the employment of distinguished physicians like Ḥakim Ṣafīyu'd-dīn Gīlānī who was not merely a professional doctor but an author as well. We have then two books on mathematics by 'Abdu'l-lah b. Manṣūr al-Fursī. One of these is a translation of the treatise named *Khulasatu'l-Ḥisāb* by Shaikh Bahāu'd-dīn Āmilī and the other a translation of an Arabic commentary of Muḥammad b. Maḥmud Chaghmīnī al-Khwārazmī.[170]

Thus the patronage shown by Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh for the literature of the period covered not merely the Court language, Persian, but also the languages current in the Kingdom, Telugu, and Dakhnī, an early form of later-day Urdu, which was fast coming to the fore as the language common to all parts of the Deccan. He also extended his hand for the protection of exact sciences like medicine, mathematics and astronomy.

Section 4. *Social Life*

It is extremely rare that we are privileged to get a glimpse of the general social life of a whole generation from a single book, and rarer still when we find that book to have been penned without fear or favour and without much reserve. Such a book is the *Kulliyāt* of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. In it are described all manners of subjects including festivals, both Hindu and Muslim, the dresses worn by women, the ceremonies attending various stages in the life of a person such as birth, marriage, birthday celebrations (which the author calls *Baras Gānṭh* or the "Yearly Knot"), food, drink, games played by the people and a host of other topics. We have poems dealing with Muḥarram, a variety of festivals such as the birthday of the Prophet, the day of the first Revelation, the birthday of 'Alī, the anniversary of the day when the Prophet is said to have

identified the interests of his son-in-law, 'Alī with his own, the end of the Ramaẓān and the Feast of Sacrifice, the Mi'rāj and other Muslim anniversaries. Here are also poems about the *mirag-sāl* or the beginning of the rainy season which the farmer looks forward for months on end, and Basant or the Hindu festival of flowers when pretty women are dressed in yellow, and when even now there is much kite-flying and merry-making, as also the Persian festival of Naorūz. Thus his court represented the culture of the Muslims and non-Muslims alike, and while he seems prejudiced in his enunciation of the inferiority of the non-Shī'ah sects of the Muslims he is culturally at one with the Hindus and the Parsīs as well as the man in street so far as his appreciation of their ways of life is concerned.

Those of us who are conversant with the general life of the Indian Muslims are aware of the importance with which the *Shab-i Barāt* is held by the generality of the people. Whatever the original significance of the festival might have been, the night before the 15th of Sha'bān, i.e., a fortnight before the Ramaẓān, is celebrated with much merry-making. The houses of the people are aglow with light and not only boys and girls but grown up men and women indulge in fireworks and crackers much in the same way as the Hindus indulge in merry-making on the occasion of the Hindu Diwālī. It seems that the Muslims have taken a leaf out of the calender of the Hindu festivals. Muḥammad-Qulī has as many as ten poems on the Shab-i Barāt, and while describing the celebrations he gives us the names of the fireworks and crackers some of which have disappeared while others are interesting as they continue to be fired even to this day.[171] But barely crackers and fireworks would not satisfy the Sulṭān, for the amorous in him appears in some of the verses on the Shab-i Barāt as well.[172]

This propensity of the Sulṭān finds a place even in some of the pieces dedicated to the worship of God and to the discipline enjoined by Him, and this shows how much laxity there was. While on the one hand he prohibits the use of wine, opium and other intoxicants in the month of Ramazān not merely for the general public but also for himself and those who had any

connection with the court he rejoices at the end of the month that now he would have ample opportunity to indulge in women and wine once again. Thus :

چھپی نہیں جو ب [illegible]

بھلے بیتے بلے پھر عرس بھلے
مد نی ہوئے ہیں مے مہلن کے ساقی [174]

It is interesting to note that even in those far off days it was the custom to offer a drink made of creamy milk and ghee garnered with dates, pistachios, almonds and other condiments mixed with sugar, called *Shīr-Khurmā*.[175] Muḥammad-Qulī almost gives the recipe of the preparation in a single line :

بلے شیر خرما پستے شکر را دھر دھر
ہیں روزے رملے مہلن تو تو سوں ساقی [176]

Basant is the festival of spring flowers and is sometimes identified with the colour of the marigold. Here was a festival which was near the Sulṭān's heart, for he could enjoy it to the brimful without hindrance either from the Mulla or the Pandit. He has some fine poems composed for the occasion containing the message of love which Spring brings along with it. The rhythm and the swing of the poem are significant:

بسنت پھلس عشق کی آ بہارا — تمیں ہیں جے مہ ہیں جیں سنوارا
جو ہیں ہے خوص خنے راگ مخن بھر — سو روپ روپ خراں لے بدھارا

شاہ کے عصر سعادت [illegible] بسنت
نیں پتلیاں کے چمن میں پھول پھل لیا بسنت [177]

The Persian *Nawrūz* also evoked certain suggestive poems from the Sulṭān. The similarity with Basant was obvious in every respect, for both were festivals of the Spring and both were essentially Aryan in their origin.[178] In the same way he has a number of poems on such occasions as beginning of the rainy season which he calls by the Indo-Persian name of *mirag-sāl*. The beginning of the rains is traditionally associated with wine شراب and meat cutlets کباب and Muḥammad-

Qulī also celebrated it with drinking bouts, dance and song, swings in the groves to which his favourite girls came all scented and fragrant as they were wont to rub their bodies with musk and amber.

We have then a number of poems which give us an insight into the ceremonies attending marriage, and one is struck by the similarities between these and the ceremonies which are regarded as essential even in present day India. Muḥammad-Qulī has described in some details the familiar ceremony of applying henna (Hind., *mehndī*) to the palms of hands and feet of the bride. This is done today by the girl's relatives and friends of approximately the same age as herself. How fresh and modern does one of the couplets sound:

سب پیارے ملکے پیاروں سوں جائیں شہ پہ بل بل

سب سندریاں سوں لکھیاں رنگ رسّ سوں نچائے [77]

Again, Jalwā (vulg., *Julwa*) is a ceremony which is peculiar to the Deccan and consists in the bride and the groom sitting on a wooden platform screened by a curtain from each other and seeing each other for the first time rather shyly through a small mirror placed at its nether end. The *Kulliyāt* shows us that this rather romantic ceremony existed during the Quṭb Shāhī period much as it is practised today. The bride is dressed in her bridal garb and looks her best in order that she might create an impression on her lord to whom she is wedded for life. A whole drama is performed in which seven elder women whose husbands are still alive, call the pair from opposite directions so that they may see each other, perhaps for the first time, in a tiny mirror. There are seven poems about this romantic ceremony in *Kulliyāt*. One of these which describes it in a few choice words, may be rendered thus:—

"It is time to embellish the platform where *jalwā* is to be held with pearls all round.

"Now seven fortunate ladies! come and anoint the bride, and let Venus herself smear her hands with *henna*.

"Let the happy pair drink *sherbet* and let them have betel

to chew, and let the saris have their hems adorned with pearls.[178]

The Sulṭān did not leave out even the games played by his subjects, and composed pieces on *chaugān* or polo, *kabaḍḍi* which he calls "khamaḍḍi" and a game peculiar to the girls of the Deccan called *pokhari phū*.[179]

Thus, if we were to remove the predilections of the Sulṭān from some of his poems we would find that he has correctly portrayed the general life of the people, their rites and ceremonies, and unconsciously delineated the synthesis of cultures which was proceeding apace towards the formation of the composite civilisation which came to be known as the dakhni culture.

APPENDIX

The Bhāgmatī Legend.

The Story :

There is a problem in connection with the foundation of the City of Haidarabad which has so far remained unsolved. Its importance is due not so much to its intrinsic merit as to its persistence since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The problem is whether there was a certain *démi-mondaine* named Bhāgmatī living at the village Chichlam and whether the new capital was ever called Bhāgnagar after her.

Before examining the question it would be well to enumerate some of the episodes connected with Bhāgmatī which have been handed down to us. Probably the first time the names of the woman as well as that of the city said to have been named after her are found is in a certain petition sent by Abu'l-Faẓl's brother Faiẓī, the Imperial Resident at Burhānpūr and Aḥmadnagar, to the Emperor Akbar. This petition is included in the collections of letters entitled variously as *Inshā-i Faiẓī* ("Faiyāẓī's Diction"), *Tabāshīru's-Subḥ* ("Early Dawn") and *Laṭīfa-i-Faiẓī* ("Faiẓī's Witticism"). The particular petition with which we are concerned is not dated but it must have been written some time between 999/1590-1 and 1002/1593-4 when Faiẓī was the Imperial Resident in the Deccan. It has just these words about the Quṭb Shāhī Sulṭān:

> "Aḥmad Qulī (*sic*) is steeped in Shī'ism, and has built a city, Bhāgnagar by name, after Bhāgmatī, the old whore (*fāḥisha-i Kuhna*) who has been his mistress for a long time (*ma'shūqa-i qadīm*"[180].
>
> The thread was taken up another panegyrist of the Imperial Court, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Bakhshi, who completed his chronicle, the *Tabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhī* about the same time 1002/1593-94). Niẓamu'd-dīn has just a few lines about Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. All he knows about the Sulṭan is : "Muḥammad 'Alī (*sic*) Quṭbu'l-Mulk son of Ibrāhim succeeded

his father. He became so enamoured of a Hindu prostitute (patārē) Bhāmgasī (*sic*) by name that he founded a city which he called Bhāgnagar after her and ordered that one thousand horsemen should always accompany the whore (*fāḥishā*). He has been on the throne of the kingdom now, which is 1002 years after the hijra, for nine years".[181]

The only contemporary chronicler who wrote in the Deccan and who mentions Bhāgmatī and Bhāgnagar is Ferishta. Writing in 1018/1609-10 he says:

> "The Sulṭān was greatly fascinated by a whore (*fāḥishā*) named Bhāgmatī. He ordered that whenever she came to the court she should be attended by a thousand horsemen so that she should not look one whit inferior to any of the big nobles. About this time the climate of Golkonda had become so bad that it had been telling on the health of its inhabitants, and it was for this reason that that Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah founded and populated a city four kroh away which became unequalled throughout the length and breadth of India for its planning as well as for its cleanliness. He called it Bhāgnagar at first but later he was sorry for what he had done and changed the name to Haidarabad".[182]

There are two Mughal historians to which a reference might be made here. The first is 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandī who wrote his voluminous panegyric of 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān Khān-i Khānān, the *Ma'āthir-Raḥīmī* in 1025/1616, and the other is Khafī Khān who compiled his book the *Muntakhab'l-lubāb* after the conquest of the Deccan by Aurangzeb. Both of them say in so many words that they have relied on Ferishta so far as the history of the Deccan is concerned, and so they cannot be regarded as having the value of an independent authority.[183]

Let us subject these authors to a critical analysis before we proceed to a further discussion of the problem. The first name in the list is that of Faiẓī. He never set his foot beyond Aḥmadnagar and had further an inherent dislike and even disdain for the three remaining kingdoms of the Deccan, namely Bijapur, Aḥmadnagar and Tilang-Andhra (Golkonda). He was appointed Imperial Resident at Burhānpūr, the capital of the Fārūqī

rulers of Khāndēsh, with the avowed object of extending the Imperial sway over the whole of peninsular India. In fact, in unison with other Mughal historians, he does not recognise these kingdoms as independent states at all, and calls their rulers simply "Niẓāmu'l-mulk", "'Ādil Khān" and "Quṭbu'l-Mulk" without royal titles, and their kingdoms as merely jāgīrs.[184] The only Deccani ruler for whom he has a word of praise in Burhān of Aḥmadnagar who had been sent by Akbar to reconquer the kingdom of his ancestors as an Imperial protégé and who, according to Faiẓī "was lifted up from the very dust and considers himself as having been brought up (*parwardah*) by His Majesty".[185] The solitary sentence Faiẓī has concerning Muḥammad-Qulī is full of sneer and taunt. "Steeped in Shī'ism", "the old prostitute", "mistress for long" are just verbal darts thrown on the Sulṭān in quick succession, all the time knowing fully well that he would not have any opportunity to retort. The social habits of the Sulṭān as well as his poems (which have been published) show us that he was not a man of particularly sober habits and was prone to be self-indulgent both in wine and women. He, however, possessed some good qualities. He was a wise judge of men, was a great builder, a man of culture and of scholarly temperament. But all these great qualities of head and heart have been overlooked and just one aspect of his character has been brought out, i.e., his liaison with a certain prostitute whose name does not figure among his amours as described in his own poems. Even if we consider the collection of Faiẓī's letters and petitions as authentic it is clear that Faiẓī never came nearer Haidarabad than Aḥmadnagar, and whatever he has written about it is from hearsay. The strong and versatile pen of Faiẓī has, by its verbal jugglery, created a legend which has been glossed over by those who followed him, and however weak and even impossible it may be from the historical point of view, it forms the core of a story which still persists in spite of the very obvious lacunae.[186]

The author of the *Tabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhī* was the first to gloss over it by adding on the episode of a thousand horsemen. The legend is the only supposed fact of the reign of

Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh of which he is aware, although the Sulṭān ruled over Tilangana and Andhra for more than thirty-six years. Even in the four or five lines which he has written about the Sulṭan he has made the chronological mistake of postdating the reign by five years, 993 in lieu of 985. Niẓām-uddīn has thus added another item to the story and thus led the way to future romancists.

We now come to Ferishta, who completed his history of the Deccani states in 1018/1609-10. His monumental chronicle, the *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī,* has very little to say about the history of medieval Tilang, and he prefaces this account with a brief description of his own shortcomings in this connection, a sense of modesty rare in medieval chroniclers. He says:

> "It is well known to those with a knowledge of the mysteries of the universe that one Shāh Khurshāh came from 'Irāq during the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and compiled a history of the kingdom in which he included everything great and small about the history of the dynasty. But this work was not before the author of these pages when he wrote them down, and he had to be satisfied with only a short account of that great House".[187]

Not having a first-hand knowledge of the annals of the Quṭb Shāhīs Ferishta has made some serious mistakes in recording the events of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī which have marred the veracity of his narrative. We may here mention some of these: (1) He says that Muḥammad-Qulī ascended the throne at the age of 12 in 989. (2) Writing in 1018 he says that the Persian Ambassador Aghuzlū Sulṭān was still in the Deccan waiting for the acceptance of the proposal of the marriage of the son of Shāh 'Abbās II of Persia with the Sulṭān's daughter Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam, although her marriage with the Sulṭān's nephew, who later became Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, had already taken place in 1016/1607 in the presence of the envoy himself. (3) Ferishta is so much interested in the Bhāgmatī romance that he calls the capital of the Quṭb Shāhīs Bhāgnagar even in 1018/1609-10 although, as will be seen later, we have a number of coins struck in the *Haidarabad* mint in 1012/1603-4.

(4) Ferishta forgets his own theory when as early as 1005/1596-97 he says that the Quṭb Shāhī army, which had been sent to help the Niẓām Shahīs, fled to *Haidarabad* after their defeat at the hands of the Mughals.[188]

'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandī is so ignorant even of the supposed background of the Bhāgmatī story that he considers Bhāgnagar and Ḥaidarabad to be two distinct cities and mixes up Golkonda with Bhāgnagar. He says:

> "Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb'l-mulk, son of Ibrāhīm Quṭbu'l-mulk, succeeded his father and became so much enamoured of the woman, Bhāgmatī, that he founded a city which he called Bhāgnagar and ordered one thousand horsemen to serve her. Towards the end of his reign he founded another city, Haidarabad through the efforts of Muḥammad Mu'min, one of the prominent Syeds of the city of Isfahan who held the office of Mīr Jumla, and when the buildings were ready in the new capital he shifted his court thither and made it his capital."[189]

Moreover he is so ignorant of what was happening in the capital of Tilang that he makes Muḥammad Amīn, the brother of Muḥammad-Qulī, succeed him, although in point of fact it was Sulṭān Muḥammad, his nephew and son-in-law, who became Sulṭan after his death.

Historical Appraisal :

This is so far as contemporary or near contemporary sources of the legend are concerned. Coming to objective evidence, which incidentally goes directly against it, the first is that contained in the semi-official chronicle of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty called *Tārikẖ Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*. The chronicle was completed during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, in 1026/1616. There is not an allusion to Bhāgmatī or Bhāgnagar in this work at all. It contains a description of the new capital, its planning on the gridiron system, its beautiful "centre-piece" Chārminār with its symmetrical arches which are still the pride of the city, its fourteen thousand new shops, vast squares, hospitals, mosques and other amenities of civic life; yet it is

completely silent about Bhāgmatī and Bhāgnagar.[190] Some years later, in 1054/1644 Mirzā Niẓāmu'd-din Aḥmad Ṣā'idi wrote the *Ḥadīqatu's-Salāṭīn* which gives, *inter alia*, a description of the city, but he also calls the new capital Haidarabad all along.[191] Forty-eight years later 'Ali b. Ṭaifūr Busṭāmī wrote his *Hada'iqu's-Salatin* in 1092/1681 and he has also given a short history of the founding of the new capital; but he does not so much as mention Bhāgmatī or Bhagnagar.[192]

It is sometimes said that the Bhāgmatī episode was consciously suppressed by the Pēshwa, Mīr Mu'min. But this is not understandable as it is accepted on all hands that it was Mīr Mu'min himself who had prepared the plans for the building of the new city, and his influence over the Court was very great even before the plans were prepared. If he was averse to the city being named after a mere prostitute why was it necessary for him to wait for a change of names for two decades ?

Then we have the direct evidence against the story contained in the *Kulliyāt* of the Sulṭān himself. One of the characteristics of the Sulṭān's poetry is its candidness and utter lack of reserve. Whatever he touches he lays it open threadbare, may it be natural scenery, scenes in the bazar, description of his places, his own drinking bouts, his religious propensities, his amours, the transparency of the dress of his mistresses, their baths, their physiognomy and many other matters which are generally left unsaid. He gives us a list of seventeen of his mistresses by real or pet names, each of whom has odes ranging from one to five composed by himself. And yet there is not one ode in favour of Bhāgmatī who is supposed to have been the most favoured of all! The learned editor of the *Kulliyāt*, however, goes to say that the original name of the girl called Ḥaidar Maḥal in the poems was Bhāgmatī, and even that she was the mother of the Sulṭān's only daughter, the famous Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgum, who is still affectionately called 'Mān Ṣāhib" or "the Revered Mother" by Haidarabadīs.[193] But there is not an iota of evidence to support this. He has even tried to establish Bhāgmatī's grave in the mausoleum sacred to Kulthūm

Bēgam among the royal tombs near Golkonda, although the only grave of a female in the mortuary chamber is that of Kulthum herself and it has a definite inscription on the tombstone to that effect.[194]

In the same way, while the new capital is mentioned three times in the *Kulliyāt* not once is it called Bhāgnagar.[195]. In spite of his loose character Muḥammad-Qulī was intensely religious in so far as the outward forms of Shī'ism were concerned, and there is hardly a single ode in his collection which does not end in an invocation to the Prophet and the fourth *Khalīfa*. It was only fitting for a monarch who had a Shī'ah divine of the calibre and influence of Mīr Mu'min as his chief adviser, to have named the new city Haidarabad. This view is further strengthened by a number of other facts: we know that the first public building in the new Capital was the Bādshāhī Āshūrkhānā sacred to the Shī'ah imāms, that the beautiful mosque over the Chārminār has five openings after the traditional Shī'ah pattern, and the different parts of the royal palace were named after the Prophet and the Imāms.

Numismatic evidence also points in the same direction. While there are coins in the Haiderabad Museum which were struck at the "Dāru's-Salṭanat, Golkonda" in 992/1584 and others struck at "Dāru's-Sulṭanat, Haidarabad" in 1012/1603-4 there is not one coin which was struck at "Bhāgnagar". Not only does this shatter the theory of the new capital being named after a street woman but it also demolishes the theory that the name Bhāgnagar was changed to Haidarabad in 1017/1608-9.[196] Even that protagonist of the Bhāgmatī legend, Ferishta, calls the capital Haidarabad as early as 1005/1596 when he mentions the flight of the Quṭb Shāhī army "to Haidarabad" after its defeat at the hands of the Mughals.

Revival of the Legend

The names of Bhāgmatī and Bhāgnagar are non-existent in any contemporary history written in the Deccan except by Ferishta. The legend was revived with the coming of the Aṣaf-jāhī dynasty by the author of *Ḥadīqatu'l-'Ālam* in 1214/1799,

but what he does is simply to place before the reader the two versions of the foundation of the new Capital, one related by Ferishta and the other by the author of *Tārīkh Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* without any comment[197]. Eleven years later, in 1225/1810 was compiled the *Māh Nāmā* by Ghulām Ḥusain Khān at the instance of the court singer Māhlaqā Bāi Chandā, and he immediately turned down the theory that the new capital was named after a courtesan. He says:

> "Khwājā Mun'im Khān Hamdānī says in his book, the *Sawāniḥ-i-Dakan* that Bhāgmatī was the name of a Hindu prostitute and Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was enamoured of her . . . . But the whole of the story is utterly baseless[198].

But in the period which followed the rule of Aṣaf Jāh I, the founder of the dynasty which bore his name, the erotic part of the story came to have a special appeal to the chroniclers. Quite against the old adage that a rolling stone gathers no moss, much moss was gathered round the small sneering sentence of Faiẓī, and soon the sentence grew into a paragraph, the paragraph into a section, and the section into chapters at the hand of the courtesan's panegyrists. The mythical Bhāgmatī, converted to the romantic Haidar Maḥal, was made the chief mistress of the Sulṭān, the mother of Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam, was supposedly interred in a special mausoleum near Golkonda, became the primary motive of the construction of the Purānā Pul as well as of the new Capital and one of the most prominent *grande dames* of the period. She was created afresh towards the end of the eighteenth century and became a tradition with little historical evidence to support it.[199]

Lastly, to the present author's knowledge, no contemporary Telugu work contains the names either of Bhāgmatī or of Bhāgnagar. An interesting palm leaf Sanskrit manuscript in Telugu characters has recently been brought to light by Dr. Rāma Rāju of the Telugu Department of the Osmania University. The manuscript which belongs to the University Sanskrit Academy is by Sarangu Tammayya, the author of the Telugu work *Vaījantī Vilāsamu*. We know that Tammayya was the

karnam of Golkonda which was also his home; but in the manuscript he calls himself a resident of "Bhāgīrati Paṭṭanam". Even in this manuscript the name, Bhāgnagar is not mentioned.[200]

The Solution :

In spite of all this it must be confessed that the European travellers who came to the Deccan in the seventeenth century have certainly mentioned "Bhāgnagar" as the capital of Tilang. Fransçois Bernier who visited Haidarabad in 1667 speaks of "Bhāgnagar" twice.[201] In the same way Thèvenot, who was in Haidarabad a year previous to this, gives the name of 'Golconda' to the kingdom but says: "The capital city of this kingdom is called Bagnagar; the Persians call it Aider-Abad". In other words, while the common people called the city "Bhāgnagar", the ruling aristocracy and Government officers (i.e., those who carried on their official correspondence in Persian) called it Haidarabad. We are aware that European travellers have left some very useful data about the social, cultural and even political conditions of India when they visited the country, which we do not find in any of our chronicles. Thus Thèvenot has given quite a mass of detail about the manners and customs of the Indians of those days and he and Tavernier take pains to describe the highways of the Deccan and the travelling stages through which they had to pass. But while Thèvenot has furnished us with interesting details about the derivation of the word 'Golconda' he is quite silent regarding the derivation of the word 'Bhāgnagar although it was barely sixty-five years since the foundation of the city.[202]

If, however, we turn to Tavernier the mystery would be solved. For he says :

> "Bagnagar was founded by the grandfather of the present king ('Abdu'l-lāh). Here the king had very fair gardens . . . Bagnagar or the Garden of Nagar."[203]

Tavernier thus asserts that "Bagnagar" stands for the City of Gardens or Bāghnagar because the new capital was replete

with gardens and groves. In a way he repeats what Rafī'ud-dīn Shīrāzī had said sixty years previously, that "The whole city is just one large garden".[204]

Evidently when the population of Golkonda was released from their over-population city consequent on the construction of Purānā Pul in 986/1578-9 and came to live in the new city with gardens and groves for miles and miles round, where houses were built in the midst of groves,[205] the common people called it Bāghnagar or the "City of Gardens" regardless of the official name of Haidarabad given to the city. This Bāghnagar became Bhāgnagar and even Bhāgyanagar at the hands of the sarcastic or the romantic among litterateurs, and while the people forgot the real origin of the term they remembered the romantic element attached to the story.

NOTES

1. Ibrāhīm's surviving sons, *Q.S.*, 229; the name of Muḥammad Qulī's elder brother is variously given as Ḥusain-Qulī and Husain 'Alī, while Ferishta quite wrongly names the *third* son Subḥān-Qulī; the name Ḥusain-Qulī seems the most probable. Ferishta is usually sketchy or wrong with regard to Quṭb Shahī history, and he confesses in the very beginning of the chapter devoted to the "History of Tilang", II, 267, that his knowledge of the history of this region is very meagre. He is wrong that Muḥammad-Qulī was the eldest surviving son of the late king, that there were only two brothers of the sovereign and that he was barely twelve at the time of his accession. He entirely ignores Muḥammad Amīn whose son Sulṭān Muḥammad became Muḥammad-Qulī's son-in-law and successor. *Tadhkira*, fol. 16 b says that Ibrāhīm had settled the kingdom on Muḥammad-Qulī at the time of his death; but this is not corroborated. Khāfī Khān says in *M.L.*, p. 2, that he has culled his account of the kingdoms of the Deccan from Ferishta; and so far as Muḥammad-Qulī's claim to the throne is concerned he simply copies down his source book almost word for word. *H.A.*, 200, also follows the same line. There is no evidence, as Prof. Siddiqui seems to think (*History of Golconda*, p. 87, n. 3), that Ḥusain-Qulī was either disabled or had renounced the throne. *T.Q.I.*, fol. 126 b is clear that Muḥammad-Qulī was the eldest among his brothers. Muḥammad-Qulī was born on 14.9.973/4.4.1566; *Q.S.*, 182.

2. Thus in *Burhan*, 227.

3. Muḥammad-Qulī calls himself "unlettered" in one of his *ghazals; Qulliyāt, ghazal* 7, line 6.

4. "Election by the amīrs and dignitaries of the Kingdom"; *Q.S.*, 232.

5. Specimens of copper coins of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah;

I. Obv., محمد قلی قطب شاہ

Rev., *'Alam with a whisk on either side and a crescent-like base.*

II. Obv., عدل محمد قلی قطب شاہ ضرب دار السلطنۃ کولکندہ

Rev., تعبیردہ فلوس شاھی — پیوستہ بلفظۃ الھی

III. Obv., ابو المظفر محمد قلی قطب شاہ

Rev., ضرب دار السلطنۃ حیدر آباد ۱۰۱۲

IV. Obv., سلطان محمد قلی

Rev., بادشاہ ۸۹

Some of these coins are found in the Haidarabad Museum as well in

Hormuz Kaus's collection in Haidarabad; see his article, *Coins of the Qutub Shahi Dynasty of Golkonda*, Spink's Numismatic Circular, May, 1955, p. 212. See also Md. Abdul Wali Khan's *Qutub Shahi Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, pp. 2-21, where 201 specimens in the cabinet of the Museum have been described. The author of the book has misspelt the word تعیبر which means 'derogation', تعیبرده meaning one who derogates, two *shoshas* for the two ع being quite clear. Also A. Hameed Siddiqui: "A new type coin of Muhammad-Quli Qutub Shah" *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXVI, 1964, part XII. These coins as well as Ferishta's statement that the Quṭb Shāhī forces retreated to "Haidarabad" in 1005/1597 (*Fer.* II. 163) and the mention of the new capital as *Ḥaidarnagar* and *Shahr-e Ḥaidar* in Muḥammad-Qulī's own *Kulliyāt* (*Naẓm*, p. 324, and *ghazal* No. 184) are a clear evidence that the city was named Ḥaidarabad from the very beginning. The *'alam* is repeated in 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's coins, specimens of which are found in the Cabinet at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and the present writer is indebted to its Director for having furnished him with casts of the same. Thévenot says on p. 136 that only "Pechas" were coined at Haidarabad, and the exchange rate was 55 paise to a Mughal Rupia.

6. *Burhān*, 527-29; Q.S., 232-33. The scheme seems to have been that the allies should first conquer Naldurg, which had been renamed Shāhdurg, and then take Shōlāpūr and Udgīr; it was also agreed that while the last two places should eventually be annexed to Tilang, Shōlāpūr and Naldurg should go to Ahmadnagar, *Fer.*, II, 172. Of course the whole programme fell through owing to the tough resistance of the 'Ādil Shāhī troops both at Naldurg and Bijapur, as well as the diplomatic talent of Chānd Bībī.

Nandgāon; headquarters of a taluqa, Nāsik district, Maharashtra State: 20°19′ N., 74°43′ E.

Udgir; hqrs. of a taluqa in Bidar district, Mysore State; 18°41′ N., 78°56′ E.

7. Date of Muḥammad-Qulī's arrival at Naldurg; *Burhan*, 530; Wazir Khān *thānedār* of Naldurg, *Q.S.*, 234; names of cannon, *Q.S.*, 234. Offer of bribe to the commandant, *Fer.*, II, 53 and 143. Ferishta calls the Commandant Muḥammad Āqā'ī Turkmān, and it is possible that Wazīr Khān may be his title.

8. *Civil commotion in Bijapur:* Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II was only 9 when he succeeded his uncle 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh in 988/1580. The government was then controlled by Kāmil Khān Dakhnī while the education and bringing up of the boy-king was entrusted to his aunt, the dowager Queen Chānd Bībī, who was the daughter of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh. There seem to have been three racial groups at the capital all fighting for political power:

the dakhnī party led by Kāmil Khān, the *gharibs* or *āfāqis* led by persons like Muṣṭafā Khān Ardistāni, the habashi group led by Ikhlāṣ Khān and others. The tale is full of intrigues, conspiracies and murders at the capital as well as in the provinces, and the office with the least amount of security either of tenure or of life was that of the *Wakil* or prime minister who acted as a sort of regent during the minority of the King. The life of the regency was short indeed, for the first to hold the office, Kāmil Khān was seized and beheaded barely two lunar months and twelve days after his accession to office, while his successor Kishwar Khān had to fly first to Aḥmadnagar and thence to Golkonda just four lunar months and twelve days after he had seized the ministry. At first Chānd Bībī was left as a governess to her nephew the Sulṭān, but the moment she began to interfere in governmental work she was incarcerated in the Satāra fort by Kishwar Khān, and was a prisoner right up till his downfall. But the Habashi amīrs who now seized power proved to be no better than their predecessors, and the turmoil which seemed to be the order of the day nearly resulted in the downfall of the Kingdom at the hands of the armies of Tilang and Ahmadnagar. It was at this juncture that Chānd Bībī assumed full control of the government and appointed Shāh Abu'l-Ḥasan to the office of *Wakil* or prime minister. See *Basātīn*, pp. 153-180; *Briggs*, III, 145-55; Syed Aḥmadu'l-lah Qādrī, *Memoirs of Chand Bibi*, ch. 7.

9. Thus in *Fer.*, II, 54. *Fer.*, II, 172, gives the story that some of the Quṭb Shāhī officers represented to the King that it was not right and proper that he should have come to the battlefield at the bidding of Mīr Shāh Mīr, "for there was a tradition in the Deccan that if a king wanted another king's help he should come to the battlefield first" while the King of Aḥmadnagar had not stirred from his capital. The story is not found elsewhere even in Ferishta, nor is the "tradition" repeated. As a matter of fact it was not Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh but Mīr Shāh Mīr who had persuaded Muḥammad-Qulī to go to the battlefield, although it is quite possible that the Mīr might have been initially moved by the Aḥmadnagar generals.

10. *H.A.*, 207-8. Many elements seem to have contributed to the fall of Mīr Shāh Mīr. The primary cause must have been the continuous failure of the Quṭb Shāhī arms on the Bijapur front. Then there was the so-called tradition mentioned in the previous note, which might have been dinned into the King's ears evidently by those opposed to the minister; and thirdly the failure of the match of the king with his wife, the daughter of the Mīr. The interval between the marriage of the girl with the King and the dismissal of her father was not long. As has been mentioned above she was originally betrothed to the King's brother Ḥusain-Qulī, who

was avowedly well-read and sedate in his manners (*Q.S.*, 229), and now on his return to the capital she was married to the King (*Burhan*, 535). The king's character was loose, as is evident from his poem after poem in his *Kulliyāt*, especially those dedicated to his paramours (pp. 225-41; 321-24). Even while studying in the *maktab* at a very early age he is reported to have felt a dislike to the prescribed syllabus and had an avowed inclination towards love and romance; see Zor, *Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, p. 36. Even when he married Mīr Shāh Mīr's daughter he was given to enjoyment of all kinds (*Fer.*, II, 54), and this might well have unnerved both the new queen and his father. We do not bear about the Queen any more, and except for his famous daughter, Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam, we know that Muḥammad-Qulī was without an issue.

11. *Bahmanis*, 158.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 417.

13. *Fer.*, I, 215; the letter which was sent to the Emperor through Shāh Ṭāhir Junaidī is couched in the most abject terms, and is found in extenso in *Fer.*, II, 285.

14. *Akbarnāmah*, II, 162.

15. *Ibid.*, II, 255 ff. The last king of Gujarat, Muẓaffar, went on opposing the forces of the Mughals for more than eleven years, and it was not till 991/1583 that Gujarat was finally pacified and annexed. See also *Fer.*, II, 233; Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, I, p. 573. Apart from all other considerations Akbar no doubt coveted the extended sea-coast which the conquest of the Aḥmadnagar kingdom would give him.

16. The date of the conquest of Māṇḍū by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat is 9-8-937/28-3-1532 according to *Fer.*, II, 269, not 931 H. as in Amīr Aḥmad 'Alavī's *Shāhān-i Mālwah*, p. 133.

17. *Fer.*, II, 288.

18. *Ibid.*, II, 289.

19. *Ibid.*, I, 151.

20. Abu'l-Faiẓ Faiẓī, son of Shaikh Mubārak and brother of Abu'l-Faẓl, was the Imperial envoy in the Deccan from 10-8-999/3-6-1591 to 1001/1592-3. A series of his reports to the Emperor from the Deccan are contained in the collection of his letters *Tabāshīru'ṣ-Ṣubḥ*, MSS. 'Salar Jang Library, Adab Fārsī, 31. The episode of Rājā 'Ali Khān making obeisance to the vacant throne will be found on p. 10. Here it might be mentioned that whatever Faiẓī says about Golkonda is all heresay as he never came nearer the capital of Tilang than Aḥmadnagar, and he was never favourably inclined to any of the Deccan kingdoms, which he does not consider to have even a semblance of independence. Thus he calls Ibrāhīm the jāgīrdar of

Bijapur (p. 31), and says that Chaul was included in the "jāgīr" of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk (p. 38) and Gulbarga in the "jāgīr" of 'Adil Khān (p. 53). He is all praises for Rājā 'Alī Khān's nephew as he had "a feeling of deep loyalty towards His Majesty even *in absentia*" and was not "devoid of the quintessence of goodness' (p. 31). The only personality which he considers outstanding in the Deccan is that of Burhān who had been under Akbar's surveillance since 992/1584, for he considered himself to have been "lifted up from the very dust" by Akbar and one who owed his existence to His Majesty (p. 27). It is surprising how, in spite of the vast resources he must have had at his command, he knew so little about the conditions of the Deccan. He calls the king of Golkonda "Aḥmad-Qulī" and the king of Bijapur "Ibrahīm-Qulī" (p. 31) which is all wrong. He is naturally vocal about Aḥmadnagar, the immediate objective of Akbar's expansionist policy southwards, and calls it a city "full of noise and evil . . . where the dissolute and the libertines abound" (pp. 27, 28). This may be true of the abjection to which the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom had reached; but Faiẓī had not stepped beyond that city, and quite naturally his data about the rest of the Deccan is unreliable.

21. *Fer.*, II, 289. The date of the battle of Sōnpat is variously given by *Fer.*, I, 270 as 17-6-1005, and *Fer.*, II, 163 as 18-6-1005. The battle in fact raged for two days; these two dates correspond with 26 and 27.1.1597 as in *Briggs*, III, 308. For a detailed description of the battle see below.

22. *Fer.*, II, 57, gives the name of the Princess. Ibrahim 'Adil Shah was affectionately known as *Jagat Guru* or "the Universal Preceptor"; he ruled Bijapur from 23-2-998/22-12-1589 to 11.1.1037/12.9.1627. His long reign saw the elimination of Bijapur's rival, the Niẓām Shahi State from the map.

23. For a list of these pēshwās, see *Burhan*, 555, 558.

24. Mīrān Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, 18-7-996/13-6-1587 -12.5.997/13.3.1588. Ibrāhīm Niẓām Shāh, 12.5.997/13-3-1588 -13.7.997/18.5.1589.

25. *Syed Muḥammad Mahdī*, the founder of the Mahdawī sect, was born at Jaunpur in eastern Uttar Pradesh in 847/1443. He was a precocious child, and when he grew up he became famous as a man of great learning and wide intellect. He slowly gyrated towards Gujarat, and it was during a pilgrimage to Mecca that he proclaimed himself to be the Mahdī or great "Guide" where advent was supposed to have been predicted by the Prophet Muḥammad as one of the signs of the approaching Day of Judgment. He seems to have worked certain miracles, and Ferishta was himself impressed by the so-called signs of the Mahdī which were found in him (*Fer.*, II, 150). He created such an impression in the capital of Gujarat that Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bēgaḍā (1458-1511) wanted to

meet him but was dissuaded by the nobles of the court lest he might be converted to the Mahdawī creed by the powers that were said to be latent in the Syed. It was not long before he had to leave Aḥmadābād for Paṭan-Anhilwara, and then to northern India, but even then there was no peace for him and he had to leave to die at Farah beyond the borders of India on 19.10.910/23.4.1505. After his death his followers were severely persecuted in Gujarat at the hands of Sulṭān Muẓaffar II (1511-1526) but they persisted in their faith, and it is related that the last two Sulṭāns of Gujarat, Maḥmūd II (1554-61) and Muẓaffar III (1561-73) were Mahdawīs. As will be seen in the text, a large section of the nobles of Aḥmadnagar, headed by Ismā'īl Niẓām Shāh, were converted to the faith, and in spite of the persecution at the hands of the Shī'ah section of the aristocracy, and later, at the hands of Aurangzeb, they are still found in parts of Gujarat, Sindh, Haidarabad Deccan, and in far off Kirmān in Pakistan. For further information, in English, on the Mahdawīs, see Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vols., 6 and 8; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 3; Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, pp. 227 ff. Burhān Niẓām Shāh I; 911/1505—20-1-961/27-12-1553.

26. *Fer.*, II, 147, 150.

27. *Ibid.*, 156. Burhān Niẓām Shāh II, 13.7.999/2.5.1597—18.8.1003/18.4.1595.

28. *Fer.*, II, 156, says that Ibrāhīm reigned for 4 months, less 2 days. He therefore reigned, 18.8.1003/18.4.1595 to 15.12.1003/11.8.1595.

29. Much romance has gathered round the name and personality of this valiant Queen. Meadowes Taylor's well-known historical romance, *The Noble Queen* was perhaps the first essay of its kind in English. Profuse extracts of the book have been given by Gribble in his *History of the Deccan*, Vol. I in his chapter entitled "The Story of Queen Chand and the fall of Ahmadnagar". Aḥmadu'l-lāh Qādirī's book, the *Memoirs of Chand Bibi* and his Urdu book *Sawāniḥ Chānd Bibī* contain quite good references. One or two novels have also been written in Urdu with the Queen as the heroine. Without doubt she stands out as one of the greatest women that India has produced, and the impression she creates in the minds of those who read the events of her life is enhanced by the fact that her struggle was selfless.

30. Aḥmad's father Shāh Ṭāhir claimed to be the son of Prince Khudābandah one of the sons of Burhān I. But while Burhān II, who was his namesake's grandson, was at the court of Akbar he had given out that Khudābandah had died childless. Bahadur was only a year and nine months old at the time of Ibrāhīm's death, while Aḥmad was twelve years of age; see *Fer.*, II, 58 and *Bur.*, 554. Prof. Siddiqui is mistaken

when he says on p. 65 of his *Muqaddamah Tārīkh-i Dakan* that Aḥmad was the son of Shāh Ṭāhir the famous divine who was instrumental in converting Burhān Niẓām Shāh I to the Shī'ah faith in the middle of the tenth century A.H., nearly fifty years before Ibrāhīm's death.

31. *Burhān*, 605. *Bīr;* headquarters of a district. Maharashtra State; 18°59′ N., 75°46′ E.

32. *Fer.*, II, 158.

33. Count von Noer says in his book *The Emperor Akbar*, II, 326: "Akbar hovered like an eagle on the northern horizon and watched the fighting cocks of the southern states, rending and wearing each other until his own time should come to prey on them". Whatever the real motives of the Imperialist expansion in the Deccan might be, Akbar's chronicler and confidant, 'Abu'l-Faẓl says in his *Akbar Nāmā* that "if they (the rulers of the Deccan) would not administer justice and cherish their people they were to be properly punished and the case of the inhabitants was to be entrusted to sympathetic persons"; *Beveridge's translation*, p. 701.

34. *Akbar Nama*, Lucknow, 1883, II, 162.

35. Faizi, *Tabashiru's Subḥ*, op. cit., pp. 27-32. The book is variously called *Inshā-i Faiẓī* and *Laṭīfa-ī Faiyāẓi*. It contains a series of reports sent by Abu'l-Faẓl's brother Faiẓī to Akbar when he was the Emperor's Resident in the Deccan. The whole burden of these reports is that, except for Rājā 'Alī Khān of Khāndēsh, who had accepted the Imperial protectorate, and Burhān II of Aḥmadnagar there was no Deccan potentate on whom reliance could be placed. To Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh he refers in very sneering terms as being "steeped in Shī'ism" and having as his mistress "an old prostitute named Bhāgmatī"! Of course all that he wrote about Muḥammad-Qulī was just hearsay and full of prejudice for he never stepped beyond Aḥmadnagar. For the Bhāgmati story see Appendix. Parts of Faiẓī's reports have been translated into English in *E. & D.*, VI, pp. 147-49 under the name of *Wāqi'at*. Elliot and Dowson say in their introduction: "But for the great name of the writer the letters scarcely deserve notice. . . . They are of a gossipping, familiar character. . . . All these letters were translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Lieut. Pritchard, and it is to be regretted that they were not more worthy of the labours bestowed upon them." The missions sent to the Deccan potentates were all a failure from the Imperialist point of view, and as Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan says in his article on "The Deccan Policies and Campaigns of Mughals," *I.C.*, 1944, pp. 301 ff. the reports from the envoys showed that "the Deccan kings had no inclination to offer unconditional allegiance to the Mughal Emperor".

36. *Akbar Nama, III*, 476-77. The dates in this book are calculated

according to the regnal year of Akbar and the Persian months were super-imposed on the Faṣlī year by the Emperor which was introduced in 992 H. The Faṣlī year, which was called *Ilāhī* as it was supposed to be the result of Divine inspiration (*Akbar Nāmā,* II, p. 8), was really the Solar Hijrī year, but was not calculated according to the Solar reckoning from the *hijrah* or Migration of the Prophet but from 992 H., with the result that an increasing error of more than ten years has persisted. The Faṣlī year was the official year in Haidarabad during the Aṣafjāhī period, and is still the official *revenue* year in the U. P. and Bengal. It may be of interest to know that the era which is current in Afghanistan and Iran at present is the correct Hijrī solar year calculated from the time of the actual *hijrah* or Migration of the Prophet. See the very illuminating brochure *Iṣlāḥ san Faṣlī Murawwajah* by Makhdūm Ḥusain, Hyderabad, 1330 Faṣlī. The dates given in the *Akbar Nāmā* have the Perso-Faṣlī months attached to the regnal year, and the corresponding Gregorian dates in this text have been copied from Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 1045-47. Certain discrepancies in the calculation have cropped up but they are not important as they do not extend to more than a day or two. In regard to the history of Aḥmadnagar, I have generally followed the dates in *Burhān* as the author was present within the citadel during the siege, and corresponding Gregorian dates have been computed according to Pillai's scholarly work, the *Indian Ephemeris.* The Ilāhī era is fully discussed in Cunningham, *Book of Indian Era,* Calcutta, 1883, ch. XXIV.

37. *Fer.* II, 159.

Broach, headquarters of a district on the right bank of the Narbada, Mahārashtra State; 21° 42′ N., 72° 59′ E.

Chanḍor; headquarters of a taluqa, Nāsik district, Maharashtra State; 20°20′ N., 74°15′ E.

38. Faiẓī Sarhindī, *Akbar Nāmā,* E. & D., VI, 131, *Burhān,* 596, says that before Manjū left Aḥmadnagar he came to Chānd Bībī and begged her to accept his homage. Von Noer, *op. cit.,* p. 330, seems to think that it was fear on the part of "Bijapur and Haidarabad" which impelled the rulers to send help to Aḥmadnagar. There was no question of any "fear" but rather the general desire to keep away the northern armies which had not been seen in the Deccan ever since the declaration of Deccan independence by Naṣiru'd-dīn Ismā'il n September, 1346; see *Bahmanis,* p. 30. This urged them to make a common cause against the Mughals. *M.L.* 252, says that Chānd Bībī herself sent urgent messages to Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh for help. We must remember that Chānd Bībī was a princes of Aḥmadnagar, being the daughter of Ḥusain I, a sister of Burhān II and an aunt of Ibrāhīm the father of her protégé Bahādur. She was at the same time the widow of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and aunt of his successor and

nephew Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. Apart from that she was the direct descendent of Qarā Yūsuf through his son Jahān Shāh while Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was descended from Jahān Shāh's own brother Mīrza Sikandar. Thus, in a way, she united in her the traditions of all the three dynasties which were then ruling in the Deccan.

39. *Burhān*, 596, says that Manjū paid homage to Chānd Bībī, while his cooperation with her administration is evidenced by his making full provisions for the defence of the capital; see *Fer.*, II, 159. See also Von Noer, *op. cit.*, 327. The army sent by Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh under Mahdī 'Alī Sultān was five or six thousand horse, while that sent by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh consisted of twenty thousand horse; *Fer.*, II, 160. *M.L.*, 257, says that the total number of the allied horse reached 60 thousand while *Burhān*, 625, says that Bijapur sent 30 thousand horse and Tilangana 10 thousand.

40. *Fer.*, II, 159. The envoys, *Burhān*, 598.

41. *Burhān* 603. Cp. *Fer.*, II, 159. *Burhān* gives 24-4-1004 as the day on which the battle began. There are certain other divergences between *Burhān* and *Fer.*, but they are not of a very great importance. Thus *Fer.* says that Murād took part in the battle from the beginning.

42. *Burhān*, 605. The destruction of certain *'āshūrkhānas* at the hands of the invading forces must have incited the Shī'ah inhabitants of the capital who had so recently got the better of the Mahdawī action. The long-drawn fight for Aḥmadnagar which lasted more than a generation, may have been caused by the antipathy of the Shī'ah population towards the aggressors. It is expressly stated in *Akbar Nāmā*, III, 476, that Shāhbāz Khān belonged to the Khān Khānān group, and this explains the anger of prince Murād at his depredations. On the other hand the unity of all political parties within the citadel was truly remarkable for we find Miān Manjū, Mōtī Shāh, Āhang Khān and others all striving to ward off the invaders.

43. The complete letter at well as its reply would be found in *Burhān*, 613.

44. "Three months" is evidently wrong in the Lucknow edition of *Fer.*, I, 269. Again *Briggs*, III, 301, wrongly states that the first of Rajab was Tuesday; for it is expressly stated both in *Burhān*, 615 and *Fer.*, 160 that the day on which the mines were to be fired was Friday. It is also stated that the laying of the mines was completed in the evening previous to Friday.

45. *Burhān*, 615-623, where "purely humane and noble purpose" is mentioned. See also *Fer.*, II, 161. The quotation is from *Briggs*, III,

302. The height of the wall built by the defenders is mentioned as being three or four yards while *Fer.*, has two or three yards. I believe that *Burhān's* estimate is correct as, apart from the fact that its author was present at Aḥmadnagar during the siege, a wall of two or three yards would be purposeless.

46. Burhān's promise; *Fer.*, I, 269. Full details of this highly interesting Conference are given in *Burhān*, 627-632, and they throw full light on the international relations of those days. A gist of the Proceedings is appended to Sherwani, *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah, Founder of Haidarabad*, 1967, pp. 127-34. It might be noted that the word used there for delegation is *ḥijāb* while *rasūl* is used for an envoy.

We find that the proposal for a conference between the combatants first emanated from Prince Murād in a letter addressed to the garrison by Syed Murtaẓā of Berar who was in the Prince's retinue. To this a reply was received that it should be the Prince himself who should begin the negotiations. On receiving this reply the Mughals sent Mīr Hāshim Madanī who remained in the Fort for more than ten days. When he expressed a desire to return to his own camp he was given rich and valuable presents for the Prince as well as for Khān-i Khānān and other high officers of the Mughal army. He was also accompanied by Afẓa Khān Qummī as the Aḥmadnagar envoy to the Mughal camp, as well as by Muḥammad Zamān Khān Mushhadī and Shāh Bahrām Astarābādī. At the Peace Conference itself this delegation was faced by Khān-i Khānān Shāhbāz Khān and Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān. The details of the Conference and the speeches of the members of the two delegations make a most interesting reading. How different is the attitude and conduct of Chānd Bībī to that of Raja 'Alī Khān of Khāndēsh for which see above.

The treaty is twisted by Abu'l-Faẓl in a very adroit manner thus: "the garrison . . . . represented that they would take Bahādur, Burhān's grandson, out of prison, give this child the title of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, and would make him a servant of the sublime court, that the territory of Aḥmadnagar should be made his fief, and that a thanks-offering of the country of Berar would be made over to the victorious army; Beveridge, *Akbar Namah*, III, p. 1048. How the same event can be so differently interpreted by the diplomats of the two sides !

47. For disagreement in the Mughal camp see *Akbar Namah*, III, 477, where a diary of the siege is recorded. See also Beveridge's translation, III, 1046-47; *Von Noer, op. cit.*, II, 331. The disagreement between the Prince and Khān-i Khānan seems to have started even before their meeting of Chandor. The difficulties in the way of the Mughals are stated in a nutshell in *Akbar Namah:* "Things became difficult on account

of dissensions in the army, the closing of the roads and want of food"; *Beveridge,* III, 1047.

48. This account is taken partly from *Fer.,* II, 163-4 and partly from Abu'l-Faẓl, *Akbar Namah,* E. & D. VI, 95 *Ma'āṯhir-i Rahimī,* E. & D. VI, 221 says that "the Barīd Shāhī chief", meaning 'Alī Barīd II, also sent a contingent. According to Faiẓī Sarhindi, *Akbar Namah,* E. & D., VI, 145, Raja Jagannāth was alive at the siege of Aḥmadnagar and actually "incited the soldiers to rush in" after the breach had been made in the wall. See note 21 above for the battle of Sōnpat.

49. It is significant that even Ferishta, the chief protagonist of the Bhāgnagar story, says that the Quṭb State troops made way to "Haidarabad" after the first day of the battle of Sōnpat, i.e., within five years of the foundation of the new capital. He thus counters his own theory propounded in II, 173; *Briggs,* III, 335. See Appendix, below.

50. For Chand Bibi see note 19 above. Faiẓī Sarhindi (*Akbar Namah,* E. & D., VI, p. 132) says that the siege of Aḥmadnagar lasted 4 months and 4 days, and it was on 20 Shahrēwar 45 R. Y. of Akbar that the mines were exploded. Shahrēwar fell in August-September, and this is confirmed by *Fer.,* I, 271 which says that Aḥmadnagar was conquered in the beginning of 1009 H, which corresponded with July-August, 1600. The siege must therefore have lasted from about May to August, 1600 Radhey Shyam, The *Kingdom of Ahmadnagar,* 231 puts down the entry of the Mughals as on 18th August 1600.

For the siege and the reduction of Aḥmadnagar see *Briggs,* III, 309 ff. "Haidarabad", *ibid.,* 309; *E. & D.,* VI, wherein are contained extracts from *Ma'āṯhir-i Raḥīmī* and the two *Akbar Nāmahs* of Abu'l-Fazl and Faizī Sarhindī.

Burhānpūr, once capital of the kingdom of Khāndēsh, now headquarters of a tehsil, Nīmār district, Madhya Pradesh; 21°18′ N., 76°14′ E.

51. For thereductisn of Āsīrgarḥ and the conquest of Khandēsh see *Fer.,* I, 271, II. 291.

It may be pointed out that in this section the history of Malik 'Ambar, more or less up to the end of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah's reign, has been treated rather cursorily, as the great statesman's place is essentially in the history of Aḥmadnagar and only secondarily in the history of the external policy of Tilang-Andhra. Like Chānd Sulṭānā this remarkable man also attempted to unite the Deccan Sulṭānates against the Mughals.

52. For the early life of Malik 'Ambar see his *Biography* (in Urdu) by Shaikh Chānd, Haidarabad, 1350 H., ch. 1 and 2. This part of

the narrative has been culled from Shilli Haẓramī, *'Iqdu'l-Jawāhir wa'd-Durur* and Amīn Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣatu'l-aṯhar fi Nūri's-safar*. Also see *Tadhkira*, fol. 114 (a), 172 (b), 175 (b), where his vast public works and administrative talents are described. Also, Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āṯhiru'l-Umarā* for a general account of the Malik's life and his work.

53. *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, I, 744.

54. Shaikh Chānd, *op. cit.*, p. 33; no reference, however, is given for this.

55. *Fer.*, II, 165. Details of Dāniyāl's marriage, *Basātīn*, 256, 257. Inayatullah, *Takmila Akbar Namah*, E. & D., VI, 105.

Nāndēṛ; headquarters of a district, Maharashtra State; 10°9′ N., 77°20′ E.

56. *Fer.*, II, 165. It is not true that after putting Murtaẓā "in confinement" Malik 'Ambar "declared his independence" as *Gribble* I, 250 would have it. All that Ferishta says is that "as Murtaẓa was constantly intriguing and raising factions against him, he thought it advisable to depose him" but was prevented from doing so by Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh whom he seems to have consulted: *Briggs*, III, 319.

57. *Fer.*, II, 166.

Junair or Junnār, headquarters of a taluqa in Poona district Maharashtra State; 19°12′ N., 73°53′ E., its fort, now called Shivneri, was built by Maliku't-Tujjār in the reign of Shihabu'd-dīn Aḥmad I in 1436 and is the reputed birth-place of Shivaji.

Malkāpūr, headquarters of a taluqa in the Buldāna district, Maharashtra State, on the Nalganga; 20°53′ N., 76°44′ E.

58. Epithets used by Jahangir, e.g. in Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahangir*, pp. 220 etc.

Antūr; in the Aurangābād district, Maharashtra State 20°27′ N., 75°15′ E.

59. Mu'tamad Khan *Iqbāl Nāmah Jahangīrī*, Calcutta, 1865, 36, 38; *Basātīn*, 263-265.

60. *Basātīn*, 266-68; *Iqbal Nāmah Jahāngīrī*, 38-39.

61. *Basātīn*, 269-70; *M.L.* I, 261-62.

62. For the amorous propensities of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, see Zor. *Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff.; *Kulliyāt*, especially odes to the seventeen amours of the Sulṭān, pp. 225-281. The complex personality of the monarch can be seen in his ease-loving way of life coupled with his personal interest in the affairs of the State. We see

him going to the battlefield fighting shoulder to shoulder with his allies, dispensing justice, patronising literature and art, supervising the construction of the magnificent edifices which are still the glory of the city he founded, and selecting men of eminence as his ministers.

63. For the rebellion of 'Alī Khān Lūr see *Q.S.*, 240-3. It should be noted that this campaign, like so many others during the Quṭb Shāhī period, had no basis of communalism at all as we know it; for we find Rāi Rao, the Brahman commandant of the Quṭb Shāhī forces, fighting 'Alī Khān Lūr who is actively helped by the Vijayanagar State.

Dr. Zor, in his biography of the Sulṭān, p. 246, gives 990-994 H., as the date of the rebellion, but I have not been able to find it mentioned in *Q.S.*, which seems to be the source of his narrative so far as this rebellion is concerned. On the other hand *N. & V.*, I, 312, seem to think that the advance of the Quṭb Shāhī army into Vijayanagar territory immediately followed the rebellion of 'Alī Khān' Lūr. This is also not vouchsafed by the evidence before us. 'Alī Khān's rebellion took place while the King was at Naldurg right in the beginning of his reign; *Q.S.*, 343, where the campaign is put down as having been undertaken *before* the foundation of Haidarabad in 1000/1591-2, while the Penukoṇḍa, campaign, which *N. & V.* tack on to 'Alī Khān's rebellion, (III, 312-17) was undertaken 'many years' after the foundation of the new capital (*Briggs*, III, 453). It should be noted that in the chapter on Venkaṭa II *N. & V.* almost invariably name the King of Tilang *Sulṭān Qulī*, while his name was Muḥammad-Qulī *Muḥammad* being a part of his name, much as *Sulṭān* was a part of the name of his distinguished grandfather, the founder of the dynasty. Venkaṭa II (1588-1614) was in continuous conflict with Muḥammad-Qulī almost from the time of his accession; see *Aravidu*, 325.

Addanki; in Ongole taluqa, Guntūr district, Andhra Pradesh; 15°49′ N., 79°85′ E.

Niẓāmpaṭam ; a small seaport in the Tenāli taluqa of Guntūr district, Andhra Pradesh, 15°55′ N., 80°41′ E.

64. For the attack of Bijapur on Tilang see *Q.S.*, 244-7; Fer., II, 54.

65. Details of the marriage; *Fer.*, II, 257-8.

66. See ch. I, sect. 2.

Haidarabad and the construction of the Jāmi' Masjid there in 1006/1597 Haidarabad and the construction of the Jāmi' Masjid there in 1006/1597 that the expedition was sent.

68. *Q.S.*, 256, *N. & V.* I, 813, call the commander Amīru'l-Mulk, a name which is not vouchsafed by our authorities.

69. *Musalimaḍūgū*, in the Nandikōtkūr taluqa of Karnūl district, A.P., 10°22′ N., 78°23′ E.

Nandyāl, hqrs. of a sub-division of the Karnūl district, A.P., 15°30′ N., 78°29′ E.

Gooty, hqrs. of a sub-division of Anantapur district, A.P., 15°50′ N., 78°4′ E. *Gaṇḍikotā*, a hill-fort in the Jumalmaḍūgū taluqa of the Cuddapah district, A.P., 14°47′ N., 78°16′ E.

70. *Q.S.*, 259; *Further Sources*, I, 314; *Velugot*, Intr., 52 Raghunātha, chief of Tanjore, in *Raghunāthabhudayamu; Sources*, 285, where Raghunātha is said to have played a prominent part in the campaign.

71. As is clear from the next paragraph, there was rearguard action and severe fighting before the Sulṭān's troops retreated; see *Further Sources*, I, 315, where the Sidhout inscriptions of Maṭla Ananta, and the *Raghunāthābhudayamu* have been quoted. See also *Aravidu*, 328, where references are made to *M.E.R.*, 916, p. 148, para 178; Vilapaka grant, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 270. Vellanguḍi Plates, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 319, etc.

72. *Q.S.*, 258-9. This is another evidence of the perfect harmony which prevailed between the various sections of the population of Tilang-Andhra. That the Sulṭān should have entrusted the charge of some of the most important frontier posts to Asva Rao and Jagat Rao shows his great confidence in these two non-Muslim officers.

73. *Further Sources*, 253 and *Velug.*, Intr., 54 have another story. They rely on the *Kaifiyat* of Cittivelli, which says that a section of the Sulṭān's army, aided by Uṛiya and Mannē chiefs reached Kamalakuru in the Siddhavātam taluqa of the Cuddapah district and another section reached Gurramkoṇḍa in the Vayalpaḍu taluqa of the Chittūr district. The army sent by Venkaṭa II routed the Sulṭān's army at Kamalakuru and chased it as far as Koccerlākoṭa and later drove the Tilangana army from Gurramkoṇḍa as well. The *Kaifiyat* is reproduced verbatim in *Further Sources*, II, document 216, p. 334 and translated in II, p. 271. *N. & V.*, I, 316 also refer to documents 202 which is reproduced on III, p. 260 which is taken bodily from *Velug.*, pp. 93-96. At the end of this document it is expressly stated that "this battle (of Koccerlakoṭa) was fought in S.S. 1501 (A.D. 1579) i.e., 33 years before the Penukoṇḍa campaign, and thus can have nothing to do with it.

74. Thus in *Q.S.*, 253; *N. & V.* I, 316, have Kowladanḍa as the name of the chief. *Udayagiri*, hqrs. of a taluqa in the Nellore district, A.P.; 14°53′ N., 79°18′ E.

75. The campaign is vividly described in *Q.S.*, 258-62.

76. *Q.S.*, 264-266; *Aravidu*, 331-332, where reference is made to the

inscription on the eastern gate of the Ammavārr temple at Amīnābād (*Sources,* 239-240). In this inscription Amīnu'l-Mulk is said to have cleared the country of rebels "much in the same way as darkness is cleared before the rising Sun." The date of the inscription is April 4, 1592, and the year of the rebellion is indicated as 1589-90.

77. The name of the father. *S.I.I.,* X, No. 750, mentioned by Rama Rao, "Muhammad-Quli Quṭb Shah's Campaign against Kalinga," *Potdar Commemoration Volume,* 1950, p. 117. Dr. Rama Rao is wrong when he says that it is Ferishta who mentions this campaign; it is really *Tārikh Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh,* which gives a fairly elaborate account of the campaign, and it is the epitomised translation of this work which has been appended to the translation of Ferishta by Col. Briggs.

78. *Aravidu,* 269, says that Mukand imprisoned the Sulṭān's deputy, Barlās Khān, but I do not find this in *Q.S.,* 269, where Barlās is said to have brought the serious state of affairs to the notice of the Sulṭān. Barlās Khān was later put to death by Mukand when he returned to Rājahmundri frustrated at his defeat.

79. In the geneology given by Dr. Rama Rao on p. 118 of the *Potdar Volume op. cit.,* he shows Shankar to be Mukand's cousin, while *Q.S.,* 269 calls him his brother-in-law, which is not inconsistent with Dr. Rama Rao's geneology; but Father Heras says in *Aravidu,* 333 that he was 'Bhaibulandar's" nephew, which is not correct unless by "Bhaibulandar" he means Shankarrāj's father whose nephew he was. Although *Q.S.* does not give the date of the campaign it says that it took place when Murād was besieging Aḥmadnagar, i.e., in 1004/1595-6.

80. Raja Mānsingh invaded Orissa on behalf of the Emperor Akbar in 1590 and completed the conquest of the northern part of the country, up to the river Mahānadi, in 1592. See R. N. Prasad, *Raja Mansingh of Amber,* Calcutta, 1966, pp. 83-86.

81. Very curiously the late Father Heras disbelieved the testimony of *Q.S.,* as translated by *Briggs,* III, 465, that Mukandrāj was pursued by Amīn'l-Mulk, and said in the note on p. 333 of *Aravidu* that "Muhammadan writers . . . . proclaim an imaginary great victory obtained . . . . over the Hindus." He further argues that "if the young Raja did not succeed in seizing Barlas Khan, ... when there was not in the country such a formidable army of Golkonda it is impossible that he could put him to death on this occasion in the face of so large an army commanded by the Amir Jumla." As a matter of fact the argument is purely conjectural and there is no evidence that Mukandrāj ever fought a winning battle against Amīnu'l-Mulk. When he sought the help of the Rāya of Penukoṇḍa and others he himself advanced to meet Amīnu'l-Mulk and

possibly kept Barlās in confinement at his capital. But he had to retreat precipitately, and frustrated as he was, put him as well as other potential enemies to death. In all probability he had already planned to quit, and so he did not expect any dire consequences of this deed at the hands of Amīnu'l-Mulk.

82. For "Shāh Ṣāhib's" rebellion see *Q.S.*, 266-67. *Briggs*, III, 461, note, has suggested that the name of the prince was 'Abdu'l-Qādir because he was educated by the saint who lies buried under a large dome at Paṭancherū. The domed structure near Paṭancherū in fact contains the mortal remains of the Quṭb Shāhī nobleman, Amīn Khān, whose natal name was 'Abdu'l-Qādir; see Bashīru'd-din. *Wāqi'āt Mamlukat Bijapur*, II, 544. See also ch. 3 above, under the caption: *"A typical Aristocrat"*, *Briggs's* conjecture that the Prince was educated by a "holy man" who is interred at Paṭancherū is all wrong.

Dr. Zor, in his *Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh* has certain conjectures with regard to Shāh Ṣāhib which are not substantiated by facts. On p. 268 he gives the date of the rebellion to be 1004 H, which does not seem to be correct. It is definitely stated in *Q.S.*, 267 that Shāh Ṣāhib was married during the life-time of his father and died three years after his marriage during the reign of his brother. Ibrāhīm died in 968, so it must have been about 970 that 'Abdu'l-Qādir died. Twenty years after 970 would make 990/1582, not 1004/1596. The learned doctor also throws out a suggestion on p. 273 that the pretender was the real Shāh Ṣāhib for, had he not been so, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah, who was the husband of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's sister, would have put him to death as a traitor to his brother-in-law. We are aware that in spite of the fact that practically all the Sulṭāns of the Deccan were closely related at one time or other this relationship did not come in the way of their political ambitions and their expansionist tendencies at the expense of their neighbours. *Q.S.* is categorical that the real Shāh Ṣāhib died twenty years before the rebellion, and unless there is some evidence equally categorical it is impossible to contradict the chronicle with any cogency. See also I n. 3, above.

For the early life of 'Abdu'l-Qādir see *Briggs*, III, 447. For Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī and his descendents who came and settled at Bidar during the reign of Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad I, see *Bahmanis*, pp. 192ff.

'Alī Barīd Shah II, king of Bidar, 1589-1610.

83. *Elluru;* headquarters of a sub-division of Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh; 16°43′ N., 81°07′ E.; *Briggs*, III, 472, calls this Ellora and says that, like the well-known caves in the Aurangabad district, now in the Maharashtra State, this Elluru, "which is near Chikakole" has also a number of caves.

The river mentioned in the text must have been one of the many streams which fall into the Godavari in this locality.

84. *Q.S.*, 277.

85. *Q.S.*, 278, has Vasnadeo, while *Briggs*, III, 470, has Veij Nat Dew. It may be pointed out that Vaijnath or Baijnath are fairly common Hindu names in northern and central India, and this must have been the real name of the chief.

86. *Q.S.* 280-81. The name of Rāwat Rao's son is "Kishtam Rao" in *Q.S.*, and this may have been a corruption of Krishna Rao.

87. *Q.S.*, 285.

88. 'Abbās I, surnamed the Great, the most powerful Emperor of the Ṣafawī dynasty of Iran, 1586-1628. He was a great protagonist of Shī'ism, and he waged frequent wars with the Turks, with the result that he had to make friends with European powers who were the sworn enemies of the Turkish Empire. He conquered Tabriz, Erivān, Georgia, Kurdistān and Mouṣil, ousted the Turks from Diarbekir and Baghdad, and occupied the towns sacred to the Shi'ah namely Najaf, Kaẓimain and Sāmarrah. In the east he was able to occupy Qandhār which had been in the Emperor Jahangir's possession. He made Isfahān his capital and from there he governed the country with a strong hand. He had close relations with the English East India Company, and opened the post of Gambroon, henceforward called Bandar-i 'Abbās, to European traders. He was a great disciplinarian, and had no scruples to behead able-bodied prisoners whom he captured in his numerous wars.

89. *Q.S.*, 386.

90. It shows the superficiality of Ferishta's narrative regarding the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty when he says at the end of his "History of Tilang," *Fer.*, II, 174, that the princess was betrothed to the Iranian prince and was soon to be sent to Iran as his bride. This is, of course, all a product of the fertile imagination of the chronicler. Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam virtually ruled the kingdom during the reign of her husband, Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, and even after his death continued to take an active part in the affairs of the kingdom off and on. She died at Haidarabad on 18.8.1077/ 14.2.1667 at the advanced age of 75 years, five years before the death of her son Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, and was buried in the magnificent tomb within the Quṭb Shāhī necropolis. Here it might be mentioned that the story of her supposed marriage with the Iranian prince alluded to by Ferishta has not been translated by *Briggs*, III, 35.

91. Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min's biography has been compiled by Dr. Zor in Urdu in an exhaustive manner, and there the learned author has discussed the problems relating o the early life of the wazīr. We are

not aware of the exact date on which he was born, but it is surmised that the date of his birth was some time about 960/1553 at Astrābād in Iran. He was a precocious youth and was already known for his erudition even when he was in his teens. He was a devout Shī'ah, and it was probably the fame of Shī'ism as the state religion of Tilang which brought him to Golkonda; *Ḥadā'iqu's-Salāṭin,* 187; *Tārīkh 'Ālam Ārā-i 'Abbāsi,* 159. There is a controversy whether he reached the capital of Tilang-Andhra during the reign of Ibrāhīm or after the accession of Muḥammad-Qulī, and this matter has been discussed fully by Dr. Zor, who comes to the conclusion that the Mīr reached Golkonda immediately after Muḥammad-Qulī's accession; *Ḥayāt,* p. 25. It may be remarked that here again Ferishta shows his ignorance of the history of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty and puts forward the date of the accession of Muhammad-Quli to 989/1581 as against the exact date, 21-4-988/5-6-1580 as mentioned in the *Q.S.* It was without doubt the Mīr who put into practical form the whole conception of the new capital, Haidarabad, and also that it was his devoutness as a Shī'ah Muslim which led to the construction of the *Bādshāhī 'Ashūrkhānā* immediately after the completion of the pivotal structure of the new city, the Chār Mīnār.

92. *Q.S.,* 292-95.

93. *Ibid.,* 295.

94. *Ibid.,* 295-98.

95. *Ibid.,* 300-302. Jagdalpūr is not mentioned in *Q.S.,* but as there is no city of the name of Bastar, which is the name of a state, I have purposely used that name.

96. A. M. Siddiqui, *History of Golconda,* p. 93.

97. *Dukhnī Qalam:* "Miniatures in this style are identified by their small character both in the actual size and also in the treatment generally. Gold is frequently used, and in the richness of effect it is more splendid than the Delhi *qalam* to which it is closely allied"...Percy Brown, *Indian Painting,* p. 76. Dr. H. Goetz is probably right when he says (*Notes on a collection of Historical* Portraits from Golconda, *Indian Arts and Letters,* Vol. X, No. 1, 1936, p. 19) that "all datable products of the (Deccan) school belong to the time of Sultan Abul Hasan though the school originated in the time of Abdullah". In the portraits of this school "outlines are bold, strongly marked and colours bright and much use is made of gold, often rather crudely, and there is a tendency to exaggerate facial features." Goetz's final judgment seems to run counter to Percy Brown's. It is not clear how he came to the conclusion that facial features seem to have a tendency to be "exaggerated". Profusion of gold is no doubt

marked, but at least so far as Golkonda is concerned it might have been symbolic of the affluence of the State.

Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's three portraits are housed in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, one facing right and two facing left. Both are conventional Dakhni miniatures with halos round the face and the usual thin muslin kerchief with flowery border covering the shoulders. The *dastār* is a small one just covering the head. One, however, depicts the monarch in his youth with a fresh look while in another a prematurely old man is depicted with an unshaven beard and drooping moustaches. These miniatures have been described by Dr. Goetz in his Notes, *op. cit.*, as well as in his *Indian and Persian Paintings in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum,* pp. 24 and 40.

98. For this group see Chapter 1, section 3.

99. This portrait, which is in the Hyderabad State Museum, is marked P. 2246.

100. The new city was named Haidarabad or the *City of Ḥaidar* from the very beginning; *Q.S.*, 249. For a full discussion of the same see Appendix to the chapter.

101. For this see Chapter IV, 'Architecture and Public Works''.

102. Construction of the Bridge, *ibid.*

103. The choice of Bidar as the capital of the Bahmanīs was due to its salubrious climate; *Burhān,* 54, 55. The episode of the fox and the hare; *Taḏḏkira,* fol. 10 a. The episode of the fox and the dog in connection with the choice of the site for Aḥmadnagar; *Burhān* 214. See *Bahmanīs,* 182, 214 n. 5.

104. For Shāh Chirāgh see Dr. Zor, *Ḥayāt-i-Mir Muḥammad Mu'min* pp. 270, 276, 277. It may be noted here that the village of Chichlam is located in this context in the area now occupied by the present Dā'irā Mīr Mu'min. Shah Chirāgh's tomb still exists and is the scene of the annual *'urs.*

105. *Fer.,* II, 173; *Q.S.,* 348. Such a conjunction was regarded as auspicious.

106. *Koh-i Ṭūr* named after the high hill in the Sinai Peninsula where the prophet Moses had a direct communion with God. The hill is held sacred by Jews, Christians and Muslims alike. It may be that parts of the magnificent Falaknumā Castle have been constructed over some of the foundations of the Koh-i Tūr Palace. See *Q.S.* 291; *Ḥadiqa,* 82.

107. It is extremely lucky that these fine arches, which are an ornament of Haidarabad were saved from the depredations which led to the demolition of a large number of Quṭb Shāhī and early Aṣaf-Jāhī arches and

gates, most of which were of extreme beauty and fine proportions, during the year 1954. Some were as out of the way as the one near Mīr Jumlā Tank, and all were of such strength that the contractors who had undertaken the demolition gave up the job and were actually paid considerable amount of money as a subsidy over and above the material which they took away. The timely interference of the Government of India allowed some of the historical gateways, including the *Chār Kamān*, to keep standing.

108. The chronogram for the completion of the *Chārminār* is *Yā-Ḥāfiẓ* which is an invocation to God the Guardian.

109. Here it might be remarked that the Chārminār was by no means a part of the royal palace as Thèvenot seems to think; see the *Indian Travels of Thèvenot and Careri*, New Delhi, 1949, p. 132. It is surprising that *R.H.A.D.*, 1918-19, p. 3, seems to confirm this view, and says that "*Charminar* . . . . . served as the entrance hall on certain occasion", although it is situated nearly 150 feet from the southern arch of the *Jilū Khāna* now called *Chār Kamān* and 300 feet from the *Kamān Siḥr Bāṭil* which served as the entrance to the royal Palace. *Landmarks*, p. 18. The published data regarding the *Chārminār* has now been supplemented by personal observations on the part of the author, who had occasion to ascend the steps of the edifice a number of time and register what he noticed.

110. There is a plan of the ground floor and first floor of the Chārminār in *R.H.A.D.* 1918-19 Plates III and IV, but it seems that no attempt was made to make a plan of the floor on which the mosque is located; at least it has not been published.

111. School for both Muslims and Hindus on Chārminar, where the teachers were paid their salaries by the government; *Māhnāmā, op. cit.*, 301, Bilgrami and Willmott, *op. cit.*, II, 561.

112, Waterworks on the *Cāminār;* Thèvenot, *op. cit.*, p. 133. *Tārikh-i-Ẓafarah* mentions Jalapallī, situated just south of 'Umdāsāgar a little over five miles SSW of *Chārminār;* position 15°18′ N., 78°27′ E. It mentions a fountain on the ground floor, but Col. Upton, who visited Haidarabad in 1777 says that the fountain had already ceased to exist; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "Old Hyderabad," *I.C.*, 1937, p. 526. *Ḥaidīqai'ul-'Alam*, I, 217 mentions the school on the top floor and a large fountain on the ground floor. I feel that Thèvenot's description of the storage tank from which water was pumped to the Royal Palaces is rather fanciful. What was probably done was to construct a cistern and a fountain on the road level and a small storage tank on the top to which water was probably carried by water-carriers. We must, however, remember that the Quṭb-Shāhī monarchs has developed a system of carrying water even

to the top of high hills like the Bāla Ḥisār of Golkonda by a series of storage tanks from each of which water was carried to the upper one by means of buffalo skins drawn up by a rope and pulley system by strong bullocks. But obviously this was not possible in the case of a building situated in the middle of a densely populated city, and while traces of the water works system and the series of storm water pipes are still found almost intact in Golkonda no such traces are to be found anywhere near Chārmināar.

113. Mir Raushan 'Ali: *Tozuk-i Quṭb Shāhiya*. MSS., Idārā-i Adabiyāt-i Urdu, fol. 4 b. This rather thin story has been followed in *Landmarks*, p. 17, and in my own MSS of *Aḥwālāt az Tozuk-i Quṭb Shāhiya*, p. 6. *Landmarks* actually gives the date of the setting up of the supposed *ta'zia* as 1.1.999/20.10.1590. It is also sometimes asserted without much authority, that the Chārmināar was built in the centre of the new city "on the model of the mausoleum of Imām 'Alī a'r-Riẓā at Meshhed in Iran. See Bashīru'd-dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, II, 547, and by Zor in *Ḥayāt Mīr Mu'min*, p. 47, and in *Haidarabad Farkhundā Buniyād*, p. 14. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence supporting the statement, the late S. A. A. Bilgrami, the author of *Landmarks*, who had been on the pilgrimage to Meshhed, once told me that there was no similarity between the mausoleum and Chārmināar, and further that the former is not in the centre of the town at all, and is by no means the apex of the road system of the city. Bhaunānī, in his very readable article "A short history of the Foundation and Growth of the City of Haidarabad", *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1917, p. 29, mentions *panjās* and *tābūt*, but gives no reference.

114. Except perhaps the MSS of *Aḥwālāt az Tawārīkh Tozuk Quṭb Shāhiya*, my library, No. 3648, which is virtually a copy of Raushan 'Ali's book, *op. cit.*

115. *R.H.A.D.*, 1918-19, p. 3. Thèvenot's statement is on p. 132 of his *Travels*.

116. Thus on the occasion of the proclamation of 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh as king on 13-5-1033/31-1-1626; *Ḥadīqā*, p. 20. This no doubt accounts for the "large Table from the Ground with steps to go up to it" mentioned by *Thèvenot*, p. 133.

117. Trilpōlia; *Māhnāmā*, *op. cit.*, 300.

118. *R.H.A.D.*, 1918-19, p. 3.

119. *Q.S.*, 251; *Māhnāmā*, 300.

120. *Ibid.*, Dr. Zor describes in great detail how the charms set up by Mīr Mu'min worked, and the popular beliefs regarding the Pēshwa's

supernatural powers, in *Ḥayāt-i Mīr Mu'min* pp. 233-246. Such traditions can at best be regarded as tales on peoples' lips in the beginning of the last century when the *Māhnāmā* was penned, i.e., centuries after the Mīr's death. The transition from Siḥr-i Bāṭil to Miṭṭī-kā-Shēr is easy enough; the similarity between the words *siḥr* and *shēr* is obvious; *bāṭil* means false, and a false lion can only be made of clay or miṭṭī! Compare the epithet, *feet of clay*.

121. *Q.S.*, 251. The intention of the Sulṭān in constructing the *Dād Maḥal* and naming it so was clear. But as each petition had to go through the hands of اکابران و اعیان و پردہ داران (*Q.S.*, 253) it is very unlikely that every application reached the Sulṭān especially as many of the applications filed would be against the conduct of the relations and friends of the very people through whom they were to be forwarded. Muẓaffar Khafī, *op. cit.*, says that the Sulṭān distributed personal justice in the *Dād Maḥal*. It might be noted here that in a discussion on Bhaunani's paper on *A Short History of the Foundation and Growth of Hyderabad*, read before the Haidarabad Archaeological Society, Mr. (later Sir Akbar) Hydari remarked that there were still some granite foundations near Musallam Jung Bridge which are pointed out as the foundation of the Dād Maḥal; see *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1917, at p. 110.

122. *Q.S.*, 252; *Māhnāmā*, 300; *H.A.*, 218. The homage to the Sulṭān at sunrise looks much like the morning *darshan* introduced by Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī's contemporary, Akbar the Great, in the Mughal Empire.

123. *Q.S.*, 251. Here Sajan Maḥal is described as the residence of the learned and those in the royal confidence; but we have a poem by the Sulṭān in his *Kulliyāt*, 230, in which he extols Sajan Maḥal as the palace where he made love to one of his many paramours. It is probable that while Sajan Maḥal was a royal residence, a part of it was used for housing men of eminence. As a matter of fact, besides Dād Maḥal we do not find any considerable royal residence till the building of *Khudādād Maḥal*.

124. The date of the construction of *Khudādād Maḥal* is definitely 1019/1010 as is clear from the chronogram quoted; it cannot be 1009/1600 as in the late Shamsu'l-lah Qādrī's otherwise informative article. "Dakan kī 'ilmī tarraqqiyān", *Tārikh*, April-June, 1929, at p. 137. Moreover it is definite that the palace was built after Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam's marriage to Sulṭān Muḥammad which took place in 1016/1607, as is clear from the sequence in *Q.S.* He is also wrong in stating on p. 136 that the Bēgam was married in 1007.

Dr. Zor says in *Farkhundā Buniyād*, p. 29, that there is some uncertainty whether the Palace was 7 to 8 storeys high. *Q.S.*, 200, enumerates 7

storeys, while we have it from Muḥammad-Qulī's own pen that there were 8 *chhajjas* or eves in it; see *Kulliyāt,* p. 211. It is possible that the Sulṭān reckoned the roof of the Palace as a storey by itself, especially if it had a covered staircase leading right up to the top of the roof.

125. *Nabāt Ghāṭ* and Bāgh *Muḥammad Shāhī; Q.S.,* 291; *Ḥadīqā,* 22, 32. "A series of groves between Nabāt Bāgh and the capital"; *H.A.,* 238, 248. "Area between Nabāt Bāgh and Koh-i Ṭūr, full of gardens and parks"; *Ḥadīqā,* 32. For Nabāt Ghat and its later development see *Farkhundā Buniyād,* 46; it should here be remarked that the first part of this readable book dealing with historical perspective is full of useful information about the antecedents of modern Haidarabad. It may interest the readers to know that while the last remnant of Nabat Ghat or "Naubat Pahār" building was pulled down in 1946 and no building of the Quṭb Shahi period now remains there, the eastern side of the cliff shows most extensive quarrying of stone from the base almost right up to the top.

126. For *Koh-i Tur,* see n. 106 above.

127. Ḥinā Maḥal was situated on the banks of the Mūsī within Amīn Bāgh, once the garden of Amīn Khān a high dignitary of the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, for whom see ch. III, paragraph entitled "A typical Aristocrat". The site is still called Amīn Bāgh, and it is here that the Victoria Zenana Hospital is located.

128. The extract is from Thèvenot, 133-35. For Bāgh Lingampallī see *Ḥadīqā,* 31; *Landmarks,* 39. A skeleton of Bāgh Lingampallī, still exists, but the Quṭb Shāhī pavilion is no more. *Taẕkirā,* fol., 61 b—62 a says:— "A large city with magnificent mansions was founded, every one of which had a large garden attached to it. Some of the trees in these gardens were so tall that they seemed to touch the very sky. Both bazaars and houses are so full of trees that the whole city looks like one *bagh* and there is such a variety of fruits from Khurāsān and Portugal that they have lost all their value".

129. Limits of the gardens round the new city; *Q.S.,* 248; *Tārīkh Ẓafarah,* 10, *Q.S.,* is wrong when it says that Paṭancherū, Ibrāhīmpaṭan, Bhongīr and Narkonḍa were all 10 farsang or 30 miles from the capital, for Paṭancheru is 18 miles N.W. of Haidarabad, Ibrāhīmpaṭan 20 miles south of the city and Bhongīr 30 miles east. This vast area of nearly 500 square miles was covered with groves, gardens and parks. It would interest the readers to know that one of the taluqas of the Haidarabad district is called "Bāghāt" to this day, and even now there are many parts of the City in which parks once formed the main features of the localities but where neither any fruit gardens nor parks exist today. Such, for instance, are the two Jām Bāgh, Murlidhar Bāgh, Afẓalganj Chaman, Bāgh

Muḥiyu'd-dīn Pāshā, Amīn Bāgh, and many others. They have all been built over.

Reference to Bāghnagar in Tavernier, 122-3.

130. Le Pont Neuf, which literally means the New Bridge, is one of the oldest bridges on the Seine and connects the *Ile de la Cité* with the rest of Paris. It was commenced in the year that Ibrāhīm's bridge on the Mūsī was completed, and was not ready till 29 years later. When Tavernier came to the Deccan there were only three or four bridges on the Seine, and the Pont Neuf was the longest and the finest.

131. Prayer in *Kulliyāt*, p. 6.

132. *Tavernier*, p. 123.

133. *Bilgrami and Willmott*, 568. For Dr. Yazdani's description of the Jāmi'Masjid from which quotations have been given, see *E.I.M.*, 1917-18, p. 43 and plates XVI and XVII a; *R.H.A.D.*, 1918-19 p. 5. The Jami' Masjid as well as the Chārminār were extensively repaired in the time of Nawab Nāṣiru'd-Daulah in the beginning of the last century, but I do not agree with the view that is sometimes expressed that the original style was changed by the superimposition of the cusped arches then.

134. *Landmarks*, 25. Cp. the epithet, *Ghulām-i 'Alī* on the niche of the 'Āshūrkhānā with the inscription, *Sa'ādatmand-i 'Āli* on the reverse of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's copper coin; see chapter III section 4, above. Some of the inscriptions have been simply painted on the walls, including the western wall. It might be mentioned that Muḥammad-Qulī's known coins do not contain such an epithet, perhaps because the word "Qulī" signifies subservience to the Prophet, and one of the reasons why the epithet was omitted in the 'Āshurkhana inscriptions' of that king may be that the Sulṭān waited to show his subservience to 'Alī by the adjectively clause, *Ghulām-'Alī*. For this inscriptions and general get-up see Satguru Parshad, *Haidarabād Farkhundā Buniyād*, pp. 11-14.

134 (a). *Daru'sh-shifā* : The whole building is in a most disreputable condition, and it may be that in a few years this outstanding secular building of Quṭb Shāhī period (which may well be compared with the Madrasah of Maḥmūd Gāwān at Muḥammadābād-Bidar (for which see *Bahmanis*, pp. 299-300) will cease to exist. Certain societies and even some private persons have occupied parts of the great quadrangle, but they do not seem to take the slightest interest in the decay which has set in the rest of the enclosure. The repairs of the main gate facing north are due to its serving as the entrance to a small and architecturally incongruous building which has recently been erected in the centre of the quadrangle to house the *Alāwā Sar Tauq* supposed to contain a part of the fetters of the fourth Shī'ite Imām, Haẓrat Zainu'l-'Ābidīn. The

Madrasah of Maḥmūd Gāwān was damaged by a gunpower explosion in 1696, but no explosion would be required for a large part of the Dhru'sh-shifā to be razed to the ground. It is time that just as the Madrasah at Bidar has been taken over by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, the *Dāru'sh-shifā* should similarly be taken over by it and conserved as one of the best secular building of the Quṭb Shāhī period. This would, of course, not come in the way of *Alāwā Sai Tauq* at all, which is an entirely modern structure.

Dāru'sh-Shifā has been mentioned in *Q.S.* 150-51, *Māhnāmā*, 301, where "nearly 400 patients" are mentioned. There are short notices in Bilgrami and Willmott, *op. cit.*, 564, and *Landmarks* 25. Sha Rocco, *Golconda and the Qutb Shahs*, 14, is wrong that the *Dāru'sh-Shifā* is used to accommodate the Haidarabad Municipal Offices. As a matter of fact it was never so used. The author of the book was no doubt led by the fact that the Municipal Offices of Hyderabad are located in a comparatively recent building in *the ward of the city* named Darush-Shifā after the great structure close by. It is gratifying to refer to D. V. Subba Reddy's informative article on "Dar-us-Shifa (House of Cures)" in the *Indian Journal of the History of Medicine*, December 1957. This article contains as number of drawings and photographs including one of a reconstructed picture of the hospital "as it would have appeared before it fell into ruins".

135. The manuscript of *Ikhtiyārāt-i Quṭb Shāhi*, originally belonging to the royal Quṭb Shāhī library, with the autograph and seal of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, was exhibited at the eighth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission by Ḥāfiz Muḥmūd Shairānī, and it is fully described by Shamsu'l-lah Qādrī in his *Ma'athir-i Dakan*, pp. 37-39. The manuscript of Ḥakīm Ṣafiyud-dīn Gīlāni's book on sex, which was copied at Bardwan for Amjad 'Alī Shāh, King of Oudh, is now in the Rāmpūr Riẓā Library.

136. Wide Streets: Thèvenot p. 133 says that the streets radiating from Chārminār were of the same breadth as the height of the arches, namely thirty feet. *Ni'matu'l-lah Sarāi;* Thèvenot 1?2, 133; here it may be pointed out that this sarāi was definitely situated on the road leading from the Bridge to the centre of the City, not in the suburb of Kārwān, which is four miles from Haidarabad in the direction of Golkonda, as the editor says in his note 11 on p. 330. *Tavernier, op. cit.*, 123, says that mosques were also used as waiting halls for travellers. For *ḥammāms* in general, see *Q.S.*, 249-50.

136 (a). For Syedābād mosque see *Ḥayāt Mīr Mu'min, op. cit.*, pp. 65, 70, 72. Dr. Zor's surmise that the rooms in the quadrangle served as

a caravansarai is at least open to doubt. *Syedābād*, a suburb of Haidarabad on the road to the east coast 17°25′ N., 78°33′ E.

137. There are two villages of the name of *Mīrpēt*: one is about 9 miles north-east of Charminar, a short distance from Maulā 'Alī Railway Station, at 17°9′ N., 78°32′ E. and is called Mirpeta in the Survey of India 2″ map 56 K/S.E., while the other in situated about 5 miles south-east of Charminar, a short distance from Ẓillu'l-lahguḍa (which has been corrupted into Jiladiguda), at 17°26′ N., 78°34′ E., and this is called Nirpet in the Survey of India map referred to. For the inscriptions on the mosques in these villages, which are extremely similar to each other, see *Ḥayāt, op. cit.*, 91 ff.; also see *Landmarks*, 33 ff.

138. Quotation from *R.H.A.D.*, 1918-19, p. 5. I venture to differ from the learned author of the Report that the pillars of the gallery are too slender, and detract from the symmetry of the building; as a matter of fact the detraction would have been marked if their lines had been bolder than they are. I feel that their very slenderness adds to the beauty of the composition and makes the onlooker concentrate on the actual and innate feature of the mausoleum rather than on the gallery which is after all, an ornament and nothing more. See also *Landmarks*, 131, where the word "dome" obviously stands for the mortuary chamber. The author of the book says that the vaults of the other kings are closed", but actually a staircase leads to the actual graves of Ibrahim Qutb Shah and of 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah. See also E.I.M., 1915-16, p. 30. For the ground floor of the mausoleum see *R.H.A.D.*, Pl. IV a.

139. For the Dā'irā see *Ḥayāt Mīr Mu'min, op. cit.*, 50, and for the more noteworthy persons who lie buried there, *ibid.*, 276-92. The statement in *Landmarks*, 47, that the Dā'irā was laid out in 1037/1627-28 is obviously wrong, for on the very next page an epitaph has been copied dating back to 1017/1608-9. For the Quṭb Shāhī inscriptions in the Dā'irā see *E.I.M.*, 1935-36, p. 30.

140. For inscriptions in the Bādshāhī 'Ashūrkhana, extending right up to 1250/1834-5 see *Landmarks*, pp. 21-24. Photograph of the western wing. *R.H.A.D.*, 1917-18, pl. X.

141. *E.I.M.*, 1917-18, p. 43.

141 (a). *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, p. 30. These beautiful and sonorous lines have been rendered into English by the late Dr. Yazdani, and with slight alterations, may be quoted here :

"Controller of the death of the haughty and the powerful!
Save me from the (eternal) fire through the light of
Thy countenance.

"To Thee have I been entrusted by my friends, companions and supporters;

In a dark pit, desolate and dreadful do I lie a stranger and solitary under a load of stones.

"Benevolent, Omnipotent ! I am Thy humble guest, and Thou the most hospitable host;

So through Thy grace, deal with me with forgiveness and accord a place near Thee.

"Kings, when their slaves grow old.

Free them, the freedom of the best in the land.

"And no one can equal Thee, O Lord, in Thy quality of being generous;

I have grown old in Thy service; so save me from the (eternal) fire."

Photograph of the original on Pl. VII. For other specimens see *ibid.*, Pl. VI (tughrā), Pl. VIII (Kūfic), *Landmarks,* opposite p. 27 (nasta'līq). *Hayāt Mīr Mu'min* opp. pp. 72 and 92 (thulth). For a distinction between these styles of calligraphy, Dr. Yazdani says : the ornamental naskh, which, in a simple form, assumed the name of thulth, but when becoming intricate and pictorial, was styled tughra"; E.I.M. 1917-18, p. 43. The Kūfic had in course of time come to be used for purely decorative purposes and consisted mostly of straight and some curved lines. Nasta'līq is the script in ordinary use in Urdu and Persian at least so far as pen writing is concerned, but as its complicated artistic features do not allow it to be reproduced in type with any success it has been replaced by naskh in Iran. Here it should be remembered that naskh was widely used for Persian and Dakhni-Urdu in the Quṭb Shāhī period, and such works as Muḥammad-Qulī's *Kulliyāt* and Wajhi's *Quṭb-Mushtarī* were originally transcribed in that script.

142. Here it may be noted that the tradition of having bilingual announcements and farmāns i.e., both in the Persian and the Telugu languages, had already started during Ibrāhīm's reign. Thus there is a bilingual farmān inscribed on the bund of the tank at Panagal. It is significant that while the Persian part of the inscription is dated just 971, H., the date given in the Telugu part is much fuller, namely "month of Māghamu, 15 S. Somwār, 1472 Saka." Moreover it is in the Telugu version only that an interesting division is made of the extra produce expected to be obtained consequent on the construction of the bund; thus the King was to have one out of the 4½ parts of the produce, "the people" to have 1½ and the Muslims and the Brahmans 1.

143. There is neither any evidence nor is there a tradition that Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh ever composed poetry in Telugu; it is not known how Dr. Zor in his *Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh,* p. 359 and Prof. Siddiqui in his

History of Golconda, p. 384, seems to hope that the Sulṭān's Telugu *diwān* might yet be unearthed.

144. *Shatchakravartūlū Charitram*, by Raja Malla Reddi, edited by Pedda Mandadi Venkatakrishna Kavi, Secunderabad, 1926, Intr., p. 4. The learned editor is obviously mistaken when he says that it was "Muḥammad Padushah" who was reigning in S.S 1540-1618; it was really Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

145. K. Lakshmi Ranjanam; *Andhra Sahitya Charitra Sangramu*, 145.

146. *Shatchakravartūlū Charitram* : Intr., p. 4.

147. Sarangu Tammayyamaṭeṇḍu, *Vāijayanti Vilāsamu* (*Vipranarāyaṇa Charitra*), edited by Kandukuri Virasilingam; Ranjahmundri, 1924. In his article entitled "Sārāngū Tammayya, Girvana Bhashaseva", *Shānti* (*Sahitya Sānkalanamū*, published in connection with Smt. Adi Lakshmamma of Guṇṭūr, in 1961), Dr. Rāma Rāju conclusively proves (pp. 670-71) that Timayyā lived in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and not in the time of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, a theory which was propounded by Chaganti Sēshayya in his *Kantarangini*, VIII, pp. 53-56. Dr. Rāma Rāju says on p. 671 that Timayya was not an ordinary *karṇam* or village official but a *pedda karṇamu* of the capital, an officer who was like the modern mayor of a city and one "who would perform the duties of a minister (*Mantrit-vamu*)" and who had direct dealings with the Sulṭān himself.

148. See Ch. III, sect. 4, above.

149. See Maulvi 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq's article, "Kulliyāt Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh", *Urdu*, July, 1922; also Zor, *Kulliyāt Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh;* Zor, *Dustān-i Adab-i Haidarabad;* Hāshimī, *Dakan mēn Urdu.*

150. *Urdu, op. cit.*, p. 23. I have not been able to find this poem in the printed edition of the *Kulliyāt*. The reason seems to be that Dr. Zor's edition is mainly based on the MSS. in the Salar Jung Library which, as the editor himself says, is incomplete (*Kulliyāt*, Introduction, p. 335), while Dr. 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq's article is based on the MSS in the Aṣafīyah Library which was copied by Syed Muḥiyu'd-dīn in Rajab 1025/ July 1616, and which was later removed to H.E.H. the Nizam's private Library at King Koṭhi, Haidarabad. The metrical translation of Ḥāfiz's ghazals by the Sulṭān has been analysed by Zor on pp. 46-51. The poem addressed to Lālan will be found in *Kulliyāt*, pp. 252-3. Free rendering of the quotations:

> "We are entirely off our senses, and this is verily the time for being lost in drink;
>
> For now we have only to enjoy to our heart's content the presence of the Cup-bearer, the goblet and the condiments to make us merry"

"O *Quṭb*, thou art ever blessed by the Grace of God through the benevolence and kindness of the Prophet;

And as thou hast the love of 'Alī nearest thy heart thou art doubly blessed by never-ending favours."

151. The three lines, freely rendered into English, will be found respectively in *Kulliyāt*, Naẓmēn, p. 228 and in ghazals 12 and 27. Evidently Dr. 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq overlooked such lines when he said that "Muḥammad-Qulī was not prone to self-adulation", *Urdu*, 1922, p. 18.

"Thou shouldst know that *Quṭb Shāh* is the very axis of the school to which Khāqānī and Niẓāmī belonged;

And thou doest repeat before him the stories related by Firdausi in the Shāhnāmah".

"Poets are in the habit of claiming their excellence through their own personal merit,

While it is the Almighty Himself who has endowed me, *Ma'ānī*, with the capacity to compose poetry of such a high standard."

"Thy poetry O *Ma'ānī* is like an ornament and a jewel set among stones of an inferior quality;

Thy poetry is like the crown of Khusrau Parvīz raised high above the poems of Ḥāfiz".

152. Quoted in Taine, *History of English Literature*, III, p. 446.

153. For this and the last extract see *Kulliyāt*, *Naẓmēn* p. 199 & *Qasā'id* p. 14. The lines may be freely rendered as follows:

1. "Clouds are again roaring and gardens are again becoming fresh,
   And the bulbul of a thousand tunes has again smelt the scent of flowers.
   "O gentle breeze, bearer of glad tidings, carry the news to the youth, that the worshippers of the juice are waiting for the green of the landscape to appear.
   "Youthful flowers, which have the brilliant dew as their perspiration, which the narcissus sweeps away by its very eyelids.
2. "It is the name of the Prophet himself which has been given to this wood;
   And for that reason the Park, which is similar to the Paradise itself appears like the home of many a *ṭūbā* each bearing myriad fruit.
   "When I espied the garden from the roadside I felt as if all the buds of my own being began to open out;
   And they smelt so that the whole of the universe was full of fragrance.
3. "The bunches of grapes in the garden are like the clusters of the stars in the Pleiades or in the constellation of Virgo;

And the bower of the grape vine is spread out like the very Milky Way in the firmament.

4. "The clusters of dates appear as if they are claws in a coral; While the betelnuts look like clusters of ruby by night.

5. "The fruit of the guava tree seems to have been made of sapphire; And my whole endeavour is that the trees I have planted should not suffer under an evil eye."

154. For a specimen of this ridicule see *Kulliyāt*, p. 315.

155. *Kulliyāt*, ghazal, 23. This may be freely rendered as follows, although most of the music and charm of the original loses force in the translation:

"Beloved! How can I put my lips to the goblet without thee?
How can I live even an instance without thee?
"Beloved! How can I be patient when thou art gone;
For thou well knowest that I can neither utter a sound nor yet take a step when thou art not by my side.
"No one can be so utterly ignorant of life than the one who has never been ensnared by love;
And I would never think of having anything to do with such a one.
"O Quṭb Shāh, why waste thy time in giving advice to an insane;
For thou knowest well it would fall on deaf ears."

See Mas'ūd Ḥusain Khān, "Nāyāb Kalām-i Ghawwaṣī *Qadīm Urdu*, II, 404-6, where the learned scholar says that this ghazal, with certain additions and changes, is found in a collection of Ghawwāṣī's poem now in Prof. Najīb Ashraf's Library, Bombay, and should really be attributed to that Quṭb Shāhī poet.

156. Thus Dr. Moulvi 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq in *Urdu*, 1922, p. 14.

157. For Wajhī and his romance, see *Quṭb-Mushtarī*, edited by Dr. Moulvi 'Abdul-Haq, Karachi, 1953; Zor, *Urdu Shāhpārē*, pp. 86-98; Zor, *Dāstān-i Adab-i Haidarabad*, p. 20; Sarwari, *Urdu Maṯhnawī kā Irtiqā*, pp. 64-67; Hashimī, *Dakan mēn Urdū*; Rafi'ah Sulṭāna, *Urdu naṯr Fort William Kālij sē pahlē* which is the doctoral thesis of the talented lady and which has a valuable discussion of the position which Wajhī holds in the history of Urdu literature. In the introduction to the Maṯhnavi, Dr. Abdu'l Haq attributed a third book, *Taju'l-Haqā'iq* to Wajhī, but Dr. Rafi'ah Sulṭāna contradicts this statement and says that the book is from the pen of another person, *Wajihu'd-din* Gujarātī.

158. *Qutb-Mushtari*, p. 96. The learned author of *Dakan mēn Urdu* says on p. 74 that Wajhi began to compose his poetry in the time of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, but later, on the same page, asserts that Qutb-Mushtari was compiled in 1018. He seems to have overlooked the line in the printed edition of the Mathnawi, p. 96, although the Introduction to the printed edition was published as long ago as 1938.

159. *Quṭb-Mushtarī*, pp. 94-96. An extra-ordinary phenomenon of the fictitious romance woven round Muḥammad-Qulī is that while he is called by his royal title right through the book he finds both his parents alive when he returns home from Bengal with his bride. This will be found on page 90.

160. Apart from the inherent value of the *maṯẖnawī* to a student of Dakhnī, I have discussed the poem at some length for the reason that a modern author has unfortunately mixed up the entirely fictitious Mushtarī of the romance with the supposed amour of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, *Bhāgmatī*, the subject of one of the Sulṭān's poems *Mushtari*, and of another poem *Haidar Maḥal*. This has done to the extent that he equates the description of the marriage of the Sulṭān in a certain poem addressed to Ḥaidar Maḥal (*Kulliyat*, p. 217) with his marriage with Mushtarī of Wajhi's romance! See *Muhammad-Qulī Qutb Shah, op. cit.*, pp. 272, 273. Supposed marriage with Ḥaidar Maḥal, *alias* Bhāgmatī, *ibid.*, p. 86. We should remember that the fictitious Mushtarī, or Bhagmati, do not find a place in the *Kulliyāt*. See Appendix.

Professor P. B. Desai, Director of Kannada Research Institute, Dhārwāṛ, has kindly indicated to me the resemblance of the story to that of Princess Sasiprabha in the Sanskrit poem, *Navasahasana-charita* of Padmagupta composed about 1000 A.C. "The work, in eighteen cantos narrates a purely imaginary story of the winning of the Princess "with a covert reference to the history of Diddhurya of Malawa." See Devasthali's chapter on *Language and Literature* in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, in the series published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, p. 183.

161. Mīr Mu'min's attempt to make Haidarabad a new Isfahān and a part of a new Iran; see *Ḥayāt-i Mīr Mu'min*, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff. The month of Muḥarram became the month when scores of *majlises* were held by the order of the King to mourn the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusain. In certain 'Āshūrkẖānās ten thousand lamps were lit for ten consecutive days, and when the days of mourning came to an end, 12,000 hons were distributed among the poor. See Shamsu'l-lah Qadiri, *Ma'ṯẖir-i Dakan*, 29, where *Ḥadiqatu'l-'Alam*, I, 261, is quoted. Mīr Mu'min calls Haidarabad, the "new Safāhān".

162. See Mīr Sa'ādat 'Alī Raẓawī, *Kalāmu'l-Mulūk*, *pp.* 46-54 (xii), totalling 21 pages and containing 102 lines in all. Of these 42 lines are from the photograph opposite p. 18 of *Urdu*, 1922, *Tārīkẖ Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*, 'Alī b. Ṭaifūr Busṭāmī's *Ḥadā'iqu's-Salāṭīn*, and 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Kẖān Malkāpurī's *Mahbūbu'z-ziman* where according to Mīr Raẓawī's own finding, the lines have been incorrectly copied. The other 60 lines are dirges in memory of Imām Ḥusain included in certain stray leaves found

in Salar Jung Library, some of which contain Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's *takhallus, Quṭbshāh.*

163. These few lines have been copied down by Mr. Raẓawi but he has not indicated that they belong to a much larger collection of Muḥammad-Qulī's Persian ghazals, as the portions of the two ghaẓals and the one complete ghazal on that page is evidently a part of a much larger whole.

164. The purport of these lines may be rendered thus:

(1) "Inform the Lamp of the passion of one who is so mad after thee;
That out of sheer emulation it may strike the Moth with its own fire".

(2) "My sole occupation is love and I have therefore no worldly cares;
I am the sovereign of the realm of love and God is my friend and helper."

(3) "A word uttered by the lips of the beloved I have heard, yes I have heard
A hundred thanks are due to the Almighty that the contents of this goblet I have tasted, yes I have tasted".

(4) "O he who pretends to be pious, come into the valley where fire is turned into a bed of flowers.
So why stray into another valley when it is here that thou wilt find thousands of paradises".

(5) "Cup-bearer! Pass me the goblet, for the days of Spring have come at last;
And the water-laden atmosphere has caused whole beds in my garden to be just flowers and little else."

(6) "Beloved! promise to come near me and make my heart truly glad;
For the continuous absence of thy winsome face has made *Quṭb Shāh* so restless and so uneasy".

(7) "Even the angel Gabriel threw dust on his face for his intense sorrow at the martyrdom of Ḥusain;
And the very hearts of the angels became gory due to their lament for his death".

165. For Muhammad Amīn see *Ma'aṯhiru'l-Umarā*, III, 413, ff.; *H.A.*, I, 244; Zor, *Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, 347 ff; *Ḥadā'iq* fol. 182 b—186 b. MS. of four of Amīn's maṯhnawīs which have been traced so far: (i) *Khūsrū-Shīrīn*, Ethe, I, Col. 841, No. 1539; (ii) *Lailā-Majnūn*, Ethe, col. 842, no. 1540; (iii) *Maṭmahu'l-Anẓār*, Rieu, II, p. 675, Add., 24,088; (iv) *Falaku'l-Burūj* or *Asmān-i Hashtum*, Rieu, II, Add 25,903. The Dīwān, which runs into 185 folios, Rieu, Or., 284. The five maṯhnawīs of Niẓāmī are *Khusrū-Shīrīn, Lailā Majnūn, Makhzanu'l-Asrār, Haft*

Paikar and *Sikandar Nāmā*. For Niẓāmī, who was born at Ganjā (now Kirovābād) in 1140 A.C., and died in 1202-3 A.C., see Browne, *Persian Literature from Firdawsī to Ṭūsī*, pp. 400-1.

166. The marriage took place in 1016 H. not in 1006 H. as in the article, "Dakan kī 'Ilmī Taraqqiyān", *Tārīkh*, 1926, p. 136. See *Q.S.*, 289.

A free rendering of the line would be:

"Yesterday I was transported in my vision to a gathering like the one expected in Paradise itself,

"And those I saw in that gathering were like the very *ḥūrīs* with faces gleaming in Divine light."

167. See Zor, *Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh*, 320. Chronogram in *Zaf.*, I, 17. It is not "kilk-i fidā" as in *Tārīkh* 1926, p. 136, but "Kilk-i Qaẓā". A free rendering would be: —

"The chronogram of its construction was written with the Pen of Destiny on the Sheet of Immortality, and the foundation was truly life-giving."

168. For the versified chronicles of the Quṭb Shāhīs see Ch. I, footnotes 97 and 110, above. See also Storey, *op. cit.*, II, 740; Sprenger: *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindu'sta'ny Manuscripts in the Libraries of the King of Oudh*, no. 227; Ivonow: *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, no. 690 and 691.

169. See Storey, *op. cit.*, II, 740; *Sprenger*, 227; *Ivonow*, 690, 691.

170. For these books see *Tārīkh*, April-June, 1929, pp. 134-5. As regards *Khulaṣatu'l-Ḥisāb*, there is a manuscript in Salar Jung Library, no. 15/6 dedicated to the Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, but it does not indicate its authorship, and certainly does not appear to be a translation of Āmilī's work. *Shaikh Bahāu'd-dīn Āmilī* (not 'Āmilī' as in *Tārīkh*, *op. cit.*) lived from 1546 to 1622. Besides being a great Shī'ah divine he was the author of books ranging from the reminiscences of his travels, to Mathematics and Astronomy; see Browne, *Persian Literature from* 1500 to 1924 (pp. 427-428. *Al-Khwārizmī;* Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Chaghminī al-Khwārazmī, mathematician and astronomer; author of many books including *al-Mukhtaṣar fi'l Hai'ah;* died 1412. There have been many commentaries of his work, see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, I, 473 and II, 212.

171. *Kulliyāt*, 93. The names of the fireworks mentioned in these lines are *hawā'ī, phul-bāzī, nag-phulṛī, mahtāb, tilā, chotī*.

172. *Ibid.*, 96, 97.

173. *Ibid.*, 103, 102. This is only a sample of lines welcoming wine and pleasure after the passing out of the Ramaẓān.

174. *Ibid.*, 101.

175. *Ibid.*, 135, 139.

176. *Ibid.*, 130.

177. *Ibid.*, 166.

178. *Ibid.*, 161.

179. *Ibid.*, 185-87.

180. The references in this section are from *Tabashiru's-Subh, op. cit.* It may be mentioned that the particular sentence quoted here is not found in the Aṣafia manuscript, Insha-i Farsi, 80, which was written at Ahmadnagar and completed on 4th of Muharram in the fiftieth year of Akhar's reign. The book is called "Waqi'at-i Shaikh Faizi" in *E. and D.*, VI. p. 147—See also n. 1st below.

181. *Tab.* 444.

182. *Fer.*, II, 173.

183. See *Ma'āṯhir-i Raḥimi*, I, p. 16 and *Munt.* III, p. 2, where the respective authors express their indebtedness to Ferishta so far as the history of the states of the Deccan is concerned.

184. *Tabāshiru's—Subḥ*, p. 31.

185. *Ibid.*, p. 27. Here it should be mentioned that another quasi-Deccani ruler, praised by Faiẓī, is Rājā 'Alī Khan of Khāndēsh. He is applauded by the Resident for having "walked a long distance on foot as he approached the Imperial camp and began to bow before and salute the (empty) Imperial throne placed in the centre". Addressing Akbar Faiẓī says that "when Your Majesty's farmān was read out he (Rājā 'Alī Khān) kept standing all the time with great respect".

186. In *E and D.*, VII, p. 147, Professor Dowson prefaces Lt. Pritchard's translation of the passage of Faiẓī's petition to Akbar, which, incidentally contains the sentence about Bhāgmatī, thus:—

> "But for the great name of the writer, this little work should scarcely deserve notice. It consists of a series of letters written to the Emperor by Shaikh Faizi while he was absent on his embassy to the Dakhin, in the thirty-sixth year of the reign . . . The letters are of a gossiping familiar character, and are embellished with plenty of verses, but they contain nothing of importance . . . All these letters were translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by Lieut. Pritchard, and it is to be regretted that they were not more worthy of the labour bestowed upon them.
>
> Faiẓi cannot be considered a historian, so a memoir of his life would be out of place in this work".

187. Date of writing the history of the Deccani kingdoms, *Fer.* II, 177; introductory remarks about the history of the Quṭb Shāhīs, II, 167.

188. Muhammad-Quli's age at the time of his accession: 12 according to *Fer.*, II, 172; 14 according to *Q.S.*, 182, where it is stated that he was born on 1-9-973/23-3-1566. *Fer.*, II, 172, says that Muḥammad-Quli was the eldest son of his father, while *Q.S.*, 288 says that he was his third son. Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam's marriage, *Q.S.*, 288. The name 'Haidarabad, in 1005; *Fer.*, II, 163.

189. *Ma'athir-i Rahimī*, II, 41; Muhammad Amin's supposed accession, *ibid.*, 412. Mir Mu'min came from Astrābād not from Isfahan, *Q.S.*, pp. 249-253.

190. *Q.S.*, 249-253.

191. *Ḥadīqatu's-Sulāṭīn* was compiled in the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh; it has been edited by Syed 'Alī Asghar Bilgrāmī. The first part was published in 1350 H., while the whole came out in one volume in 1961. References to the buildings of the city are interspersed throughout the book.

192. *Ḥadā'iq*, fol. 11 b. The author says that the city was founded in 1004/1595-6, which is probably the date of the completion of the scheme of construction. Mīr Mu'min was Pēshwa already about 993/1585, i.e. seven years before the founding of Haidarabad. For a description of his talents and his position see ch. 4 above in the Section entitled "Persian"; also Chapter V below, under "Persian Literature".

193. A series of pure presumptions led the learned editor to identify Bhāgmatī with Mushtarī (Introduction, pp. 80-85) and with Ḥaidar Maḥal (Introduction, pp. 85-87), while another pure presumption led him to aver that the title "Ḥaidar Maḥal" might have been given to her on the occasion of her marriage with the King! There is no historical evidence to uphold any of these presumptions.

194. On the other hand, while beginning to relate the story of Bhāgmatī Dr. Zor himself says that the Sulṭān has not mentioned the name of the "dancer" even once in his *Kulliyāt*. He categorically says (Introduction, p. 80): "The Sulṭān has used the word "Bhāg" in a number of his poems, but the word has been used in all these places in its literary meaning, i.e., for "share" or "fortune" and this connotation fits in well with the context". Odes to Sulṭān's amours, *Kulliyāt*, pp. 225-281.

195. "My City"; *Kulliyāt*, poems, page 6. "City of Ḥaidar", *ibid* Ghazals, p. 177. "Ḥaidarnagar", *ibid.*, Poems, p. 324.

196. See Sherwani, *Bhāgmatī kā Afsānā*, appendix 2 p. 3; Hormuz Kaus, "Coins of the Qutub Shahi Kings of Golkonda", Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, May, 1955, pp. 211-12; Abdul Wali Khan, *Qutub Shahi*

Coins, pp. 2-21; out of 202 coins listed 50 belong to Golkonda Mint, and all the remaining 152 belong to Haidarabad Mint.

197. *H.A.*, pp. 214-219. This book, which is frequently referred to in the present work, is ascribed to Mīr 'Ālam, Prime Minister of Haidarabad in the early years of the last century; but the real author is 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf Shustarī or Abū Turāb; see *Storey*, p. 747.

198. *Māh Nāmā;* Mu'min Khān Hamdānī, *Sawāniḥ-i Dakan*, Salar Jang Library, No. 307, was compiled as late as 1190/1776, and is one of those publications which have simply copied down the Bhāgmatī legend without subjecting it to any critical analysis.

199. Bhāgmatī is even equated with Mushtarī, the heroine of Wajhi's purely imaginary romance, *Quṭb-Mushtarī*. As has already been discussed in section 3, above, the romance has neither a historical nor a realistic value except that the story has been woven round the dynastic title of the Sulṭān i.e. Quṭb or the Pole-Star.

But even the learned editor of the *Kulliyāt* is not sure of the veracity of the whole story, for on p. 58 of the book he prefaces his remarks with the epithet, "if the story of Bhāgmatī is correct" referring to a certain episode ascribed to the supposed courtisane.

200. *Shānti* (*Sāhitya Sānkalanamu*, Commemoration volume of Sri Adi Lakshmamma of Guntūr) 1961; Rāma Rājū, "Sārangu Timayya Guruvanu Bhāsasēna" at pp. 670-71. The *Māh Nāmā* rejects the Bhāgmatī story outright when it was at the height of its popularity; see n. 198, above. Bhāgīratī Paṭṭanam may have reference to the reputed wife of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh who is said to have married her while he was an exile at Vijayanagar.

201. Bernier, *op. cit.*, 65-67.

202. Thèvenot, *op. cit.*, 131, 137.

203. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, 132.

204. *Tadhkirā*, fol. 61 b.

205. For the congestion of the capital prior to its extension beyond the Mūsi, see *ibid.*, fol. 60 a.

CHAPTER V

"ṢIFĀHĀN-I-NAWĪ"

SULṬAN MUḤAMMAD QUṬB SHAH

(11-1-1612—31-1-1626)

Section I: *Political Aspects*

Sulṭān Muḥammad's Accession

Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh's reign forms a significant period in the history of the Quṭb Shahi dynasty, for it is sandwiched between the highly sophisticated reign of his father-in-law and uncle Muḥammad-Quli, and that of his own son 'Abdu'l-lāh which witnessed the downward trend in the fortunes of Tilang.[1] He was the son of Mīrza Muḥammad Amīn who had died in the lifetime of his brother Muḥammad-Qulī on 15-8-1004/4-4-1596 at the early age of twenty-five, while on his mother's side he was descended from Syed 'Alāu'd-dīn Ṭabāṭabā who traced his descent from Imām Mūsā Kāẓīm, the ninth Imām of the Shī'ah sect. He was born on Wednesday, 23-4-1001/17-3-1593, and was barely three years old when his father died. As Muḥammad-Qulī had no male issue he adopted the child with the consent of his brother, and when he came of age he got him married to his daughter Ḥayāt Bakhshi Bēgam in 1016/1607,[2] perhaps in order to strengthen his claim to succession in preference to his brother Muḥammed Khudā Bandah who was then living. To make the succession doubly secure he asked the nobles and dignitaries of the kingdom to swear allegiance to the young prince in his life time.[3] Although Muḥammad Khuda Bandah was already dead before Muḥammad-Qulī breathed his last on 17-11-1020/11-1-1612,[4] even his name probably carried a certain amount of weight with a section of the population of the capital, and it is surmised that the Sunnī population was inclined in his favour. It was possibly for the

purpose of ensuring Shī'ah succession that Mīr Mu'min Astrābādi, the pēshwa, lost no time to place Sulṭān Muḥammad, who was then about twenty, on the throne immediately after the death of Muḥammad-Qulī.[5]

A peace-loving Monarch

When Muḥammad came to the throne the kingdom was passing through a crisis. Venkaṭa II had laid Muḥammad-Qulī low by a stratagem, and it was quite likely that he would advance into the kingdom and perhaps annex a goodly portion of it. But apart from Venkaṭa's old age, the coûrt at Penukoṇḍa was too much rent asunder by civil strife, bribery, corruption, murders and massacres to follow up the advantage gained.[6] It was Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur, who realised the weakness of the Penukoṇḍa administration, and the desultory attack on the great fort of Karnūl on the Tungabhadra by the 'Ādil Shāhī commander 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān ended in the conquest and annexation of that tract in 1031/1621.[7] The conditions of Penukoṇḍa was such that Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh could have easily marched southwards and annexed a slice of that kingdom. but he did not do so. In fact the only campaign which he ordered to be undertaken, or rather continued, was against Bastar.

This campaign was of short duration. In Jamādī I, 1021/ July 1612 Kamālu'd-dīn Māzendrānī was sent against Pratāp Shāh, ruler of Bastar, because the Haiderabad army under Asva Rāo had been trapped there by the river Godavari which was in spate. Kamālu'd-dīn was accompanied by Syed Ḥaider, 'Izzat Khān, Chītā Khān and a larger army. When this army reached the Bastar border Pratāp Shāh wisely decided to lay down his arms and sent an envoy to Kamālu'd-dīn with expressions of homage and costly presents to the King. The king was immediately informed of this turn of events. He forgave the rebel ruler of his shortcomings and gave back to him his whole estate with practically no conditions attached except that he should recognise Sulṭān Muhammad as his suzerain.[8]

This was the only campaign which the Sulṭān undertook during his reign of fifteen years. This was in vivid contrast with the expansionist policy of his predecessors. Evidently what the Sulṭān wanted was to preserve the energies of the State in order perhaps to check the avalanche from the north which was threatening the very existence of the Deccani Sulṭānates. He had come to the throne in the seventh year of Jahangir's reign,[9] and the death of Chānd Bībī in 1600 had dealt a stunning blow to the southern kingdom. Had it not been for the phenomenal rise of Malik 'Ambar, the Sulṭānates of the Deccan would have died a premature death.

Foreign Policy

(1) *Deccani Kingdoms and Persia.*

It was probably for this reason that Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh did not embark on any policy of annexation. On the other hand he strove to strengthen the relations of Tilang-Andhra with Bijapur and what was left of the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom. Not only that; he also came into direct contact with the great Shī'ah state, the Iran of the Ṣafawīs.[10] When Sulṭān Muḥammad ascended the throne the other two Deccani Sulṭānates sent their envoys to facilitate him. Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh II sent Muhammad Taqī from Bijapur and Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh sent Mir 'Abdū'l-Fattāḥ from his capital, Daulatābād (for the traditional capital, Ahmadnagar had been occupied by the Mughal troops).[11] From the court of Shāh 'Abbās the Great of Persia came Ḥasan Bēg Qipchāqī with costly presents and a retinue of eighty persons. When he reached Dābul he was received by Mīr Zainu'l-'Abidīn Māzendrānī on behalf of the king, and on the frontiers of Tilang by Ambiyā-Qulī Khān and other nobles to escort him to the capital. He was received by the king in the person at the Kālā Chabūtra of Golkonda on 10-7-1023/6-8-1614. Ḥasan Bēg was at Haiderabad for two years and four months, and while he was there he was paid an allowance of thirty thousand hons for the upkeep of the horses and elephants which were assigned to him. It was in the month of Ziqa'dah 1025/

November 1616 that he was granted leave to return to Persia. It is now that we hear for the first time the name of Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Khātūn, who became *pēshwa* of the kingdom in later years, as he was sent by Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh to the Persian court and accompanied Husain Bēg by way of Burhānpūr.

We are fortunate in having a copy of the complete autograph letter of Shāh 'Abbās to the Quṭb Shāhī king through the Persian envoy. In it the Shāh makes protestations of his deep desire to be closely associated with the kingdom of Tilang, and says that such a desire was entirely in accordance with the mutual respect and natural regard which existed between the two kingdoms. He also informs him of the recent treaty which had been agreed upon between the Sulṭān of Turkey and himself.[12]

Muḥammad ibn Khātūn was at the Ṣafawī court for a number of years, and when he returned home he was again accompanied by another Persian envoy, Qāsim Bēg Burān who was the commander of the Iranian troops at Mazendrān. The party travelled to the Deccan by way of Makrān and Lahore. Qāsim Bēg died while he was at Haiderabad in 1034/1625. After his death his son Muḥammad-Quli Beg was treated with the greatest regard by the Sulṭān. He left the Deccan in 1037/1628 for Persia; but at Surat he was met by a courier from the Emperor Shahjahan to come to Delhi. When he reached the Mughal capital he was given an autograph letter from the Emperor to the Shah. But this letter never reached the addressee as Shāh 'Abbās had already expired on 22-5-1037/19 Jan. 1628.[13]

(ii) *The Mughals and Malik 'Ambar.*

The relations of the Deccan states with the Mughals in this period centre round the personality of Malik 'Ambar. We have traced his struggles with the northern power right up to 1019/1610 when he was successful in driving the Mughals from Ahmadnagar.[14]

The Emperor Jahangir was greatly upset by the loss of

Aḥmadnagar. He now knew it would require a much greater effort to dislodge 'Ambar from his gains. He therefore ordered an all-round attack on 'Ambar's positions. He commissioned 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān, the newly appointed Governor of Gujarat, to march on the Deccan, while he ordered Khān-i Jahān Lōdī and other high officers to proceed southwards from Khāndēsh and Berar. But 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān who had gathered laurels in Rajputana was keen on defeating 'Ambar single-handed, and so, without waiting for the army of Berar and Khāndēsh he proceeded against "the black-faced 'Ambar" on his own account. But what he had to face was not an enemy in a pitched battle but guerilla light cavalry men gathering strength day after day. The struggle went on for two long years, and with his supplies cut and after incurring the loss of life and property the Khān had to retreat back to Gujarat.

Jahangir was taken aback at the turn the events had taken, and in 1612 he appointed 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khan-e-Khānān to supreme command in the Deccan. The new commander was a diplomat as well as a soldier, and by his machinations he enticed some of 'Ambar's officers such as Ādam Khān and Jādav Rao to the Mughal camp at Bālāpūr which was under the command of his son Shah Nawāz Khān. And what was even more serious from the Deccani point of view was that Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur was flirting with the Imperial envoys and was ready to leave 'Ambar in the lurch. The result was obvious; Shah Nawāz Khān marched southwards, defeated 'Ambar in open battle, then marched to Kirkee and razed that beautiful city to the ground.[15]

In spite of this obvious success the Khān-i-Khānān was accused by the entourage of the Emperor that he had accepted bribes from 'Ambar. Moreover Prince Khurram desired to take the place of his half-brother Parvīz, who had proved a complete failure as the Imperial Viceroy in the Deccan. Khurram was appointed to the command of the Mughal forces in the south in place of Khān-i-Khānān in 1025/1616. He started from Agra on 1-11-1025/31-10-1616.[16] The Deccan venture was regarded as of such an importance that Jahangir him-

self moved to Shadiābād-Māndū, the capital of Malwa, in order to be near the hub of the campaign, and reached his destination on 6-3-1617.

When 'Ambar saw that Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh was already in league with the Mughals and his own generals were intriguing with the northern power, he thought it wise to send his emissaries to meet Khurram on the Narbada. On his part the prince sent Afẓal Khān and Rāi Rāyan to Bijapur and Mu'tamad Khān and Jādav Das to Haiderabad with letters in which he invited 'Ādil Shāh and Quṭb Shāh to join hand and desist from war. When the Imperial envoys arrived at Bijapur they were received by the Sulṭān in person seven kos from the Capital. A treaty was entered into between Bijapur and the Mughals in which the latter agreed to the cession of all the territories which had been taken from the Mughals by 'Ambar, and that the Sulṭān should present *pēshkash* to the Emperor. On his part Jahangir addressed the Sulṭān as his own son.[17] The envoys left Bijapur loaded with presents of enormous value.

Perhaps Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh was not so cordial to the Imperial Commission. Its main function was to collect the *pēshkash* from the Haidarabad court. When the Commission returned from the capital its members were loaded with priceless presents including jewels, elephants, horses and other treasures of the total value of fifteen lakhs of rupees for the Emperor, while every member was awarded a considerable sum of money. On his part 'Ambar had to evacuate Ahmadnagar which he had tenaciously kept under his control ever since 1610 and also to hand over the "Mughal" territories which he had occupied. It was a terrible blow to his power and prestige, but it was due to a large extent to the treaties which Bijapur and Haidarabad had contracted with the Mughals, and which, in effect, barred any help from them to him.[18]

Khurram presented himself before his father, who was still at Shādiābād-Māndū, on 11-11-1025/12-10-1616. Jahangir was overjoyed and showered honours and presents on his son for

what he had done for the Empire in the Deccan, and decorated him with the title of Shahjahan, an honour unique in the whole annals of the Timurid dynasty, for it was the title of kingship conferred in the lifetime of the Emperor himself.[19]

Things seem to have been quiet for some time. But 'Ambar could not be at ease and see the territories for which he had struggled so long pass into others' hands. The opportunity came in 1029/1619 when news arrived that Jahangir had gone on a holiday in Kashmir and Shahjahan was away reducing Kāngṛa into submission. In the meantime he had taken care to form alliances with Bijapur and Haidarabad[20] and mustered an army of sixty thousand. Without giving any notice or ultimatum he began to attack the country round Ahmadnagar and the Bālāghāt range in full force and compelled the Mughal army to retreat till a large part of the Mughal possessions round Ahmadnagar and Berar were occupied by him. While in retreat the Mughals were constantly opposed by guerillas, consisting chiefly of Maratha light cavalry, and they first retreated to Bālāpūr and then to Burhānpūr. 'Ambar now laid siege to Burhānpūr itself.[21]

The commander of the Mughal forces, 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khān-i Khānān, was now hedged in practically on all sides by Deccani forces, and he now petitioned the Emperor for help. He also informed Jahangir that 'Ambar was regularly collecting taxes from what had recently been Mughal territory. The Emperor therefore again commanded Shahjahan to take supreme charge of the Deccan campaign. Shahjahan now crossed the Narbada, and reached the suburbs of Burhānpūr by way of Ujjain. On his approach the Deccanis raised the siege of that city and retreated southwards. They were pursued as far as Kirkee which was reached on 17-6-1030/29-4-1621. Seeing the danger looming large 'Ambar removed Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh to Daulatābād and evacuated Kirkee which was again laid waste by the Mughal army.[22]

'Ambar now saw that any further resistance would be useless and offered submission. It seems rather strange that Shahjahan

did not follow up his success. This must have been due partly to incessant marching and fighting for many months as well as to the scarcity of supplies due to "scorched earth" policy. The treaties now concluded with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh were different to the one concluded on the previous occasion. The indemnity imposed on Haidarabad was to be twenty lakhs, on Bijapur eighteen lakhs and on Malik 'Ambar just twelve lakhs.[23] The remarkable thing about the treaty was that it was concluded with 'Ambar only, and although the allied army no doubt contained contingents from the rulers of the other two states, Bijapur and Tilang, they were not made parties to the treaty. It only demonstrated that, whether it be peace or war, the defence of the Deccan centred round the personality of 'Ambar only. Another feature of the treaty was that it was Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh who was demanded the largest amount of indemnity. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh had been an ally of the Mughals before the last campaign, while 'Ambar had himself sued for peace and offered to cede his gains back to them; but Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh had been lukewarm in his protestations of friendship with them and therefore had to suffer most. Shahjahan proceeded to organise the administration of the conquered territories and sent Ḥakīm 'Abdu'l-lāh Gīlānī to collect the indemnity from Bijapur, Raja Bikramājīt to Malik 'Ambar and Qāzī 'Abdu'l-'Azīz to Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.[24]

But the nemesis soon came, Shahjahan, who had been the favourite son of the Emperor so far, was now involved in a very serious palace intrigue where the all-powerful and influential Empress Nūrjahān was conspiring to secure the succession in favour of the Emperor's youngest son, Shahryār. Shahjahan was naturally touched to the quick when Jahangir asked him to leave the Deccan and proceed to Qandhār which had been besieged by the Shah of Iran. He thought it was a ruse to remove him from the field of his successes, and he refused to go. There were a number of abortive attempts at reconciliation between the father and the son, leading to the transfer

of certain *jāgīrs* from Shahjahan to Shahryār, and thwarted at every step, Shahjahan unfurled his banner of revolt at Māṇḍū and marched up north to fight out his claim. But after engaging in a series of skirmishes and battles with the Imperial army he was finally defeated at Balūchpūr near Delhi on 29-3-1623 and had to retrace his steps to the south. He crossed the Tāptī on 25-11-1032/10-9-1623 and re-entered the capital of Mughal Deccan, Burhānpūr, a forlorn man, bereft of all power and with the loss of some of his most loyal adherents.[25]

The man who had laid 'Ambar low not many years ago was now begging the great Abyssinian for help. In the meantime Jahangir had himself reached Ajmēr and had sent Prince Parvīz and Mahābat Khān to oppose Shahjahan. 'Ambar was too shrewd a leader to back a fallen idol in the face of a possible annihilation at the hands of a mighty foe, and so he showed a cold shoulder to Shahjahan's envoy, Afẓal Khān, to approach Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh instead. Shahjahan was a hunted man. Ibrāhīm 'Adil was courteous to his envoy but did not encourage him to rely on his bounty. He therefore had no alternative but to approach Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh for a passage through Tilang to Orissa and Bengal and back to the north. He reached Māhūr and "deposited his elephants, cattle and goods there in the custody of Udaya Ram". On reaching the border he sent his envoy, 'Abdu's-Salām, to Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh for safe conduct for himself, his wife Mumtāz Maḥal and his three eldest sons, Dārā, Shujā' and Aurangzeb.[26] The Sulṭān received the envoy with all considerations. He made a present to the prince of two lakh pieces of gold as well as twenty elephants and allowed him to pass on to the chief port of the kingdom, Masulipaṭam, on the way to Orissa and Bengal, provided he did not tarry longer than fifteen or twenty days in the kingdom.[27] He had with him an army of 4,500 horse, 500 elephants and about 12,000 foot-soldiers. With this concourse he crossed the border on 12-10-1623, but it was not before the 5th of November that he reached the port of Masulipaṭam. It is recorded that although he gave strict orders that

his followers should do no harm to the people or rob them, such was the terror he struck that quite a large proportion of the population left their homes, and the English factors hid their gold and other valuables in underground pits. This was in spite of the fact that they did not find "the least abuse or wrong from them". The episode also demonstrates that there must have been peace and security in the kingdom in ordinary times. Although the Sulṭān had ordered that the price of various commodities should not be allowed to shoot up, the prince had such a large amounts of gold with him that the price of edibles in the city went up to two hundred per cent.[28]

An interesting episode is recorded by the English factors at Masulipaṭam which occurred when Shahjahan was still there. It appears that the Dutch ship, *Wappen van Rotterdam,* was plying on the Golkonda coast when a fight ensued between a Portuguese vessel and the Dutch ship, during which the Portuguese ship was sunk and those of the crew who could not escape were pushed into the sea. When the Dutch ship came into port on 17-10-1623 the Quṭb Shāhī authorities, who evidently guaranteed the safety of all foreign shipping in Golkonda waters, took the Governor of the Dutch factory to task and demanded a large sum of money as an indemnity for the offence as well as for "some other abuses in their shipping". The Dutch authorities now endeavoured to send an envoy, Harmen Prins, with valuable presents for Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh. But when he was half way on the road to the capital he met Shahjahan with his large army and followers, and he was so much upset at the sight that instead of proceeding with the presents to the Sulṭān, he returned to Masulipaṭam. It was on November 8 that Abraham van Uffeln, the governor of the Dutch factory, was informed that the Sulṭan had summoned him to Haidarabad and that he must start at once. He refused to go and making some show of resistance, he sent his deputy Libenaer instead. The Quṭb Shāhī Governor now applied force to the deputy for his recalcitrance and put him in irons. It was only when the Dutch authorities appealed to Shahjahan, who had then arrived at Masulipaṭam, that a certain amount of mercy

was shown to Libenaer. But when the back of the prince was turned the Dutch governor was again taken prisoner and probably not released till full amends had been made.[29]

There is another interesting episode which shows not merely the extent of overseas trade of the state of Tilang but also the hold which the Quṭb Shāhī Governor of Masulipaṭam had over European traders and factors at this port. A Quṭb Shāhī vessel was plying in the Arabian Sea near Socotra not far from the mouth of the Gulf of Aden when it was met by an English ship commanded by Captain Hall who sequestered the goods which were being carried by the Quṭb Shāhī boat. The Sulṭan thereupon sent a *farmān* to the English factors at Masulipaṭam ordering them to restitute the goods forthwith. In the meantime the goods had been disembarked at the English factory at Surat, and Hall had to promise that they would be restored.[30]

In the same way, when the English ship, the *Blessington* took possession of the goods then in the hold of a Quṭb Shāhī ship at Chaul, the Sulṭān immediately claimed their restitution. He sent word to Masulipaṭam that unless the goods were restored he would order the seizure of the property belonging to the factors at that port. The English were aware that on a similar occasion the Dutch had been "mulcted of 5,000 pagodas", and so they agreed to pay 52,000 Maḥmūdīs, which were equivalent to about Rs. 11,250, by way of compensation to the royal officers.[31]

It is not necessary in this context to follow in any detail the fortunes of Shahjahan after his leaving Masulipaṭam for Orissa and Bengal. Orissa fell almost without firing a shot, and after the prince's success at Bardwan and Akbarnagar-Rājmaḥal the whole of Bengal lay at his feet. His general Raja Bhīm entered Patna and thus occupied the rich province of Bihar after which Jaunpūr and Allahabad fell like ripe fruit. But in the meantime Prince Parvīz had entered into treaty relations with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur thus ensuring the safety of the Mughal possessions in the south. He now marched northward from Burhānpūr on 16-3-1624, followed by Mahābat Khan, and came face to face with Shahjahan at Kampat on the Tons

near Allahabad. In the battle that ensued the Imperialists had the upper hand, and Shahjahan had to retrace his steps in the direction by which he had come.[32]

Before Shahjahan's march through the kingdom of Tilang, both Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh and Malik 'Ambar had been trying to win over the Mughal power. It is reported that Malik 'Ambar even offered to put his elder son in the service of the Mughals, while Ibrāhīm said that he would, among other things, place five hundred horse at their disposal. Mahābat Khān was aware that the two were at daggers drawn against each other, and it was difficult for him to support one to the detriment of the other if they fell out, especially when Shahjahan was still there to throw out baits to them. But when he had been removed from the field Mahābat decided in favour of an alliance with Ibrāhīm, who had shown his inclination towards the Mughals more than once, and even pursuaded the Emperor to send Ibrāhīm a rich robe of honour besides loading his emissaries with most valuable presents. Malik 'Ambar was now alone in the field. In order to checkmate the 'Ādil Shāhī move he marched to Qandhār on the border of Tilang ostensibly to collect the *zar-i-muqarrarah* or "the stipulated sum" of Rs. 16,000 which had fallen into arrears, but really to conclude an alliance with Muḥammed Quṭb Shah.[33] He now marched from Qandhār to Bidar, which was within the 'Ādil Shāhī dominions, and looted it, after which he went straight to Bijapur itself. The Mughals were alarmed at this turn of events, and a large army was ordered to the relief of the 'Ādil Shāhī capital. At first 'Ambar requested them to let him settle the long-drawn disputes with Bijapur, but it was of no avail, and the Mughal forces marched onwards to Bhatūri which is eight miles from Ahmadnagar. Here Malik 'Ambar gave them a crushing defeat, killing some of those in command and imprisoning many others. He now laid siege to Ahmadnagar, Shōlāpūr and Burhānpūr almost simultaneously. He was able to capture Shōlāpūr, looted Nauraspūr, the newly populated suburb of Bijapur, and then advanced to Malkāpūr, a suburb of Burhānpūr, the capital of Mughal Deccan.[34]

It was at this juncture that Shahjahan again appeared on the scene after having traversed back from Bengal and Orissa through Quṭb Shāhī territory. He was received with open arms by Malik 'Ambar who now marched to Burhānpūr. But Burhānpūr could not be occupied as help had arrived from the north in the shape of a large army with Prince Parvīz at its head.[35] Shahjahan now saw how difficult his position had become. He had been driven out of the Deccan, then forced back to the Deccan from the north, and now defeat was again staring him in the face. He thought it best to get himself reconciled to his father, and to accept his conditions that he should surrender the forts of Rohtās and Āsīr and send his sons Dārā and Aurangzeb to the Imperial Court at Lahore.

The next few months saw the end of three chief actors in the political arena. The first was Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh who died on 31.1.1626. He was followed by Malik 'Ambar on 11-5-1626,[36] while eighteen months later, on 28.10.1627, passed away the Emperor Jahangir. With 'Ambar's death on the one hand, and the death of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh on the other ended a definite epoch in the history of the Deccan. By his policy of peace and his diplomacy Sulṭān Muḥammad had warded off Mughal political influence as much as lay in his power, and with the passing away of the great Abyssinian no obstacle was left for the new Emperor, Shahjahan, in his programme of the subjugation of the remaining two kingdoms of the Deccan.

Section 2: *Cultural Aspects*

The Sulṭān's Mental Equipment

Although Sulṭān Muḥammad had been brought up in the sophisticated court of his uncle Muḥammad-Quli Quṭb Shāh, he proved to be a man of simple habits, moral in temperament and one who fully understood the duties of a kingly life. He learned the Qur'ān from Qāẓī Muḥammad Samnānī and "the arts of war and peace" including swordsmanship and archery,

from Miyān Yūsuf. But this equipment hardly answers to the cultural atmosphere which he created round his court. It was without doubt the influence of the *pēshwa,* Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min who had passed through the libertine atmosphere of the capital during the last reign and knew all its ups and downs which contributed to the making of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh the highly moral Shī'ah that he was.[37] Writing in the beginning of Sha'bān 1026/July-August 1617 the author of *Tārīkẖ Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* says that the king was well versed both in the traditional and rational sciences, and he always called to his presence those who excelled in the sciences and who enriched the court with their knowledge and wisdom. It is related that the king allowed the fullest latitude for discussion "without reserve" on matters which came within the purview of those who attended these learned gatherings.[38]

Persian Literature

Here it is necessary to make a diversion in order to understand the turn which the kingdom of Tilang took at this period. Mīr Mu'min was supreme on the departure of Mīr Jumlā Mīrza Muḥammad Amīn on a pilgrimage to 'Iraq and then to his native land, Persia, in Rabi'I, 1021/May 1613[39] This meant the Persification and Shī'ification of the ruling aristocracy in Haidarabad. Perhaps the influx of Persian migrants into the Deccan was never greater than during this period. Persians and 'Irāqians had come into the Deccan picture for the first time during the Bahmanī ascendency in the fifteenth century. This created a number of problems, perhaps the most nefarious being the dakhni-āfāqi schism which hastened the fall of the kingdom. The next great migration of the Persians into the Deccan followed the evangelising influence of Shāh Ṭāhir on Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, which gave birth to almost unsurmountable questions in these kingdoms. The kingdom of Tilang was ruled from the very beginning by the scions of a dynasty which was definitely Perso-Turkish by race and Shī'ah by persuasion, although the rulers had acclimatised themselves to the new

environments to a remarkable degree. As has already been noted the fourth ruler of the dynasty, Ibrāhīm, had been a fugitive at Vijayanagar for seven years of his impressionable age, and had imbibed a love of Telugu language and literature; his son and successor, Muḥammad-Qulī, was a Dakhni poet of some eminence and the author of the first *dīwān,* or anthology of various types of poems, in that language.

But now, with the further influx of Persians under the banner of Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min, Persian cultural influence had its fullest play. This influence was not libertine or loose as during the reign of the previous king, but highly learned and cultured. In spite of the life he had experienced in the court of his uncle, and in spite of the little he could learn as a regular pupil, he increased his knowledge and love of learning as time passed by. He became interested in practically all the branches of literature then in vogue, such as history, biography, language and literature, medicine and religion. This is evidenced by quite a fair number of books which formed part of the royal library at Haidarabad and which have fortunately come down to us.[40] The remarkable thing about some of these books is that they have not merely his seal or the seal of the library and the accession number but also a note in Sulṭān Muḥammad's own hand giving the number of folios, the subject matter and even a short biography of the author.

Evidently there were two seals of Muhammad Qutb Shah in the library. One reads: بندۂ شاہ نجف سلطان محمد شاہ

as on the *Qasidah Burdah.* The other reads:

مہر سلطان ز حق گشتہ میسر مرا — نقش نگین دل حیدر و صفدر مرا

العبد محمد قطب شاہ

as on the *Aurād-i Saghīr:* this book also contains a note in the king's own hand:

این او راد صغیر از اوراد مطول است جمع کردہ مخدومی و مرشدی شیخ محمد ابراهیم

Some of the notes in the royal hand are quite long and explanatory. Thus *Majmū'ah Rasā'il-i-Taṣawwuf* has a note in the hand-writing of the Sulṭān which might be freely rendered thus:

"This wise man lived in the time of the Sulṭāns of the high station of the race of the Turks of Qara Qūyunlū, and had a place in the chain of the great men of wisdom and seekers of the Lord; he was the disciple of . . . Pīr Murtaẓā 'Alī Ardistānī . . . Here is a list of eleven poems (*maṯnawīs*) of that seeker, who had a fund of knowledge, which I have come across and which I have collected, namely: *Rūḥu'l-Quds, Munīru'l-Qulūb, Qudrat Nāmā, Miṣbāḥu'l-Arwāh, Aḥkām'l Muḥibbīn-Nihāyatu'l-Ḥikam, Hidāyatu'l-Muḥabbat, Hidāyatu'l-Ma'riſat, Fatḥu'l-Abwāb.* Written by the servant (slave) of his Master, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, may God make him attain what he longs for; dated the beginning of the month of Ramaẓān the Great, 1024, in the capital city of Haidarabad, may God protect it from its enemies".

On the fly-leaf of the *Kulliyāt* of his uncle Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, he not only mentions that the poems contained in the book are from the pen of

"His Majesty Muḥammad-Quli Quṭb Shāh—May God illumine his grave",

but also that the manuscript is in the hand of Muḥiyu'd-Dīn and that the book acceded to the royal library in the beginning of Rajab, 1025/July, 1616.

The entry ends with the following words:

Written by a servant (slave) of his God, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, may God make him attain what he longs for".

The page contains both the seals of the library.[41]

The rapid accession of the manuscripts in the library can be gaged by the surmise that in 1025/1616, when the poetical work of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah acceded to it, the serial number was 17,379, while in 1034/1624, when Mullah Ādhari's *Jawāharu'l-Āthar* acceded it was 26,927, so that in the space of nine years as many as 9,548 books were added to it.[42]

The Sulṭān's interest in literature was not merely academic. He was a poet of no mean merit, and the high standard of diction in Persian poetry that he attained is remarkable. It is full of mysticism and religion allusions and is in essence entirely different to the erotic composition coupled with a curious

mélange of superstition and religious verbosity which we find in the poetry of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. He is certainly not so profuse as his father-in-Law, but he is certainly far more sedate. He assumed four *noms de poésie,* Ẓillu'l-lāh, Ẓillie-Ilāhī, Ẓille Ilāh and Sulṭān. Again, different to the extant poetry of his uncle, his compositions, so far as they have come down to us, are nearly all in Persian. There is only one exception, and that is the fairly long poem in Dakhni which serves as a preface to his edition of Muḥammad Qulī's *Kulliyāt.*

This preface begins with:

کتا ہوں سنو اب کتک بین میں — کدتا ہوئے روشن کہ یو سب ے تیں

and ends with

تو اب ختم خطبے کوں ظل الہ — کتے سنگہ علی ولی تے پناہ [43]

A few specimens of the Persian poetry of Muḥammad Quṭb Shah will suffice here:

یا رب تو برتری تو ز وصف لسان ما — پنہاں شدہ ز شرم ز باں دردہاں ما
جائے بود مقام خداوندیت کہ ہست — صد خندہ عقل را ز چنین و چناں ما
تا لب بہ شہد ذکر تو کردیم آشنا — تلخ است شہد ہائے زماں دردہاں ما
ظل اللہ از شرور بدیں در پناہ تست — اے درگہ جلال تو دار الامان ما
در شرع عشق نیست روا غیر یار دوست — زاہد تو غافلی ز حلال و حرام ما

تو خورشیدی و من چوں ذرہ زاں روئے — دلم لرزاں ز تاب دوریٔ تست
بہ بیداری نہ بینم لیک در خواب — دلم فرخندہ از مسروریٔ تست

چوں نہادی بہ رہ عشق قدم ظل اللہ — اندریں رہ روش شاہ و گدا را در باب
در محبت خسرواں را از اطاعت عار نیست
ملک عشق است این و اینجا حاکمی جز یار نیست

In his fairly long dirge on the martyrs of Karbala he prays God that on the Day of Judgment he may be placed along with them.[44]

If we analyse Muḥammad Quṭb Shah's poetry we would find that they spread over the invocations to the Almighty, the praise of the Prophet and the twelve Imāms, elegies on the martyrdom of Ḥusain and his companions and other poems

of a kindred nature. The surprising thing about him is that he represents a complete somersault from the Telugu influences which bore upon Ibrāhīm and the Dakhnī-mindedness of Muḥammad-Qulī, and his environments are like an island full of the verdant glades and flowers of Isfahān and Shīrāz. So far as Telugu is concerned, not only the kingdom of Tilang-Andhra but also the southern regions did not produce literature of any note during this period. The virtual break-up of the Vijayanagar Empire into the Kannaḍa, Tamil and the Karnatak viceroyalties and finally into the courts of Gaṇḍīkoṭa, Nellore, Jinjee, Tanjore and Madurai the old patronage of Telugu decreased, and all that we have of Telugu literature now is mainly the composition of these feudatory chiefs themselves such as Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and Queen Rangajamma.[45]

Persian Literature

Perhaps the foremost name in connection with the furtherance of Persian literature is that of Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min. We have already dealt with his arrival at Golkonda and his rise in stature till he became Vakīl and Pēshwa of the kingdom and the manner in which he enthroned his ward, Sulṭān Muḥammad, after Muḥammad-Qulī's death. He was the Prime Minister of the kingdom right up to his demise, which occurred on 2-6-1034/12-3-1624, that is barely a year before Sulṭān Muhammad's death, and it was he who was mainly responsible for moulding the linguistic and other policies of the Sulṭān. Fortunately we have quite a large number of specimens both of his poetical compositions and his prose works, and they show the wealth of vocabulary and the powers of diction which he had at his command. It was this reason more than any other which made him highly respected both in India and Iran.[46]

Mīr Mu'min was a divine as well as a man of the world, a courtier as well as a statesman, a litterateur as well as a conversationalist. Many of his poetical compositions are odes to the king or to one of the princes, while at times he is highly philosophical.

But whatever the subject of his poetry, whether it is a *naẓm*

or *ghazal*, it is full of allusions to the land of his birth, Iran, and is reminiscent of some of the famous cities of that country.[46] The ode he composed after the accession of Sulṭān Muḥammad was presented to him immediately after his enthronement. There is again the ode composed on the festival of 'Idu'ẓ-Ẓuḥā, 1020/ 3-2-1613, another on the birth of the Prince Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrza[47] and a few lines in praise of the Sulṭān in the preface to the *Risāla-i-Miqdārīyah*.[48] His allusions to Iran may be instanced in lines like the following:—

یادگار جد و عم سلطان محمد قطب شاه — آنکه هندستان ز فیضش گشته ایران نوي

رو چه ایران آنچنان ایران که آرد در نظر — رو بهر جانب که آري باغ رضوان نوي

گر صفاهان نو شد از شاه جهان عباس شاه — حیدر آباد از تو شد شاها صفاهان نوي[49]

In some of his ghazals he shows his religious bent of mind; thus:

شدم بر از غمت غافل مشو از روزگار من
که من برباد شوقت داده ام خوش روزگاري را

اگر دیدم قیامت را عجب نیست — که کارم باقیامت آفرینی است

مردیم و هیچ کس سر خاک ما نگفت
کاے مرده شاد باش که فردا قیامت است[50]

It was on the invitation of the Sulṭān that he wrote the *Risāla-i-Miqdārīyah*. This highly interesting and scientific treatise is divided into a number of sections, dealing with the measures of weight, length and distance. Every section is dealt with in a comprehensive manner with an enumeration of sources, arguments and conclusions.

A short paragraph of this work will be useful not merely in order to judge the prose style of the aūthor but also the research which must have been undertaken to compile the book. About the length of a mile he says:

" میل کمتر از فرسخ و برید است - پیش اهل لغت عرب آن قدر مسافت است که در زمین نظر کسے که در دیدن اصغر روی نباشد تا بآنجا تواند رسید - در صراح و قاموس

و معرب اللغت و در بعض از کتب فقه بر این وجه مذکور ساخته اند و شیخ زین‌الدین در شرح شرائع ذکر کرده که در دیدن مذکور پیاده را از سوار فرق توان نمود و در بعضی از جائیها از برائے ابتدا و إنتها علامتی گاهی مقرر می داشته اند بشکل مخروطی ..... و میلی که بحساب ذراع مشخص می شود آن را میل هاشمی گویند و آن مقدار چهار هزار ذراع است — وذراع که در بیان میل مذکور شد عبارت ابتدائے ساعداست که آنمارا در زبان عربی مرفق گویند تا سرا انگشتان.....و تعین ذراع..... مقدار شش مشت ..... این مجموع بقدر بست و چهار انگشت خواهد شد "[51]

Apart from the brochure, the Mīr was the author of *Kitab-i-Raj'at* on the Traditions of the Prophet and the preface to the Persian translation of the Arabic work, *Kathīru'l-Miāmin* which was ascribed to the eighth apostolic Imam of the Shī'ah, 'Alī a'r-Riẓā.[52]

It was no doubt due to royal patronage as well as the encouragement on the part of Mīr Mu'min that such a large number of useful books were compiled in the reign of the Sulṭān. The compilation of the *Risāla-i-Miqdarīyah* was undertaken at the command of the Sulṭān with the object that weights, measures and distances should be as exact as possible. Three books bearing on medicine which were compiled during the reign such as Ḥakīm Taqīyu'd-dīn Muḥammad's *Mīzānu't-Ṭabāi' Quṭb Shāhī,* translation of the Arabic work of Imām Rāzi's *Bīru's Sī'ah,* and Mīr Mu'min Yazdī's *Ikhtiyārāt-i-Quṭb Shāhī* may be mentioned. Besides books on medicine two important books were compiled during this reign. We have the *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh,* itself an epitomised version of a larger work which, however, is untraceable. This book deals with the story of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty from its origin in Central Asia right up to 1026/1617. The other is the *Marghūbu'l-Qulūb* which is referred to in the *Tārīkh Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* but is again not traceable. Recently a short *mathnawī* on the City of Haidarabad by Syed Murād Isfahānī has been discovered by Mubārizu'd-din Raf'at in the Osmania University.[53] There are many other works compiled in this period on *tasawwuf,* ethics, and literature interspersed in the libraries of London, Calcutta, Bankipur and Haidarabad.

which throw light on the avidity of the Court for gems of literature.[53] As a complement to *Tārīkh Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* the history of the dynasty is brought right up to the end of the reign in *Ma'āthir-i-Quṭb Shāhī* of Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-lāh Nīshāpurī.

Dakhnī

As has been related above, Dakhnī remained almost somnolescent during the reign. Wajhī (whose romance, *Quṭb-Mushtari* was one of the earliest allegorical romances in that language and was written in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah) had no patronage during the reign of his successor and had to wait till the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shah to pen his remarkable work in prose, the *Sabras* in 1045/1639.[54] In the same way, although Ghawwāṣī probably compiled his *mathnawi, Saifu'l Muluk wa Badī'ul-Jamāl* in 1625 and must have been known to the literary circles of Haidarabad, still no appreciation was shown to him while Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh was on the throne. His versatility in writing such a romance is seen in the fact that he completed the whole *mathnawi* of 2,258 lines in just thirty days, as he says:

برس یک هزار اور پنج تیس میں — کیا ختم یو نظم دس تیس میں

Line 102 of the book in most of the manuscripts is in praise of Sultan 'Abdu'l-lāh, but there is at least one manuscript in which Sulṭan Muḥammad is praised by name instead of his son. As the editor says, it is quite likely that the book was completed during the lifetime of Muḥammad, but as the Sulṭān did not pay any attention to Ghawwāṣi, he laid the book aside and waited for the accession of his son, 'Abdu'l-lāh. In the last few lines of the romance the poet bitterly complains of his many difficulties and begs the new king to be kind to him and appreciate his works.[55]

Architecture

Sulṭān Muḥammad was more a lover of literature than a builder, and we have, consequently, only a few specimen of

his architectural designs. The most important building which was planned in the capital was what was later known as the *Mecca Masjid*. Evidently the Muslim population had grown by leaps and bounds since the foundation of the city by the Sulṭān's uncle when the small Jāmi' Masjid could answer to the spiritual needs of the community.[56] Trade and commerce with the east coast and with the outside world through Masulipaṭam, and the era of peace which was heralded with the accession of the Sulṭān must have increased the population of Haidarabad manifold. The piety of the Sulṭān must also have contributed to the scheme of constructing a much larger place of worship than the existing mosques. The construction of the mosque was commenced in 1023/1614, the work was continued right through the reign of the last two Quṭb Shāhs and completed long after the occupation of Haidarabad by the Emperor Aurangzeb, in 1104/1692-3 the date which is inscribed on the front gate of the quadrangle.

The mosque is a comparatively sombre structure with few pretensions of embellishment. But its dimensions are almost staggering. Its roofed prayer hall is 225 feet long, 180 feet broad and reaches a height of 75 feet. It is divided into fifteen bays supported by huge arched pillars. The three compartments into which the roofed portion is divided measure 195 feet by 22 feet by 126 feet 8 inches each. The domes supporting the roof are flat and are not visible from outside.[57] There are five huge openings in front, crowned by graceful arches. The six pillars supporting these arches are 30 feet in height and 7½ feet in width, and the remarkable thing about them is that they are all monolithic, hewn of solid rock. The *miḥrāb* also is monolithic. Tavernier, who was in the Deccan some years after Sulṭān Muḥammad's death, says about this mosque:

> "About fifty years since, they began to build a magnificent pagod in the city which would have been the finest in India had it been finished—wherein the niche is made where they say their prayers (*miḥrāb*), is an entire rock of such prodigeous bulk that it was five years before five or six thousand men, continuously employed, could heave it out of its place

. . . . it was rolled on an engine with wheels upon which they brought it to the pagod, and several affirmed to me that there were fourteen hundred oxen to draw it . . . ."

It is related that as many as 2,000 stone cutters, 2,000 masons and 4,000 labourers worked at the building project.[58]

In spite of this the mosque could not be completed in Sulṭān Muḥammad's time, and the finishing touches had to be deferred till five years after Mughal conquest.

Many stories have found favour round the mosque. The story that the Sulṭan fixed the foundation stone because he had not missed the *tahajjud* or pre-morn prayers even once since he attained his majority, is similar to the story of the laying of the foundation stone of Jāmi' Masjid at Shahjahānābād (Delhi) in 1644.[59] The name Mecca Masjid is said to have been given to the mosque because like the Ka'bah at Mecca there is not a minute during the twenty-four hours when worshippers are not praying at the mosque, which is an obvious exaggeration. The probable reason is that the Sulṭān had some earth brought from Mecca and ordered that it should be mixed with the local earth and bricks be modelled from it. These were reddened by some amalgam and now adorn twenty-four panels just beneath the parapet wall in front. It is also possible that this might have led the court chronographer to have brought out the date of the commencement of the project from the chronogram بیت العتیق which is another name for the Ka'bah and means "the Ancient House". The Ka'bah is called by this name in the Qur'ān because it is regarded as the oldest structure dedicated to the worship of the One God and was originally constructed by the Prophet Abraham.[60]

A great structural project which, however, had to be abandoned, was the construction of a new city called Sulṭān Nagar and a royal palace on the road to the east coast, six miles from Chārminār. Probably the motive for undertaking this project was similar to the motive for the founding of the city of Haidarabad by Sultan Muḥammad's predecessor. With the rapid increase in the population of the capital the area round the palace must have been too congested for the Sulṭān to have any peace

of mind. He therefore projected a new capital, a kind of country seat, away from the hurly-burly of Haidarabad but at the same time near enough to be constantly in contact with it.[41] The lay-out was more or less on the pattern of Golkonda, but of course in a smaller compass. The whole area was divided into two units, the palace and the city. The palace area was enclosed by a broad moat which touched the source of the water below, while the wall was to be sixty feet in height. Portions of the moat still exist, and although most of it has been fallen in with rubble in the course of centuries, what is left shows an impassable barrier which it must have been. Outside the palace wall was the city proper, of which only three buildings remain. The first is the Great Mosque, which is without doubt one of the finest mosques built during the Quṭb Shāhī period. Its two tall conventional mīnarets with beautiful arches at every stage to adorn them, is visible from miles around. The prayer chamber has seven well-shaped arches or rather double arches, a simple arch being framed by a cusped arch more or less after the fashion of the five arches of the mosque on the top of the *Charminar* at Haidarabad. The central arch is much larger and has a commanding position, being flanked by three arches on each side. There is a very large courtyard in front with the remains of a cistern and a fountain in the middle. To the north-east of the mosque, and adjacent to it are the remains of a large building with a number of rooms, and this is reputed to be the library. About a mile to the east of the mosque are the remains of one of the gateways of the city called the *Bidar Darwāzā*.

The remnants of the city wall, now completely in ruins and enveloped by hillocks and debris, are still in places twenty yards broad. The palace proper which it encloses, must have formed a very grand two-storeyed construction. The large, almost interminable galleries, with some of the walls reaching a thickness of twelve feet, still remain to add to the awesomeness of the ensemble. The roof of each storey is arched, with no wooden or metallic support. There is a fairly large building just outside

the palace which might have been a kind of *Jilū-khānā* for the body-guards of the king.

The scheme was that the city should consist of government offices, darbar hall, four roads intersecting each other at a Chārminār after the pattern of the Chārminār of the parent city; but apart from the ruins of the mosque, the library structure and the *Bidar-Darwāzā* nothing is left of any other building in the city proper.[62] While the work was in progress the king died of typhoid fever, and his son 'Abdu'l-lāh did not consider it suspicious to continue the work of construction. Unfortunately what had been built up has been spoiled by vandals who have constructed their own houses and garden enclosures out of the material which they dug up from the magnificent palace city. They did not spare even the mosque, only a skeleton of which remains. Even today stones are being carried away in broad daylight and nothing is being done to preserve what was to be the country seat of the Quṭb Shāhī Sulṭāns.[63]

A mosque which is in direct contrast to the Mecca Masjid in its general scheme as well as its embellishment is the Khairiatābād (vulg., "Khairatābād") mosque. Khairiatu'n-Nisā Bēgam was Sulṭān Muḥammad's daughter, and the mosque was constructed for her tutor, Mullā 'Abdu'l-Malik. It has a comparatively small prayer hall, 50′ by 30′, pierced by three well-proportioned stilted arches, with an open compound in front and an ablution tank in its centre. There is a very large plot of land, in the middle of which the mosque has been constructed, which was probably a garden. The total land enclosed by a wall is about 70,000 square yards. The peculiarity of the mosque is that its frontage is marked with profuse stucco work of a high order, consisting of geometrical figures, emblems of the lotus and flowers and leaves of various character. This stucco work covers not merely the arched openings and the pillars but reaches the domed portion of the two tall minarets in front and two short minarets at the back. While the roof is arched it is flat at the top according to the Quṭb Shāhī pattern.[64]

Immediately adjoining the northern compound wall of the mosque is an empty tomb built by Mullā 'Abdu'l-Malik for himself; but he died during his pilgrimage to Mecca and was destined to be buried there. The tomb is a magnificent domed structure and measures 50 feet square at the base, the whole being constructed on a high platform.

About two miles from Khairiatābād on the road to Golkonda lies what is known as *Mān Ṣaḥib kā Tālāb* or the Tank of the Revered Mother. There were originally two towers, with seating accommodation, on each side of this tank and on these were fixed inscriptions on black basalt recalling that the tank was constructed by Khānam Āghā 'for the purpose of giving amenities of life to living persons of different classes". The inscriptions on the two slabs were nearly identical and were dated 1034/1625, that is, just a year before Sulṭān Muḥammad's death. Khānam Āghā was Prince Muḥammad Amīn's wife and Muḥammad's mother. The tank has now been completely dried up and the land round about has been turned into residential quarter, while the nearby dry tank is being used by washermen and cattle keepers. One of the towers seems to have been removed along with the inscription, and the other has been occupied by someone as a place for storing straw and the entrance completely blocked![65]

There are a number of mosques with schools attached, caravanserais, ḥammāms and other edifices of public utility which can be traced to this reign. One edifice, the tomb of the Sulṭān, which is a pivotal building in the royal necropolis north of Golkonda fort needs a special mention. This tomb "became the model for the later tombs of the dynasty".[66] An extensive terrace, 166′ 6″ square, is approached by a flight of steps. There is a square hall, 63′ 4″ each way, and a spacious colonade, 19′ 8″ wide right round with three-arched openings on either side. The shape of the dome is three-fourths of a sphere, "and its elongated neck and somewhat narrow base show distinct Persian influence". The exterior of the tomb was adorned with glazed Persian tiles, pieces of which still exist on the wall.

Thèvenot, who came to the Deccan in 1666 saw this tomb in all its glory. He says :

> "The chapel which contains the tomb is surrounded by a gallery with open arches. It is a square, and raised six or seven fathoms high. It is beautified by many ornaments of architecture and covered with a dome. Few people are suffered to go in there. There are *santos* who keep the entry and I could not have got in if I had not told that I was a stranger. The floor is covered with a carpet, and on the tomb is a Sateen Pall with flowers..... There is Cloth of State of the same stuff a fathom high, and all is lighted with many lamps. This tomb is the finest of all . . . and is varnished with green. . . ."[67]

Calligraphy is an art which is closely connected with architecture, and Persian influence was seen at its best here as well. The reign was the flowering of this art which partly overshadowed its previous manifestations. We find some of the most remarkable inscriptions in naskh, thulth and tughrā by such renowned artists as Muḥammad Isfāhānī, Ismā'īl b. 'Arab Shīrāzī, Swāleh al-Baḥrānī, Kalb-i 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq and Muḥammad Ḥasan Shīrāzī, interspersed in buildings existing within a few miles radius of the capital. During this reign another innovation was made, and dressed stones began to be used for facing the frontage of large structures instead of stucco, the most vivid of such a process being the frontage of the Mecca Masjid.

Death of the King

During his last illness the King suffered from remittent fever sometimes leading to coma. It is interesting to note that the treatment offered to the royal patient was symbolic of the conflict which was going on between the Iranian and the Indian cultures in his reign. It is related that the Iraqian, Iranian and Indian physicians were in attendance on the king. While the foreign physicians thought that the fever could be eradicated by medicines which were cold in their temper, the Indian

physicians opined that as the fever was due to cold it was better that the king should be treated by medicines which were in essence hot. The decided and definite views of these two sets of physicians upset everyone as the condition of the king was becoming more and more critical every minute. The courtiers and attendants had no option but to refer the matter to the King's mother Khānam Āghā. The lady pondered over the question which was vital to her son, and ordered that as His Majesty was born and bred in the land and was fully acclimatised it was best that he should be treated by Indian physicians. Unfortunately Ayurvedic medicines had an adverse effect on Muḥammad's constitution and he died eight days after they had been given to him, on 13-5-1035/31-1-1626.[68]

With Sulṭān Muḥammad's death the Iranization of the kingdom had reached its peak. Mīr Mu'min had died within a year before the king, and with his ward's death there was no one strong enough to continue the policies which were so dear to the Minister. A reaction was bound to take place, and we see in the next two reigns the revival of the *rapproachement* between the Hindu and Muslim cultures which had characterised the reigns of Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad-Qulī, leading finally to the appointment of Madanna and Akkanna to the two highest posts in the kingdom.

Section 3: *Economic Aspects*

Establishment of European Factories

Our Persian chronicles are mainly a record of events at royal courts and the lives of the noblemen of the kingdom, and they throw very little light on the economic structure of the country. With the influx of Europeans and the establishment of European trading houses called Factories, in the early years of the seventeenth century, the data regarding the day-to-day life of the people is multiplied, and we get a glimpse of the economic set-up as well as certain details which had been missed by the court chroniclers.

So far as the kingdom of Tilang is concerned, European trade and commerce centred round the port of Masulipaṭam. The port existed long before the advent of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty, but its "meteoric rise" came with the establishment of that dynasty and its position as the chief port of the kingdom.[69] But prior to the establishment of the English and the Dutch factories we have little data to rely upon. The Dutch were the first to explore the potentialities of trade through Masulipaṭam. They had the advantage of the possession of the larger islands of the East Indies. The first trading contacts of the Dutch with the Indonesians date as far back as 1596. This was followed by the establishment of the Dutch United East India Company in 1602, and when a few years later a Dutch merchant opened his firm in Masulipaṭam a new vista was opened for the Dutch trade. In 1606 an agreement was signed between the officers of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh and the Dutch factors, under which they established factories at Masulipaṭam and the neighbouring Niẓāmpatam (former Peṭapoli) followed by the Pulicaṭ factory in 1610.[70]

It is interesting to note the conditions under which a license was given for the establishment of the factory. The royal officers at the port demanded 16% of the value of exported goods as well as the usual *chhāpā dallāla* or "stamp for brokerage" which was paid by both the foreigners and the citizens on all sales. The Dutch appealed to the king and orders came from Haidarabad that the tax on exports which the Dutch may have to pay should not exceed 4% while their factories were totally exempted from the stamp on brokerage. On the other hand, the English factors were exempted from Jankens (Tamil, *Chungum*) which was a toll levied within the kingdom on goods transported from place to place.[70a]

The English East India Company was formed on the last day of the year 1600. They established their Masulipaṭam and Negāpaṭam factories in 1611 but could not establish a factory at Pulicaṭ till 1621. The English did not have the advantage of an outlet for their commerce in the east such as the Dutch had in the East Indies with their centre at Jākārtā, renamed

Batavia after the Roman name for Holland. The conditions under which these two sets of factories worked were also different. While the English had to pay custom duties on the goods handled, the Dutch had later contracted to pay the royal officials a lump sum of 3,000 pagodas, or 12,150 Mughal rupees, annually for the clearing of goods carried by them.[71]

Articles of Trade

The volume of trade increased as time passed. In the beginning it was mainly good cotton yarn, indigo and coarse cloth which were the objects of overseas trade, but later spices, silk, porcelain, lead, quicksilver, alum, brass, broadcloth and many other commodities were handled.[72] Diamond trade seems to have slackened a little with the discovery of a diamond mine near Elluru. Previous to that the mines were leased to the Dutch, and they carried the profits home; but it appears that in 1623 the king made up his mind not to lease these mines but to have them worked as a royal monopoly by state officials.[73]

There was a kind of race between the Dutch and the English, and the English were on the look-out for new articles which could be sold in Europe with advantage. Early in Sulṭān Muḥammad's reign one Giles James was commissioned to make enquiries about "broad linen cloth from Golconda made in the fashion of sheets 'etans' (*thān*) 4½ covits long and 2½ covits broad; also a kind of stuff called ṭessa (*ṭasar*). Both are likely to be suitable in England—also to enquire about gum-lac, pepper, copper and dry ginger".[74]

There was obviously no love lost between the Dutch and the English factors, and when the Dutch Governor, van Uffelen was beaten "by the natives" the President of the Dutch factory at Batavia wrote to the Dutch factors at Masulipaṭam that "this should be a warning to the English that they should be treated in a like manner. . . ."[75]

Price Levels

In the communications which passed between the factors at Masulipaṭam and other countries we get an inkling into the

price level of certain commodities in the Masulipaṭam market. On October 13, 1621 the lowest price of lead in bulk was 14-1/2 pagodas, that is about 65 Mughal rupees, per candy of 20 maunds, each maund being of 26 pounds or about 13 seers. The price of longcloth on the same date was 100 pagodas or Rs. 450 for 3,000 pieces of longcloth.[76] On November 7, 1621 the price of quicksilver was 150 maḥmūdīs which worked out at 4 shillings and 6 pence per pound.[77] These were the prices current at the port town, and they must have been considerably less at the capital.

Port Officers

As has already been noticed, the Governor of Masulipaṭam must have been a very powerful personage to have taken the Dutch Government to task severely.[78] From the episode described previously, it appears that in Sulṭān Muhammad's time the coast line was regularly patrolled by Quṭb Shāhī ships as far off as Socotra, which lies immediately south of the Arabian coast about 2,000 miles from Masulipaṭam. The chief port officer was called Shāh Bandar, a title which had a long history and which persisted right down to Āṣafjāhī times. He was so powerful that the Dutch factory records call him "His Majesty"[79] perhaps partly because of the occurrence of the word Shāh in the nomenclature of his office. Of the lower officials there was one who is quite wrongly called a "governor", but who was, at best, the revenue collector of the locality, perhaps something like the modern teḥsīldār. "His chief duty was to collect the revenues, the post was farmed every year to the highest bidder . . . . Most of them were Brahmins or Banias who gave lavish presents to their superiors at the court."[80] At Peṭapōlī (Niẓāmpaṭam) the farm was for 55,000 pagodas (Rs. 2,47,000), but it was sublet for 1,000 pagodas more. Out of this 13,000 pagodas were allowed for salaries and other expenses. These officials were kept under strict discipline. "The annual sums had to be paid in three instalments, and default was met with flogging".[81]

Roads

We have an interesting account of certain trunk roads left to us by two Dutchmen in the form of diaries. One of these, Ravesteyn travelled from Masulipaṭam to Surat and back between May 1615 and January 1616, and the other, van den Broeke, led his ship-wrecked crew from Gāmdēvī on the west coast to Masulipaṭam in November-December, 1617.[83]

Ravesteyn was sent from Masulipaṭam overland to Surat to recover certain goods and to return by way of Burhānpūr, the centre of Mughal Government. The road from the port to the capital, Haidarabad, was "definite" and was evidently safe, as "no adventures are recorded on it". It stretched from Masulipaṭam to Vijayawaḍa via Koṇḍāpalli and Nandigāma and then westward to the capital via Mangola and Nalgoṇḍa. Ravesteyn covered the distance of 200 miles in twelve days.[83] Broeke says that Vijayawada "was very large and populous". There was a road for travellers going from this place to Niẓāmpaṭam which crossed the Krishna at Ibrāhīmpaṭan about eight miles above Vijayawaḍa.[84] It appears that little attention was paid to some of the outlying villages, as Broeke found those lying between Nalgoṇḍa and Haiderabad "most wretched—houses, people and goods". But it is possible by contrast that the condition of life in other villages which he passed was better.[85]

Entry in and exit from the capital was difficult for Europeans, who were not welcome there. Ravesteyn had to camp at Ḥusain Sāgar because once a foreigner entered the capital he could not leave it when he wanted to without a pass, which evidently was not easy to obtain. In the same way Broeke had also to camp outside the city, and it was for the purpose of getting an exit pass that he had to call upon the governor, by which he probably means the *Kōtwāl;* but it was after three days that he was allowed to leave the city. The kōtwāl informed the Sulṭān every night of everything which happened in the city during the last twenty-four hours, "nothing being suppressed."[86]

Westward, the road stretched through Andōl, Kaulās and Deglūr and then on to Qandhār, Paiṭhan and Daulatābād.

It is interesting to note that the frontier of the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom was about four miles south-east of Deglūr, which is practically the dividing line between Andhra Pradēsh and Maharashtra today.[87] At Maliktujjārpeṭa, second halting place from the capital, Ravesteyn notices that the *serai* was "the best and the most comfortable in the whole kingdom". Again, while the road from Deglūr westward, in the Niẓām Shāhī territory then under Malik 'Ambar, was stony and difficult,[88] by contrast it may be surmised that the road in the Quṭb Shāhī territory was in a good condition.

There is even a greater data about the roads in the kingdom of Tilang when we come to the next reign. As will then be seen, the next reign also saw the granting of greater facilities to the foreign factories at Masulipaṭam and Niẓāmpaṭam. It also saw the influx of Mughal political and cultural influences from the north and northwest till 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shah became a virtual suppliant at the threshold of the Mughal Emperor.

NOTES

1. It is strange that Dr. Venkatramnayya says in his article on "Harmony and Tolerance during the Reign of the Qutbshahi kings of Golkonda", *Souvenir of Aiwān-e-Urdu, Haidarabad,* 1960, at page 36, that Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh "left nothing by which he may be remembered". The learned scholar evidently thinks it is only wars which make a monarch hand over his name to posterity, and that the love of learning and peace-mindedness of Sulṭān Muḥammad do not justify his being remembered at all!

2. *Q.S.*, pp. 408-9. In two cryptic sentences on p. 408 (which are uniform in all the copies of this important work in Haiderabad), the author says that the prince was born on Wednesday, 23-7-1000 H., while a few lines later on the same page he says that Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh heard of the birth of the prince on Wednesday, 23-4-1000 H. Now the date, 1000 is certainly wrong because the chronogram in the ode written by Mīr Mu'min on the birth of the prince reads: اول کام است و فیروزی و اقبال و ظفر and if we add together the values of the first letters of کام ' فیروزی ' اقبال and ظفر as indicated in the chronogram we would find that the total comes to 1001 not 1000. In 1001 the 23rd of Rabī'u'th-thānī was a Wednesday, while in the month of Rajab it was Tuesday on the 23rd. Thus the correct date would be 23rd Rabī'u'th-thānī 1001, which corresponds to 17-3-1593. Mir Mu'min's *Qaṣidah* will be found along with other poems of the *pēshwā*, in Zor's *Hayat-i Mir Mu'min* p. 209 and it is copied from *Ḥadā'iq* 213, and *H.A.*, 296. Qadir Khān Bidrī, *Tārikh-i Quṭb Shāhi*, p. 330 has wrongly accepted Wednesday, 23rd Rajab, while *Tārikh-i-Dakan, Ḥālāt-i-Quṭbiyah*, op. cit., pp. 122, 123, mixes up Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and Muhammad Quṭb Shāh, and is very unreliable.

3. *Q.S.* 310.

4. Khudā Bandah died in Muḥarram 1020/March-April 1611: *Q.S.* 229: *H.A.*, 199.

5. Very few coins of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh are extant. For those in the Haidarabad Museum see 'Abdu'l-Walī Khān, *Qutub Shahi Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, p. 22, and plates VII and VIII. The legends run as follows:

Obv.: *Abu'l Muẓaffar Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*

Rev.: *Ẓuriba Dāru's Salṭanat Haidarabad*, 1024.

The date on the coins of this type is clearly 1024 not 1025 as mentioned on p. 22.

6. Venkaṭa II of Penukoṇḍa, about 1585-1614. For the internal turmoil towards the end of his reign see Heras, *op. cit.*, ch. XXIV: Nilkanta Sastri, *History of South India*, pp. 290-2. The war of succession at Penukoṇḍa dragged on till the end of the reign of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.

7. The magnificent tomb of 'Abdu'l Wahhāb Khān still forms an architectural landmarks at Karnūl. The date of the capture of Karnūl in Ibrāhīm Zubairi's *Basātinu's-Salāṭīn*, p. 272, is 1031, which corresponds to 1621 not to 1624 as in the *History of South India*, op. cit., p. 292. 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān is mentioned in the *Kaifiyat* of Kanḍanavolu (Karnūl) and of Nayakollu : see *Further Sources*, I, 301-302: on p. 337 it is mentioned that "the Sultan of Golkonda. . . .probably rendered some assistance to Gopalaraja, the commandant at Karnul," but we have no evidence to support the conjecture.

Karnūl, headquarters of a district in Andhra Pradesh, 15°50′ N. 78°5′ N.

8. *Q.S.* 316-7.

9. Jahangir, Emperor, 1605-27.

10. The Ṣafawī dynasty ruled Persia from 1501 to 1721. Its most illustrious ruler was Shah 'Abbās the Great (1586-1628), who was Muḥammad Quṭb Shah's contemporary.

11. The envoy from Murtaẓā Niẓām Shah reached Haidarabad in Zi'l-Ḥijjah 1020/January 1612.

12. Persian embassy to Haidarabad and the Quṭb Shāhī embassy to Persia: *Q.S.* 318: *Ḥadīqā*, 68-70. The original letter of credit from Shāh 'Abbās to Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh is given in *Q.S.* 321. The treaty between Turkey and Persia referred to in the letter must have been that between Sulṭan 'Uthmān II and Shāh 'Abbās entered into in 1601 under which the Persians recovered the provinces lost ten years earlier. It is interesting to note that the Persian envoy brought an autograph letter from the Shah to Mīr Mu'min as well, in reply to which the Mīr says, among other things, that the names of the twelve *imāms* were mentioned in Friday prayers right through the kingdom, and, what is more remarkable, that the name of the Ṣafawī king was also mentioned along with them. The letter is included in *Hadiqa op. cit.*, and is copied in toto by Dr. Zor in his *Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min*, pp. 124-25; it has also been copied in Bashīru'd-Dīn *op. cit.*, pp. 550-52.

13. Letter from Shah 'Abbas to Muhammad Qutb Shah, Q.S. 319: copied in *H.A.*, 270. A detailed account of the return embassy is given in Hadiqa p. 68.

Surat, headquarters of a district in Gujarat; 21°12′ N., 72°52′.

14. For Malik 'Ambar and his struggles with the Mughals in the time of Muḥammad-Quli Quṭb Shāh see Ch. VI, Section 1. It is strange that not a word regarding Malik 'Ambar is visible either in *Q.S.* of any other contemporary chronicle of Golkonda-Haidarabad. Malik 'Ambar recaptured Ahmadnagar a couple of years before Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh's accession and he died on 24.8.1035/11.5.1626, that is barely four months after Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh's death: so the last phases of 'Ambar's life practically cover the whole of this reign.

15. Mu'tamad Khān, *op cit.*, pp. 86-87, Rodgers and Beveridge, *Tazuki-i Jahāngīri*, I, 314, Beni Prasad, *History of Jahāngīr*, p. 267: Saksena, *Shahjahan of Delhi*, p. 21, See also Ch. IV, Section 1, above.

Bālāpur, Buldānā district, Maharashtra State, 20°42′ N., 76°52′ E.

16. Mu'tamad Khān *op. cit.*, 91, Khurram's wish: Muḥammad Ṣwāleh Kambo, *'Amal-i-Ṣwāleh*, I, 133-37. Shaikh Chand, *op. cit.*, says on p.75 that Khurram started from Agra on the last day of Shawwāl, 1025 but *Iqbāl Nāmah* is clear that it was on 19-11-1025 that he started. *Basatin*, 272, is obviously wrong in dating Khurram's departure in 1024/1515. Mu'tamad Khān is certainly trustworthy in his chronology as he accompanied Khurram as Mīr Bakhshī or Paymaster-General of the Army. For this see *Iqbāl Nāma*, 186: *Tazuk*, II, 235.

17. *Iqbāl Nāma*, 101: *Tazuk-i Jahangiri*, 37. *Kroh* or *kos* had been fixed by Akbar to be of 5,000 yards, each yard being of 48 *angusht* or digits, which would roughly be of 34 inches. One *kos* would therefore be of about 4,735 yards or a little more than 2.8 miles: see *Tozuk*, II, 141.

Shādiābād-Māṇḍu, once the capital of Malwa, now a deserted town in Dhār district, Madhya Pradesh: 20°21′ N., 75°26′ E.

18. Shaikh Chand, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff. says that "in the beginning Quṭb Shāh had paid no attention to the Imperial envoys,". But the only difference between the reception at Bijapur and at Haidarabad was that in the later case the king did not go out of his way to receive him at such a distance from the capital. Another difference, of course, was the intimate relations between Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and the Mughals.

19. *Iqbāl Nāma*, 104.

20. The remaining kings of the Deccan are called *duniyā dārān-i Dakan* or "Possessors of worldly effects in the Deccan," such as in *Iqbāl Nāma*, 175. They are never entitled sulṭāns or kings by Jahangir but are only called Nizāmu'l-Mulk, Quṭbu'l-Mulk and 'Ādil Khān.

21. 'Ambar is seldom called by name in *Iqbāl Nāmā*, but by the epithet مغرور or "an object of rage": e.g., on pp. 181-82.

22. *Iqbal Nama*, 182.

Ujjain, headquarters of a district in Madhya Pradesh 29°9′ N., 75°43′ E.: *Kirkee*, later Aurangābād, headquarters of district in Maharashtra, 19°53′ N., 75°23′ E.

23. Treaties in *Tozuk-i Jahāngīrī*, II, 200: *Iqbāl Nāmā*, 183. In both the aggregate of tribute given is 50 lakhs: distribution in *Malik 'Ambar*, *op. cit.*, 98-99.

24. *Malik 'Ambar*, 98-99.

25. For the rebellion see Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, 357-371. Passage of the Tāptī, *'Amal-i Ṣwālih*, I, 177.

26. Saksena, *op. cit.*, 48, where 'Abdu's-Salām's name is mentioned: Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, 372: *Tozuk*, II, 280.

27. *Travels of Pietro della Valle*, p. 419: William Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1622-23, p. 313. *Iqbāl Nāmā*, 212: *Tozuk* II, 299. Pietro della Valle has mixed up the Deccan kingdoms and their rulers in I, 145-46.

28. *English Factories*, 1622-23, *Iqbāl Nāmā*, 215, says that Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh had given strict orders that the sellers of produce and zemindars should provide cereals and other commodities at reasonable rates. B. P. Saxena refers to Fīzūnī Astrābādī's *Futūhāt-i 'Ādilshāhī* B.M. Add. 27251, 285-87. For Masulipaṭam as the chief port of the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom, see Manẓūr 'Ālam, "Masulipatam", *Islamic Culture*, Hydarabad, July 1959, pp. 169 ff. *Tavernier*, I, 141 says that "it was the sole place from which vessels sail for Pegu, Siam, Arakan, Bengal, Cochin China, Mecca and Hormus, and also for the islands of Madagascar and Sumatra and the Menillas". The British as well as the Dutch had large factories there.

29. *English Factories, op. cit.*, and footnote, which is based on *Hague Transcript*, series 1, vol. VI, No. 216. Van Uffelen was beaten up by "the natives" on another occasion, which was partly due to "his disdainful demeanour towards them," possibly also owing to complicity of the English factor, Mills, who evidently worked up against the Dutch.

30. *English Factories, op. cit.*, 315. Socotra is more than 2,000 miles from Masulipaṭam by sea.

31. *English Factories*, 1624-29, pp. 66-67. *Maḥmūdī*, probably a Gujarat coin current for international exchange in the Deccan: rate of exchange, Rs. 462 or 455 per 1,000 Maḥmūdīs (p.115), or Rs. 5,986 per 14,000 Maḥmūdīs. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 55, says that a Maḥmūdī was a silver coin of less than half a rupee in value. A. Master; "Note on Gujarat Maḥmūdī" *Num. Supplement*, No. XXIV, 1914, p. 141 says that a Maḥmūdī was equal to 12 pence while a rupee was worth 27 pence.

32. *Iqbālnāma, op. cit.*, 233-34, 238-39. *Tozuk*, says that Shahjahan crossed into Orissa from Tilang with the express permission of the Sultan as "between the boundary of Orissa and the Deccan there is a barrier. On one side there are lofty mountains, and on the other swamps and a river. The ruler of Golconda had also erected a wall (dar-band) and a fort, and armed it with musket and cannon. The passage of men by that closed route was impractical without the leave of Qutbu'l-Mulk". The translator and the editor of the *Tozuk* in the first footnote on p. 298, identifies the fort with Manṣūrgaṛh, built by Manṣūr for Quṭb Shāh, at a place called Chhatar Dīwār mentioned in *Ma'āṯhiru'l-Umarā*. I. 410 and in *Pādshāh-nāma*, I. 333.

Akbarnagar-Rājmahal, in Santāl Parganas district, Bihar, 25°3′ N., 87°53′ E.

33. *Iqbālnāma*, 223-24, Robe of honour and other presents, *Tozuk*, 288, 295-96: *M.L.*, I, 347-48.

34. *Iqbalnama*, 235-38: *M.L.*, I, 348.

35. Arrival of Shahjahan, *Iqbālnāma*, 240: Shahjahan at Burhānpūr, *ibid.*, 244.

36. The death of Malik 'Ambar removed one of the greatest men the Deccani states ever possessed. His diplomatic talent as well his power of generalship knew no bounds, and his victory at Bhatūrī when he had already reached the advanced age of 78 years shows his presence of mind as well as his astuteness. When he took over the charge of the Niẓām-shāhī kingdom there was little that had been left of it, and practically the whole of its territory had been occupied by the Mughal armies: but when he died he had driven them out of the major part of that kingdom, had overrun the Mughal Deccan as far as the suburbs of Burhānpūr, and had resuscitated the Niẓam Shāhī dynasty as a power to be reckoned with. At least during the evening of his life he had achieved all this when Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh had definitely gone over to the Mughal side and when the Haidarabad government was, at best, lukewarm.

37. For Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min see Ch. IV, sect. 1, n. 91 etc.

38. *Q.S.*, 326-327.

39. On his return to Persia he was accredited Persian envoy not to Shahjahan, as in *Hadā'iq*, 184(a), but to Jahangir, as in *Tozuk* II, 4, Jahangir says that he was taken into his service on 29-3-1027/16-3-1618, when he was granted Rs. 10,000 for his expenses and a dress of honour. *Ḥadā'iq* says that Shahjahan granted him the rank of 5,000 on his accession.

40. The following books, housed in Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh's library have been traced:

Khudā Bakhsh dibrary, Patna: *Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiz*: Jahāngīr Nāmā.
Royal and Imperial Library, Berlin: *Rauẓatu'ṣ-Ṣafā*.
Haidarabad Central Library (*Asfiyah*):
(1) *Kulliyāt-i Jāmī;* (2) *Kulliyāt-i Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh* (This has been fully described in *Urdu*, Aurangābād, January 1922, pp. 1-37).

Sālār Jung Museum, Haidarabad:

(1) *Qaṣīdah Burdah* (probably in the hand of Yāqūt al-Musta'samī who died in 698/1299), No. 123. (2) *Maṯnawī Sham' o Parwānah*, No. 120 (3) *Aurād-i-Ṣaghīr*. No. 127. (4) *Kanzu'l-Lughat*, (containing the Sulṭān's geneology in his own hands) No. 139, (5) *Maṯnawī Yūsuf Zulaikhā* (containing the seals both of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh) No. 206. (6) *Dīwān-i Khwājū Kirmānī* (containing an autograph of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh as well). No. 215.

Salar Jung Library, Haidarabad:

(1) Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshī, *Tuḥfa-i Shāhī 'Aṭiya-i Ilāhī*, Kalam, 25. (2) Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min, *Risāla-i Miqdārīyah*, Tibb., 127. (3) Ibrāhīm al-Jurjānī, *Ẕakhīra-i Khwarazmshāhi*, Books 8 and 9, Tibb., 49. (4) Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Alī al-Jurjānī, translation of 'Ali b. 'Isā's *Taḏhkiratu'l-Kuḥḥalin*, (This book was translated from Arabic into Persian in the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah) Tibb., 49. (5) Jamali, *Majmū'ah Rasā'il-i-Taṣawwuf* (the detailed note on the fly leaf of which has been partly translated above), Taṣawwuf, 158. (6) *Khulāṣatul'-Ḥisāb* (dedicated to Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh) Riyāẓī, Fārsī, 6. (7) Taqīyu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, *Mīzanu'ṭ-Ṭaba'i Quṭb Shāhī*, Tibb., 166. (8) Muḥammad b. 'Alī Mīr Bakhshī, *Sharḥ Gulshan-i Rāz*, Adab Naẓm, 691.

Hyderabad Museum:

Ziārat Nāmā (with Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh's autograph, dated Ramaẓān, 1022/10-11, 1613, No. 2721.

Library of the late Ḥāfiz Maḥmūd Shairani:

Raẓīyu'd-dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaini, *Ikhtiyārat-i Quṭb Shāhī*: this is mentioned in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Lahore session, Vol. VIII.

Of these books, those in the first three libraries and the one in the last library have been listed by the late Ḥakīm Shamsu'l-lāh Qādri in *Tārīkh*, October-December, 1930, pp. 3 and 4 and in his *Ma'āṯhir-i-Dakan*, p. 39, respectively.

The photograph of the entry on the *Kanzu'l-Lughat* is appended to the article of H. K. Sherwani, entitled "Sulṭān-Quli the Founder of the Medieval State of Tilangana", which appeared in the book containing

the *Essays presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar,* published by the Panjab University in 1958, opposite page 338.

41. There is a photograph of the title page of this highly interesting manuscript in the *Urdu,* January, 1922, opposite p. 15. It has an endorsement by the librarian of the Imperial Mughal library dated 22nd Rabi' I, 30th regnal year of Aurangzeb, 1096, corresponding to 16-2-1658. The endorsement is as follows:

غزلیات محمد قلی قطب الملک که مشتمل است بر اشعار فارسی و دکهنی از امواال عبد الله قطب الملک در حیدر آباد داخل کتاب خانهٔ سرکار شد

According to the Mughal custom the Quṭb Shāhī king is merely called Quṭbu'l-Mulk. The reference to " 'Abdu'l-lah's possessions" is also interesting. 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shah had already died in 1083/1672, but evidently the Mughal court was not prepared to recognise his son-in-law, Abu'l-Ḥasan as rightful king, at least in 1685, two years before the conquest of Golkonda!

The same page of the *Urdu* has another reproduction of another entry in the hand of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, that on the title page of the poetical works of Jāmī. This entry consists of six lines of the poem beginning with:

از خار خار عشق تو در سینه وارم خارها

and ending with the date 28-9-1023/23-10-1614.

42. Thus in *Tārīkh* October-December 1920, p. 4. I have a suspicion that, judging from the photographic reproduction of Muhammad-Quli's *Kulliyāt,* the entry of the accession number is modern and does not pertain to the Quṭb Shāhī period. However, this is only a suspicion, and the reader may adjudge the enumeration for what it is worth.

43. It is a pity that this valuable work has been removed from the Aṣafiyah Library and is now beyond the reach of the present writer. The only source now left to probe into the Dakhnī composition of Sultān Muḥammad is the photograph of the first and the last page of the preface opposite p. 17 of *Urdu, op. cit.,* and a description of the preface containing a part of the Dakhnī poem contained in the article of the late Dr. Moulvi 'Abdu'l-Haq in the issue. The two pages photographed are in a beautiful *naskh* with vowel-points on practically every letter. See Chapter IV, section 3 above. See also Hashimi, *Dakan men Urdu,* pp. 58, 59.

44. All these lines have been elicited from Sa'ādat 'Alī Razvī's *Kalāmu'l-Mulūk, op. cit.*

The following is a free rendering of the lines quoted:

"O Sustainer, Thy high station is beyond the power of my tongue to describe;

So the tongue lies hidden in shame within the recesses of my mouth".

"Thy Greatness has its locus at such a lofty place that a hundred laughs are caused by the human wisdom which tries to argue Thy creatures this way or that.

"When our lips got themselves acquainted with the honey of Thy thought, all the honey of the world began to taste bitter in our mouth".

"Ẓillu'l-lāh puts himself under Thy protection from the deeds of the evil doers;

O Thou, the condition of whose anger is truly the source of my own protection".

"In the laws of love nothing is permitted except the love of the beloved : O, thou who art reputed as pious, thou doest not know what is permitted and what is not."

• • • •

"Thou art like the sun and I like the speck which draws its glow from it: my heart trembles at the very thought of its distance from Thee".

"Although I cannot see Thee while I am awake, when I go to sleep my heart feels supreme happiness at Thy pleasure".

• • • •

"O Ẓillu'l-lāh, when you put your foot forward in the path of love, then try to find in this path the difference between a king and a mere beggar".

• • • •

"The path of love even kings are not ashamed to tread, for they know that it is the land of love, where there is no sovereign except the beloved".

It is rather strange that the late Moulvi 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq says in his introduction to Wajhī's *Sabras* that Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh was "a good poet of Urdu and his *diwan* still exists", although his only known poem is found in his preface to the Dakhnī *diwān* of his uncle, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shah.

45. See Nilkanta Sastri, *A History of South India,* pp. 405-6.

46. *Hayāt Mir Mu'min,* p. 114: "The Mīr was always trying to make the Sulṭān incline towards Iranians and to make Haidarabad a prototype of Isfah'an".

47. *Mir Mu'min,* p. 206: Ode on 'Idu'ẓ-Ẓuḥā, p. 208; ode on the birth of the prince, p. 209.

48. *Risāla-i-Miqdārīyah,* Salar Jung Library, Haidarabad, Tibb., 127. This particular copy is in the Mīr's own hand and the seal of the Sulṭan's Royal Library is fixed on it. A photograph of the first page appears in *Hayāt Mir Mu'min,* opposite p. 188.

49. *Mir Mu'min,* 208-5. These three lines are from the 'Idu'ẓ-Ẓuḥā ode presented to the young Sulṭān. They may be freely rendered as follows :

"A souvenir of his father and his uncle, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shah,

though whose bounty Hindustan has become a copy of Iran herself.
"That Iran, in which, whatever you chance to see would be like the very paradise on earth.
"While Isfahān was revitalised by Shāh 'Abbās, king of the world, Haidarabad has become "a new Isfahan" through Thy efforts".

It is with reference to this allusion, *Sifāhān-i Nawi* that this chapter has been named, as it enunciates the sum total of Iranian influence in Muhammad Qutb Shah's time.

50. *Ibid.*, 212, 215, 216.
"I am full of remorse on Thy account, so be not careless of my pitiful conditions, for I have given up my comforts in a longing for Thee."
"It is no wonder that I am able to imagine so many doomsdays, for my function with regard to it is just recreation".
"When I was dead, there was no one who stood at my grave and said 'O thou art dead, be happy that tomorrow is thy doomsday."

51. *Risālā Miqdarīyah*, Salar Jung, Tibb, Farsi, 127. The MSS is in the author's own hand. The passage may be rendered thus: "A mile is less than a *farsakh* and *barīd*. According to the Arabic nomenclature it means the distance which a human eye, which is neither afflicted with any disease nor is usually strong, can see. This meaning is attached to the word in the *Ṣurāḥ*, *Qāmūs* and *Mu'arrabu'l-Lughat* and as well as in some of the books on the *fiqh*. On the other hand Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn has mentioned in his book, the *Sharḥ Sharāih* that (in order to determine a mile) "the man whose eyes can penetrate the distance should be able to differentiate between a person walking and a person riding. In some places they have put up pyramidical pillars to indicate the beginning and end of a mile. . . . The mile which is determined by yards is called a *Hāshimi* mile, and it consists of 4,000 yards. . . . This yard begins with the elbow and ends with the tip of the fingers: it corresponds to six closed fists, the total being equal to 24 closed fists". The Mīr goes on to say that a *farsakh* is equal to 3 miles and a *barīd* to 24 closed fists. The Mīr says that a yard is equal to six closed fists which equates with 24 finger breadth. Obviously the "yard" of Mīr Mu'min, is roughly equal to one cubit.

52. There is full description of the book in *Mir Muhammad Mu'min*, pp. 151-154.

53. Most of these have been listed by the late Shamsu'l-lāh Qādri in his *Ma'athir-i-Dakan*, pp. 51-54. Also see note 40 above. The *mathnawi* by Syed Murād Isfahāni has been copied and discussed in *Sabras*, January, 1960.

54. For Wajhī's *Quṭb-Mushtarī* see Chapter IV, section 3 above. The late Maulvi 'Abdul Ḥaq calls Wajhī's *Sabras* "the first book in Urdu

prose", Aurangabad edition, Introduction, p. 43: and yet it did not see the light of the day till the accession of 'Abdu'l-lāh.

55. Ghawwāṣī's book *Saifu'l-Mulūk wa Badī'ul-Jamāl*, will be discussed when we come to the next reign.

56. For the Jāmi' Masjid of Haidarabad see Ch. IV, Section 2, above.

57. The dimensions of the Mecca Masjid may be compared with the dimensions of the Jāmi' Masjid of Delhi, whose roofed prayer hall measures 200′ and the open quadrangle measures 325′ square. The Delhi mosque has the greatest advantage of being built on "lofty basement", and while it was "designed to produce a pleasant effect" (Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, pp. 318-320), the Mecca Masjid was meant to be a sombre and businesslike structure. Tavernier, *Travels*, p. 124, calls the Mecca Masjid "the boldest structure in Asia". Girdhārīlāl Aḥqar *op. cit.*, p. 52 gives the dimensions of this stately mosque as follows :—

Covered area about 4,500 square yards; uncovered area in front, 125 yards square or 15,625 square yards.

58. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 124. See also Bhaunani, *op. cit.*, P. 35.

59. The episode of the foundation stone is found in *Māhnāmā*, 364 and 308: Qādir Khān Bidrī, *Tārīkh Quṭb Shāhī*, 679; *H.A.*, I, p. 284; and is copied by subsequent books such as *Landmarks*, p. 40. None of the manuscripts above-named goes beyond the Aṣafjāhī dynasty.

There is a curious interpretation of the name of the mosque in some of these books, that this mosque is, like the Great Mosque of Mecca, never devoid of worshippers, which is not correct. Bilgrami and Wilmott, *op. cit.*, p. 55 contains the very quaint statement that the construction of the mosque was started by 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, and Amīru'l-lāh, *Ṣaulat-i 'Uthmānīya* p. 78, says that it was Muḥammad-Quli Quṭb Shāh who laid the foundation stone. Of course both are incorrect. Bilgrami and Wilmott even state on p. 480 that 'Abdu'l-lāh ascended the throne after Muḥammad, Qulī Quṭb Shah !

'Abdu'l-lāh Chaghatāi says in his article, "The Deccan's Contribution to Indian Culture," *I.C.* 1936, p. 59, that "almost all the mosques of the Quṭb Shāhī period present a peculiar representation of the Shī'ah sect . . . . the pedestal of the minarets of the façade of each mosque bears the shape of an 'Alam, the 'alam being supposed to be a replica of the emblem of Imam Husain". In the case of the Mecca Masjid there are no minarets worth the name.

Bilgrami, in his *Landmarks* copies down some statements from *Tozuk-e-Quṭb Shāhī;* but this is a very unreliable manuscript brochure of just

ten folios, written by 'Abdu'l-Qādir Qādri for Raja Chinnā Raja Bahādur Rāi Rāyān in 1264/1848. The full name of the brochure is ملخص از تواریخ کتب تزکی قطب شاهی It contains some curious statements, as on fol. 5(b) the author calls Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh Baṛē Malik!

60. *Baitu'l-atiq*, or the Ancient House, Qur'ān xxii. 29, 233. "The first house of divine worship": Qur'ān, III, 96.

A whole southern wing of the courtyard of the mosque has been occupied by the roofed structure containing the graves of members of Āṣafjāhī dynasty from Aṣafjāh II to Aṣafjāh VII. Formerly the space was unroofed, and all the grand arches of the mosque could be seen from the courtyard. The Āṣafjāhī graves were roofed in 1914 and since then they have screened off the whole of the southern arch as well as half the next arch of the mosque. Although the architect has attempted to construct the structure according to the pattern of the mosque itself his construction has shut off the vista from the onlooker.

The mosque is strangely without the conventional minarets. When Aurangzeb occupied the city, certain parts of the mosque, including the minarets, were still to be constructed. Instead of the two tall minarets which were a part of the plan, he cut short the construction by placing two onion-shaped domes on two rather stunted pedestals on each corner of the frontage. Detailed photograph of the frontage of the mosque before the erection of the roofed structure, *R.A.D.H.*, 1914-15, Pl. VII; Ground Plan of the covered and uncovered area, *ibid.*, Pl. VIII.

61. The new town, Sulṭān Nagar, was evidently recognised as the second capital of the kingdom even though it was never completed. See *Landmarks*, p. 84, and inscription IV opposite p. 84: this inscription is fixed in the eastern wall of Miyān Mishk's tomb, but originally it belonged to a structure called *Jādūkhānā* or the Magic House which was built at a cost of 1,400 hons "current at *the capital, Sulṭan Nagar*". The inscription is dated Muḥarram, 1035/Sept.-Oct., 1625. *Sulṭān Nagar* in the Haidarabad district, Andhra Pradesh: 17°22′ N.; 78°36′ E.

62. See *Ḥadiqā*, p. 22: there it is quite clear that the lay-out was to be in two units, not one. Still *Landmarks*, p. 46 has it that there was just one unit. *H.A.*, I, 285, clearly says that there were two walls, one for the city proper and the other for the palace: this book was completed in the beginning of the last century, and it appears that quite a large number of buildings were then standing in good condition. The observations made in the text are from notes taken down by the present writer himself who visited the ruins on 25-11-1961.

63. The process of despoliation seems to have started in 1214/1799: see *Landmarks*, 47. Even the mosque has not been spared.

64. See *Landmarks*, p. 57. Most of the description, especially of the empty tomb, is from the present writer's personal observations.

65. See *E.I.M.*, 1917-18, pp. 46-47 *Landmarks*, 50-53. The description in the text is from personal observations of the present writer.

66. Quotations from Yazdani, *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, at p. 31. See also *Landmarks*, pp. 139 ff.

67. Thèvenot, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

68. *Ḥadiqā*, pp. 17-19.

69. Manẓūr 'Alam, *op. cit.*, *I.C.*, July, 1958 pp. 169 ff.

70. For the development of the Dutch East India Company, the farmān of the Sulṭān granting certain exemptions to it, see Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company*, 15 ff.

70a. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 283, 288.

Niẓāmpaṭam was the first port on the eastern coast of India where the English landed.

71. *English Factories*, 1618-1621, p. 141.

The first Dutch ship rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached Sumatra in 1596, while it was not till 1602 that the first English ship reached an Indian Port in August 1608. It may be interesting to note that the Indian ships plying to and from Surat weighed between 600 and 1,200 tons. See Moreland: *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 202, 231.

72. Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1618-1621, p. 327.

73. *Ibid.*, 1622-1623, p. 229: also note, quoting *Hague Transcript*, VI, no. 194.

74. *Ibid.*, 1618-1621, p. 99.

75. *Ibid.*, 1624-1629, p. 5.

76. *Ibid.*, 1618-1621, p. 304.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 326.

78. The Governor of Masulipaṭam, probably the *Shāh Bandar*, in 1628, was Mīr 'Abbas who had succeeded Muḥammad Taqī to the office: see *English Factories*, 1624-29, p. 281.

79. *Ibid.*, 1622-1623, p. 315, where *Hague Transcript*, VI, no. 216, is quoted.

80. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 240 and elsewhere. Quite wrongly Moreland calls the capital of the Quṭb Shāhī State Bhāgnagar, although it is nowhere called by the name in the original documents.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 240-41.

82. Moreland, "From Gujrat to Golconda in the Reign of Jahangir", *J.I.H.*, 1939, pp. 135 ff.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

84. For Ibrahimpaṭam, see *Manual of the Krishna District*, Madras, 1883, p. 29.

85. Moreland, "From Gujrat to Golconda", *J.I.H.*, p. 138.

86. Moreland, "From Gujrat to Golconda", *op. cit.*, p. 138.

87. Brooke's reading on p. 139 of Moreland's article referred to: Ravesteyn's reading on p. 141.

Andōl: on the river Manjra in the Mēdak district, Andhra Pradesh, 17°75′ N., 78°E.

88. *J.I.H.*, 1939, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

CHAPTER VI

THE DOWNWARD TREND

ABDU'L-LAH QUṬB SHAH

1-2-1626—21-4-1672

Section 1. *Political and Military Aspects*

Parentage and Accession

As has been mentioned above,[1] Prince 'Abdu'l-lāh was the son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh and Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgum, daughter of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, founder of Haidarabad. He was born on 28-10-1023/21st November, 1614, and it is related that when the astrologers were consulted they predicted a great future for the young Prince but were unanimous that the Sulṭān should not see the child till he was twelve. Although the King would not see him, he made all arrangements for the proper education and bringing up of the Prince and appointed Mir Quṭbu'd-dīn Ni'matu'l-lāh Comptroller of the Prince's household. At the age of five he was put under Mīrza Sharīf Shahristānī who was the son-in-law of the *Pēshwa* Mīr Mu'min. Tutors were changed as the Prince grew up, and at the age of twelve he began to be instructed in important episodes of world history and "the experiences of kings".[2]

Sulṭān Muhammad had left three sons and one daughter, of whom the eldest was 'Abdu'l-lah[3] who was proclaimed King at Chārminār on 13-5-1035/1-2-1626 and formally enthroned the next day, on 2-2-1626. The first potentates who sent their envoys to condole the death of the late King and congratulate the new King were Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II who sent a special envoy Shāh 'Abu'l-Ḥasan, and Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh who sent Mīr Ja'far, both of whom brought with them most valuable presents for the new King. A few days later came Ikhlāṣ Khān,

envoy of Prince Khurram, later Shah Jahan, for the same purpose.[4]

Foreign Relations

(i) *Iran*

The relations of the Quṭb Shāhī monarchy with Iran had been intimate ever since the establishment of the dynasty, but with the intensification of the Shī'ah faith in Iran under the Ṣafawī monarchs these relations had become even closer. The Iranian Ambassador had precedence over the other members of the corps, and his name was always mentioned before that of the Mughal Ambassador up to the Deed of Submission of 1636 when the name of the Shah of Iran was replaced by that of the Mughal Emperor in Friday sermons. As long as 'Abdu'l-lāh was independent in his internal affairs, the name of the Shah of Iran was mentioned in Friday prayers even before the name of the King. The high place which Iran had in the estimation of the King of Tilang-Andhra was due entirely to the bonds of faith, as both the monarchs belonged to the Shī'ah faith. This rather invisible bond was disliked by Emperor Shah Jahan, and when opportunity came and he got complete hold on the Quṭb-Shāhī kingdom, he had it snapped.

But 'Abdu'l-lāh was never free from the latent Iranian influence, and bided his time. The Deed of Submission of 1636 and the galling defeat of 1656 had left scars on the face of the Quṭb Shāhī policy. Even before the Mughal Empire was rent asunder by the fratricidal War of Succession 'Abdu'l-lāh wrote to "his uncle who was in Iran" to represent to the Shah 'with the great humility" that Aurangzeb and Muhammad Sa'īd had invaded his kingdom and beg the Shah to go over to his rescue in case anything like that should take place again. In another letter, also to "his uncle", he said that the presents he had sent to His Majesty through his envoy, Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Khātūn[5] were still lying with the Shaikh's representatives in Iran and they should be presented to His Majesty at once.[6]

The Mughal War of Succession brought another opportunity

for strengthening Quṭb Shāhī-Ṣafawī relations. When the immediate pressure of the Mughals was removed, both 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and Muḥammad 'Ādil Shah felt comparatively free to shape their policy vis à vis the Shah. The Shah therefore wrote almost simultaneous letters to both that as the Mughal Empire was in a turmoil it was time that they should jointly face "the enemies of the Apostolic Household (*'Ahl-i Bait'*) boldly and revive the glories of the Shī'ah faith". This must have partly led to the revocation of the religious clauses of the Deed of Submission of 1636.[1]

(ii) *The Mughals*

(a) *Up to 1636*

The year 1626 seemed to synchronise with the end of an epoch in the Deccan. It marked the death of the peace-loving Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, followed four months later by that of the war-like Malik 'Ambar, while a little more than a year later the Emperor Jahangir too died. Shahjahan was well acquainted with the affairs of the Deccan, and it was not long after his accession that he sent Muḥīyu'dīn as his envoy to Bijapur. The policy of the new Emperor was visibly an expansionist one, and while he wanted to curb whatever power was left with Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar, he also wished to have a foothold in Orissa and harass the Quṭb Shāhī State from the north-east. He thus wanted to squeeze the two kingdoms into submission.

The excuse for invading the Deccan soon appeared. Khān-i Jahān Lōdī, one of the foremost nobles of the Empire, allied himself with Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and occupied the Mughal territory of Bālāghāt. On Shah Jahan's ultimatum the Niẓām Shāhī forces retreated, but one of their generals, Syed Kamāl, would not quit Bīṛ. The Emperor now decided to go to the Deccan in person. He reached Shādiābād-Māṇḍū on 9-7-1039/12 February, 1630. At Māṇḍū he gave audience to a number of Dakhnī amīrs such as Yāqūt Ḥabashī, Khālōjī Bhonslē, Udaya Jayarām etc. and received the homage of Sa'ādat Khān, the Mughal governor of Khāndēsh. The Emperor arrived at Bur-

hānpūr on 26-7-1039/March 1, 1630.[8] Once on the gateway of the Deccan, Shah Jahan accelerated the pace of the Mughal armies. He sent three armies against what was left of the Niẓam Shāhī possessions. Passing the line of the Paingangā, a part of the imperial army attacked Dhārūr which fell into Mughal hands early in 1040/1630-31.[9]

Overawed by the success of the Mughals against the Niẓām Shāhīs who had been left with only the fort of Daulatābād, Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh sent the Mughal envoy Shaikh Mu'inu'd-dīn with *peshkāsh* from Bijapur, while his brother, Shaikh Muḥiyu'd-dīn reached Burhānpūr with a *pēshkāsh* from Haidarabad. But it was reported that the 'Ādil Shāhīs had allied themselves to the Niẓām Shāhīs and had reached the banks of the Mānjira. They were pursued by A'ẓam Khān right up to Mangāon, the home of the Niẓām Shāhī amīr, Tānāji Dōria, which was captured. Nuṣairī Khān was sent against the Tilangana country and the first citadel he captured on the way was Qandhār on 15-10-1039/18 May, 1630.[10]

The days of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty were now numbered. Daulatābād was captured by the Mughals on 19-12-1042/17 June, 1633 and Ḥusain, the last of the Niẓām Shāhīs, was sent as a prisoner to Gwalior.[11]

In the meantime considerable pressure was exercised on the Quṭb Shāhī territory in the north-east. The fort of Manṣūrgaṛh was the last Quṭb Shāhī outpost a few miles from the Orissa frontier, and Shah Jahan, while still at Burhānpūr, ordered Bāqar Khān, Governor of Orissa, to advance into the Andhra territory and capture it.[12] The fort was strongly garrisoned by 3,000 horse and 12,000 foot-soldiers. The first hurdle was the extermely narrow pass of Chatardādā, "which is so narrow that even a few gunmen and bowmen can defend it". Two kōs from Chatardādā was Kheṛāpāṛā and four kōs from there was Manṣūrgaṛh. Bāqar Khān reached Manṣūrgaṛh on 8-5-1040/3rd December, 1630, evidently without encountering much opposition. Bombardment of the fort began, and the Quṭb Shāhī army was scattered even on the first onslaught. "Many were killed, others taken prisoner, while many fled to the jungle".

Bāqar Khān now gave the charge of the fort to Mīr 'Alī Akbar and handed over the general administration to Ṣafī-Qulī.[13]

The Deccan was now hemmed in by the Mughal forces on all sides, and it was easy to lay real or artificial blame on the remaining two Deccan Sulṭānates. Shah Jahan left the capital again for the south on 18-4-1045/21st September, 1635. His presence there once again produced an electrical effect. He sent two ultimatums in the form of imperial *farmāns,* one to Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh and the other to 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh in which they were squarely reprimanded for their sins and admonished for the future. The *farmāns* to "'Ādil Khān" and "Quṭbu'l-Mulk" respectively were both couched in a language meant for just subordinate amīrs. Among "'Ādil Khān's" sins were the occupation of the Niẓām Shāhī territory and the non-payment of the *pēshkāsh.* The farman which was addressed to "Quṭbu'l-Mulk" describes the marks of kindness shown by the Emperor in the past; and he was warned that the Emperor, who belonged to the Sunnī creed, would in no case countenance that any Companions of the Prophet or his successors should be decried and scolded in public within "Quṭbu'l-Mulk's" dominions. He was also told that the name of the Shah of Iran should not be mentioned in Friday sermons. A demand was made of the arrears of *pēshkash* in the form of jewels of the finest water, elephants of the best breed such as *Dāk Samandar,* as well as other presents which should be handed over to the Imperial Envoy. In the end the *farmān* categorically stated that in case "Quṭbu'l-Mulk" continued to be recalcitrant his country would be attacked by the victorious army of the Empire and it would be himself who would be responsible for what might happen.[14]

In the meantime Shāhjī had proclaimed an infant scion of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty, Murtaẓā, King of Ahmadnagar, and occupied a number of forts from Poona and Chākan to Bālāghāt; but he could not withstand the Mughal might, and was forced to surrender the boy in December, 1636. Moreover Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh had been sending money to the commanders of the forts at Udgīr and Ossa surreptitiously and

advising them not to surrender those forts to the Mughals. But the forts were nevertheless occupied by the Imperial army. On 11-8-1045/10th January, 1636, 'Ādil Shāh sent an abject *'arzdāsht* or petition through his envoy Mīr Abu'l-Ḥasan with costly presents, and this was reciprocated by the Emperor who sent his envoy Mukarramat Khān who was received by the King five *kōs* from Bijapur followed by the signing of the Deed of Submission on 25-12-1045/23rd May, 1636.

The *Inqiyād Nāmā* or the "Deed of Submission" which marked the end of the independent status of Tilang-Andhra, was signed in the same month.[15] Like the Inqiyād Nāmā of Bijapur it was not a treaty between two independent sovereigns at all. For, one of the two parties was the *murīd-i-maurūthī* or "hereditary disciple", 'Abdu'l-lah "Quṭbu'l-Mulk", and the other was "the preceptor", the Emperor. "Quṭbu'l-Mulk" thereby promised on his behalf as well as on behalf of his progeny the following :

(i) The names of the twelve *Imams* would be replaced by those of the four Caliphs in Friday sermons, while the name of the Shah of Iran would be replaced by that of Emperor.

(ii) Gold and silver coins would be struck with the formula passed by the Emperor.

(iii) As from the ninth regnal year, two lacs of *hons* would be sent annually to the Emperor which would now total 8 lakhs, provided that the price of jewels, costly presents, elephants etc. already sent would be accounted for.

(iv) 'Abdu'l-lāh would consider His Majesty's friends as his friends and His Majesty's enemies as his enemies.

(v) 'Abdu'l-lāh swore on the Qur'ān in the presence of the Imperial Envoy, 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf that he would abide by every word of the document, and if he were to stray from the right path then the Emperor would be justified in ordering his servants to conquer the kingdom.

(vi) If " 'Ādil Khān" were to try to conquer the Quṭb Shāhī territory 'Abdu'l-lāh would seek the help of the Emperor to drive him out; but if the representative of the Emperor in the Deccan would not forward his petition and he be forced

to pay indemnity to 'Ādil Khān, then the amount so paid would be deducted from his *pēshkash*.

Even a cursory glance at the articles of the Deed would show that henceforward the Quṭb Shāhī State had become, as Jadu Nath Sarkar says, a vassal of the Emperor. 'Abdu'l-lah's abjectness, as is evident from the very first sentence, was such that he divested himself of the royal title and called himself the "hereditary disciple" of the Emperor. He was no more master of his own mint as the coins were to be struck in the name of the Emperor, and had thus given up one of the great privileges of medieval kingship. He was willing even to change the *Khuṭbah* according to the dictates of the Emperor thus completing the circle of subservience. He had ceased to be the arbiter of his foreign policy, for, now onwards, he would consider Shah Jahan's friends as his friends and Shah Jahan's enemies as his enemies; and even when the 'Ādil Shāhī troops were to attack his dominions he would have to crave the help of the Emperor's Viceroy and drive them out.

It is remarkable that the only direct pressure exercised by Shah Jahan on Tilang-Andhra was at its furthest corner at Manṣūrgaṛh. The effeteness of the State had reached such a level that the fear of the Mughal Empire consequent on the elimination of the Niẓām Shāhī rump, and the pressure on Bijapur were enough for 'Abdu'l-lāh to change the status of his dominions to a mere protectorate of the Empire.

The aftermaths of the two Deeds of Submission are significant. Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh had shown some resistance, and now the Emperor ordered the restoration not only of the fort of Parenḍā but also of the Konkan coast including the port of Chaul to the 'Ādil Shāhī territory. He also promised that "so long as 'Ādil Khān" remained faithful "his territory would not be touched".[16] On the other hand the treatment meted out to 'Abdu'l-lāh was shabby. The Mughal envoy, 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf and the jeweller, Nihāl Chand, were sent to the Quṭb Shāhī capital to assess the value of the jewels included in the *pēshkash*. While they were at the court they saw on 'Abdu'l-lāh's finger a ring with a fine studded ruby, twelve *rattīs* in weight and estimated

to cost fifty thousand rupees. When they reported to the Emperor the existence of such a valuable ornament, he ordered that the ring should be sent to the capital and its value be deducted from the *pēshkash*.[17]

The final treaty, *'Ahd Nāma* (this time it was not a *farmān* though the "treaty" was unilateral), was signed by Shah Jahan on 7-4-1046/29 August 1636, in which "Quṭbu'l-Mulk" was lauded that he had accepted the position of "subservience and humility" to the Throne. His past sins were forgiven as he had introduced the names of the four Caliphs as well as the name of the Emperor in Friday sermons, had already coined gold and silver coins with the imperial formula, had sent the arrears of *pēshkash* and agreed to pay an annual tribute of two lakh *hons*. The Emperor was also gracious enough to assure that as long as Quṭbu'l-Mulk did not deviate from correct conduct the integrity of his territories would be guaranteed. This treaty was accompanied by the Emperor's portrait studded with precious stones and pearls.[18] On his part 'Abdu'l-lāh sent his own portrait studded with gold and jewels to the Emperor along with presents worth forty lakhs of rupees and a letter owning allegiance to him. It was peculiar that this letter filled 16 lines with the Emperor's titles without daring once to name him![19]

Shah Jahan left Daulatābād for the North on July 11, 1636; three days later he appointed the seventeen-year old Prince Aurangzeb, Viceroy of the four Provinces of the Deccan.[20]

(b) *1636-1656.*

The two decades beginning with the *'Ahd Nāmā* of August 1636, and ending in the defection of Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumlā to the Mughal camp in 1656, are dominated by that intrepid Ardistāni, who had created a virtual State within the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom for himself, mocked at the dwindling power of his master 'Abdu'l-lāh and then crossed over to 'Abdu'l-lāh's deadly enemy, Prince Aurangzeb, Viceroy of the Deccan. It is necessary to remember that the receding authority of the Quṭb Shāhī monarchy *vis à vis* the Mughals was finally brought to a breaking point by Muhammad Sa'id.

With the acceptance of the Deed of Submission and the *'Ahd Nāmā* the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom lay so low that probably no campaign worth the name could be undertaken without the connivance of the Mughal Emperor. We have evidence of Shah Jahan having directed the great campaign headed by Mīr Jumlā which finally eliminated the kingdom of the Karnātak, the name now given to the remnant of the erstwhile Empire of Vijayanagar. One of the reasons why the Mughals did not seem to be exercising a direct influence on the affairs of South India immediately after 1636 was the continuous change in the Viceroyalty of Mughal Deccan after Prince Aurangzeb's "retirement" in 1644. As many as five Viceroys were successively appointed between 1644 and 1652, the longest term being that of Shāistā Khān, the Emperor's brother-in-law, who held charge of the Southern Provinces from 1649 to 1652. These rapid changes worsened the economic structure of the Provinces, and it is no wonder that only after the appointment of Prince Aurangzeb as Viceroy of the Deccan a second time in 1652, a charge which he kept till the War of Succession in 1658, that a spurt was made to revivify Mughal influence in the Deccan.

Meanwhile 'Abdu'l-lāh was wooing the favours of the Emperor not merely by giving inordinate respect to the Imperial envoy and personally receiving him five miles from the capital, but also by continuing to write most abject letters to the Emperor. These letters were in the form of petitions with himself as the suppliant, expressing sense of service (*'ubūdīyat*=slavery) and actually agreeing to pay His Majesty two thirds of the booty which was acquired from "the Rāyal of Karnātak". One of these letters was evidently written after a partial or total conquest of Karnātak, for he stated therein that the Emperor had appointed certain functionaries to partition the territory between Golkonda and Bijapur but they had treacherously allied themselves "with the Rāyal and the zemindārs of the territory". These zemindārs had, however, been overpowered by Mīr Jumla. All this, the Sulṭān said, was done only "in order to bring the matters to the notice of His Imperial Majesty".[21]

The Emperor's eldest son Dārā Shikōh, nominally Governor

of the Punjab, was always at the elbow of Shah Jahan, and was virtually his chief adviser even before he fell ill and the great struggle for succession began ending in the Battle of Samūgaṛh on May 29, 1658. We have a number of letters or rather "petitions" ('Arzdāsht) written by 'Abdu'l-lāh to Dārā when he was in power at Delhi in which he called himself the *murīd* or disciple of Dārā, and begged him also as "a disciple in perpetuity" to use his good offices with the Emperor for the just apportionment of the booty of the Karnātak. In another letter to Dārā he filled three pages delineating the titles of the Emperor and said that it was a matter of the highest honour that his letters had been read by the Emperor's Majesty.

Apart from the gradual subservience of the Quṭb Shāhī monarchy to the Mughals as evidenced by these letters there is another indication of the way the wind was blowing. The onslaught of Bijapur on what was left of the erstwhile Vijayanagar Empire began in 1031/1622-23 when Karnūl was conquered and annexed to the kingdom. This was followed some time later by the capture of Ikkēri (which, however, changed hands more than once), Sīra and Bangalore.[22] It was not till April 1642 that 'Abdu'l-lāh ordered his army to march into the territory of the Rāya, Venkaṭa III.[23] The Golkonda forces were, however, not uniformly successful, and in 1645 'Abdu'l-lāh issued orders for the cessation of hostilities. Shah Jahan now seems to have asserted his authority in Karnātak and directed both 'Abdu'l-lāh and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah to conquer and partition the Karnātak territory among themselves. There are also other instances of such an exercise of authority. Thus in an *'arzdāsht* to the Emperor, Prince Aurangzeb said that Muḥammad Mu'min was appointed the Emperor's personal representative in Karnātak, and this greatly upset 'Abdu'l-lāh. In 1069/1658 Aurangzeb, who had now crowned himself Emperor, sent Muṣṭafā Khān and Saif Khān Bijapurī to supervise the administration of Gaṇḍikoṭa. These tendencies show a remarkable acceleration in the Mughal authority in the affairs of the region and perhaps Aurangzeb's ultimate intention to be the overlord of the far

South after the elimination of the Sulṭānates which seemed to be in sight.[24]

The fuse was ignited in an unexpected corner. Muḥammad Sa'īd Ardistānī, who had joined Quṭb Shāhī service when he was already middle-aged, had risen to dizzy heights as Mīr Jumlā and Commander-in-chief of the Quṭb Shahī forces in Karnāṭak and had created a special place for himself in the economy of the kingdom. After the conquest of Ganḍīkoṭa in 1650 he had made that great fortress the centre of his activities as well as his vast *jāgīrs* which extended to an area 300 miles long and about 60 miles broad. He kept a personal body-guard, 5,000 strong, besides the Quṭb Shāhī forces which were under his command. He had managed to amass prodigious wealth, and his diamonds could only be weighed in maunds.[25] His influence at the Court was so great that Tavernier, who traded in diamonds and other precious stones, had to go from Masulipaṭam to Ganḍīkōṭa before going to Haidarabad simply because his diamonds had to be passed by Mīr Jumlā before being shown to the King, and it was after a full fortnight's stay at Ganḍīkōṭa that he was allowed to proceed to Haidarabad.[26] Quite naturally Mīr Jumlā's great power and authority exercised the jealousy of the royal entourage which reacted on the haughtiness and sense of independence on his part as well as on the part of his family.[27]

It was a silly and very untoward episode which set the State ablaze. Puffed up with pride Muḥammad Sa'īd's son Muḥammad Amīn would not be under anybody's discipline especially when his father was away at Ganḍīkōṭa. It is related that once he dared to go to the Palace dead drunk and was sick while he was lying on the velvety tapestry of the throne in the very sanctum of the Palace. Mīr Jumlā had already sensed the danger that lay in his path and had informed the Shah of Iran as well as the King of Bijapur that he wanted to seek asylum in their dominions,[28] but evidently neither of them was willing to accept him. He had carried on negotiations with Prince Aurangzeb who was then at Aurangābād, and it is reported that he had actually asked him to invade Golkonda and make short

work of the tottering kingdom.[29] He had informed the Prince that the Dabīr or Chief Secretary of the kingdom was a relation of his, and undertaken to defray the expenses of the Mughal army marching on the capital to the extent of fifty thousand rupees per day.[30]

'Abdu'l-lāh summoned Mīr Jumlā to the Court, but as he did not comply with the royal command the King imprisoned Muḥammad Amīn at Kovilkonḍā for his insolence and confiscated his property.[31] On his part Shah Jahan granted a *manṣab* of 5000 to Muḥammad Sa'īd and that of 2000 to Muḥammad Amīn. At the same time the Prince Aurangzeb was ordered to march on Haidarabad with the avowed object of the collection of arrears of *pēshkash*.

Aurangzeb sent his son Muḥammad Sulṭān in advance, and ordered Hādīdād Khān, Governor of Mughal Tilangana, to join him at Nāndeṛ with his forces. This joint army reached the northern tip of Ḥusain Sāgar lake, about five miles from the centre of the city, on 5-4-1066/22 January, 1656. It became clear to 'Abdu'l-lāh that he could not face the Mughal army, and he sought safety in flying to the ancient capital, Golkonda, with his entourage. The king now released Muḥammad Amīn with some of the belongings of Mīr Jumlā, but Muḥammad Sulṭān continued his march to the fort and ordered trenches to be dug and mines to be laid. Haidarabad was occupied the next day, but the army was forbidden to do any harm to the city as it was the object of the Prince to conciliate the people as far as possible.[33] The city and the palaces were nevertheless pillaged. Evidently 'Abdu'l-lāh had lost his morale, and he now sent 200 caskets full of priceless gems and other presents in order to conciliate Muhammad Sulṭān. But just then Aurangzeb appeared on the scene. He had come by forced marches from Aurangābād, having covered nearly 630 kilometres in just eighteen days. He reached Golkonda on 10-4-1066/28 January 1656, and immediately began to engage the Quṭb Shāhī defenders.[33a]

'Abdu'l-lah had no alternative left except to beg for a cessation of hostilities. But the battle raged and the siege of the citadel

was further tightened and continued for nearly seven weeks. There were many sorties and daily battles particularly opposite Mūsā Burj of the citadel. At one stage 'Abdu'l-lāh ordered the fighting to stop and sent Mīr Faṣīḥ as his envoy to the Mughal camp with four boxes full of jewels, and elephants and horses with gold trappings, with the request for the grant of an interview to his venerable mother Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgum with Aurangzeb, but the request was turned down and fighting restarted.[34] Aurangzeb now ordered Mīrza 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf to go to Karnāṭak with 2000 horse and bring Muḥammad Sa'īd to the Mughal camp.

And now an event took place resulting in a diplomatic victory for Aurangzeb. Evidently the Emperor Shah Jahan, lured by 'Abdu'l-lāh's petitions to himself and to his favourite son Dārā Shikōh, was perhaps feeling for him in his utter helplessness. He now sent his brother-in-law Shā'ista Khān with a robe of honour and a rank of 7,000 for Muḥammad Sulṭān as well as a *farmān* to 'Abdu'l-lāh granting him a free pardon. But like the diplomat that he was, Aurangzeb simply suppressed the *farmān*.[35] Not knowing what had happened 'Abdu'l-lāh now sent his eldest son-in-law, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, who was the right-hand man of the King, "with jewels, elephants and horses", and with an offer of the marriage of the King's second daughter to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān. The Prince now persuaded his father to grant an interview to Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgum, who was brought to Shā'istā Khān's camp on 22-5-1066/8 March 1656.[36] She was treated well and had the audience of Aurangzeb the next day. When she came face to face with the Viceroy, she begged pardon for her son's misdeeds and also requested the Prince to be considerate to him. Aurangzeb made it plain that an armistice could only be granted if she offered one crore rupees on 'Abdu'l-lāh's behalf. On further entreaties on the part of the Queen, Aurangzeb agreed that the amount might be paid in three instalments, and further reduced his demand by two lakhs *hons*.[37] Consequent on this agreement the imperial army evacuated the trenches opposite Golkonda on 19.5.1066/5 March, 1656. On 19.6.1066/4 April, 1656 took place the

marriage of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān to 'Abdu'l-lah's second daughter, and it was decided that 'Abdu'l-lāh would be succeeded by his Mughal son-in-law. The Princess brought with her gems and other valuables worth ten lakhs as a present from her father, while it was agreed that the dowry of the bride should be two and a half lakh hons as well as the fort of Rāmgīr and the adjoining district. It was only now that the imperial farman pardoning 'Abdu'l-lāh for his misdeeds, which Aurangzeb had received on 9-5-1066/24 February 1656, was handed over to 'Abdu'l-lah.[38]

In the meantime Muḥammad Sa'īd had arrived near the capital and pitched his camp four *kos* from Husain Sagar somewhere near the modern Bōlāram. On the 18th of March he received the imperial *farmān* and robe of honour sent to him by Prince Aurangzeb from his camp. The Prince was already expecting him, and had sent Mālōjī, Nuṣairī Khān and Shamsu'd-dīn to him. He now proceeded to meet the Viceroy of the Deccan "accompanied by his army, consisting of 6,000 cavalry, 15,000 infantry, 150 elephants and as excellent park of artillery together with his goods, cash, material, furniture, gold, embroidered weapons, diamonds, rubies and other acquisitions."[39] With this defection of Muḥammad Sa'id who was no more Mīr Jumla but Mu'aẓẓam Khān, a Mughal *manṣabdār* of 6000, a page of his life as well as that of the history of Golkonda-Haidarabad had been turned.[40]

(c) *1656 to 1672*

The period covered by the last sixteen years of 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign was full of revolutionary changes all over the country. The illness of Shah Jahan leading to the complete control of Dārā Shikōh on the administration of the State to the extent of poisoning the Emperor's ears against Aurangzeb, caused a turmoil in the Empire. Aurangzeb left Aurangābād on February 5, 1658, along with his youngest brother Murād, defeated Jaswant Singh at Dharmatpūr or Dharmat near Ujjain, inflicted a decisive defeat on his elder brother Dārā Shikōh at Samūgaṛh

on May 29, 1658 and assumed the reins of Government on July 31. He confined his aged father in a part of the Agra fort, defeated his second brother Shujā' at Khajwā near Banaras on January 14, 1659 and Dārā at Deorāi near Ajmēr on March 24, 1659, while his youngest brother Murād was held in the Gwalior fort. It was after the battle of Deorāi that Aurangzeb formally crowned himself Emperor on June 5, 1659. Dārā was executed on August 30, 1659, Shujā' had to fly to Arakan where he was murdered by the local ruler in 1661 and Murād was done to death the next year.[41]

In the Western hinterland another revolution was being wrought, and that was the rise of the Marathas under Shivaji. It is not necessary to detail here the slow but sure rise of this diplomat and strategist from his first clash with the Mughals on the occasion of their invasion of Bijapur in 1657 right up to his accession to the throne as Maharaja Shivaji Chatarpatī in 1674. His murder of Afẓal Khān in 1659, his mutilation of the Mughal Governor Shā'istā Khān in 1663, his two sacks of Surat in 1664 and 1680, the treaty of Purāndar and his submission to Raja Jai Singh in 1665, his summons to and escape from Agra, from where he returned home *via* the Quṭb Shāhī territory in 1666 and his recognition as Raja by the Emperor, are well-known. But the continued struggle with the intrepid Maratha, coupled with campaigns in other parts of the farflung Empire, left little time for Aurangzeb to turn to Quṭb Shāhī territory immediately.

When Muḥammad Sa'īd crossed over to the Mughal camp the question of the ownership of the vast Karnatak territory came immediately to the fore. The cession of the Rāmgīr (or Ārāmgīr) district, between the Painganga and the Godavari, to the Mughals "as a part of the dowry of 'Abdu'l-lāh's daughter" provided a shortcut between Mughal Tilangānā and Karnaṭak, and the question of the ownership of Mīr Jumla's conquests more or less hinged on the possession of this district. While 'Abdu'l-lāh claimed that Karnatak had been conquered by Muḥammad Sa'īd, then the Mīr Jumla of the kingdom, Aurangzeb averred that Muḥammad Sa'īd was now a nobleman of the

Mughal Empire entitled Mu'aẓẓam Khān, and as such Aurangzeb claimed the territory as a part of the Empire. But in spite of the offer of a *pēshkash* of five lakh *hons* as well as manoeuvring on the part of the Sulṭān, Shah Jahan was perhaps prevailed upon by Dārā to declare Karnaṭak to be a *jāgīr* of the Empire and confer it on Muḥammad Sa'īd. Mughal armies under Muḥammad Hāshim and Krishna Rao actually marched into the territory and occupied it, barring the great fortresses of Siddhout and Gandīkōṭa which were occupied by 'Abdu'l-lāh's army.[42]

The continued preoccupations of Aurangzeb were too varied for him to attempt a final blow on the Quṭb Shāhī State. Moreover there was a clash of the policies of Aurangzeb and Mu'aẓẓam Khān regarding the priority of invasion. Aurangzeb wanted to eliminate Golkonda first, while Mu'aẓẓam Khān would begin by attacking Bijapur. Evidently Muḥammad Sa'īd had the ear of the Emperor Shah Jahan and he actually persuaded him not merely not to molest Golkonda for the present but actually to allow 'Abdu'l-lāh to reoccupy Udayagirī[43] on the pretext that the territory never belonged to Muḥammad Sa'īd. Aurangzeb thereupon appointed a one-man commission to enquire into the affair and when the commission reported that Udayagirī had been a part of the territory conquered by Muḥammad Sa'īd he ordered that the town in dispute should be restored to Muḥammad Sa'īd's officers and only a Quṭb Shāhī Qil'ahdār should remain at Udayagirī.[44]

'Adbu'l-lāh's strength lay in the continued authority wielded by Dārā at the Mughal Court. As long as Aurangzeb had not crushed his authority at Samūgaṛh and at Deorāi he had a lever with which he could attempt to turn Shah Jahan's policy in his favour. We have a series of his "petitions" addressed to Dārā in which he flattered him as the heir to the imperial throne and called himself "the disciple who reveres ("worships") his *murshid* (spiritual guide), the Emperor"; he also considered it "a matter of high honour" that his letters should reach the Emperor's presence at all and said that the *pēshkash* which "this servant has sent to His Majesty is as utterly humble as

the gift of a mere ant to the Presence of the Abode of Solomon himself". In another letter to Dara he requested him that (1) the Province of Karnaṭak which had been acquired after spending lakhs and crores should be restored to him; (2) that the fort of Rāmgīr, which had been his property by right of inheritance, should be given back to him; and (3) that the amount of *pēshkash* which had been paid into the imperial treasury should be set off against the total demand and he should be allowed to pay it by instalments. In one of the few dated letters to Dārā, written in Shawwāl 1065/July-August, 1655, 'Abdu'l-lāh thanked him for the presents and the robe of honour which a messenger had brought from the Prince, and requested that everything which might mar the good relations between the two States should be removed. In another letter 'Abdu'l-lāh said that he offered his humble duties in the path of service and obedience to His Majesty "the Rēfuge of the Khilāfat", the Emperor.[45]

There are three interesting letters from 'Abdu'l-lāh to Prince Aurangzeb which show that the Sulṭān had been alerted by the march of Aurangzeb northwards and had begun to think of the possibility of his success. The first letter significantly expressed satisfaction at the confinement of Muḥammad Sa'īd at Daulatābād, which began in December 1657. Evidently Aurangzeb took care to inform 'Abdu'l-lāh of this, and the Sulṭān said that it "is impossible to thank your Imperial Highness for the service done to me". In the same vein of flattery 'Abdu'l-lāh showed his "deep concern" at the news that Aurangzeb was leaving the Deccan for the North. The letters ended with the complaint that the imperial officials were not paying heed to the Prince's orders that the *pēshkash* should be levied in instalments, and stated that he was sending Mīr Faṣīḥu'd-dīn to represent the true facts of the case. In the second letter he "humbly" entreated the Prince to return to the Deccan. The third letter was evidently written after the battle of Samūgaṛh and before the assumption of the royal dignity by Aurangzeb. He was addressed with almost royal titles but only as Pādshāhzāda Muḥammad Aurangzeb. 'Abdu'l-

lāh realised that all along he was backing the wrong horse, and now he offered his "humble thanks to God in words which are beyond the power of the tongue to translate", for the success which the Prince had attained.[46]

The Bijapur campaign of 1657 and the initial success which was attained, was to a large extent Muḥammad Sa'īd's work, though it had the cooperation of Prince Aurangzeb as well. The reason for the aggression given by the imperialists was the thin veneer of the supposed question of the parentage of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II who had succeeded his father Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh on 4th November 1656. Muḥammad Sa'īd reached Aurangābād on 18th January 1657, the strong-hold of Bidar was occupied on the 31st of March and Kalyānī on the 29th of July. But Muḥammad Sa'īd's recall to Delhi put an abrupt stop to the whole campaign. This was the second time within eighteen months that Aurangzeb's ambitions were nipped in the bud, and he now realised that he must proceed up North to try his luck at the gamble for power. 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh was much too weak and prostrate after the events of previous years even to hint at helping his brother-in-law of Bijapur in his fight for independence.

(iii) *Bijapur and Karnatak*

Aurangzeb was safely on the throne as Emperor 'Ālamgīr in 1658. His preoccupations with Shivaji came to an end for the time being with the Treaty of Purāndhar which was signed in June 1665. By a stroke of diplomacy, Raja Jai Singh, the Mughal Commander-in-Chief had drafted the treaty in such a way that Shivaji, who had so long been fighting the Mughals in alliance with Bijapur, now became an ally of the Mughals and at their instance began to harass and annex the Konkan forts. It is significant that in a secret letter to Aurangzeb, Jai Singh writes that it would be "highly expedient to show imperial favours to Quṭb Shāh now, and to induce him to give up the idea of joining the Bijapuris".[47] Jai Singh started from Purāndhar on 19th November, 1665 and the first contact with the Bijapuris

was made on 25th December. In four days' time Jai Singh was within twelve miles of Bijapur. It was probably now that 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh began to feel strong enough to help his brother-in-law, and the rumour that the Quṭb Shāhī army was approaching Bijapur to help the 'Ādil Shāhī army must have taken Jai Singh aback.[48] The rumour hardened into facts, and we have a letter from 'Abdu'l-lāh to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh which was sent through the Prime Minister of Bijapur, 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad, in which he said that it had come to his notice that the "Raja of bad temperament" ("Raja-i bad-riwāj") had taken up arms against Bijapur and the two States had been joined by treaties in a bond of unity and common purpose in such a way that they coalesced into each other as if they were one body. "So I wish to send a posse of cavalry and infantry under one of our officers in whom I have the greatest confidence so that the enemy may be driven out of the Deccan". In reply to this letter 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh assured 'Abdu'l-lāh that his army was equal to the task of driving the enemy out and no help was really needed. But as 'Abdu'l-lāh wished to send his troops he was most welcome to do so. He thereupon sent 12,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry under Nēknām Khān, "who was known for his foresight, his bravery and his strategy", to Bijapur.[49] The two armies began to surround Jai Singh in a pincer movement. In a series of engagements the Mughals were certainly victorious on the field but could not crush the 'Ādil Shāhī-Quṭb Shāhī armies. There was practically no major fighting and the Mughal army retreated to Dhārūr and thence to Aurangābād where it arrived on 20th November, 1666. In spite of protracted fighting the Mughals had to agree to *status quo ante*, and the Quṭb Shāhī forces were ordered home.[50]

This episode naturally leads us to the relationship between 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and his contemporary rulers of Bijapur, Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II. Ever since the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh there had been a series of marriage alliances between the 'Ādil Shāhīs and the Quṭb Shāhīs. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II had married Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh's sister Chānd Bībī, who came to be known as Malika-i Jahān. This

dynastic union was further cemented by the marriage of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh to 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's sister Khadījā Sulṭānā which was celebrated with great éclat in February, 1633.[51] These unions were not merely *mariages de convenance* but were, in a way, natural, as both were the only remnants of the five Bahmanī Succession States and both were the bulwarks of the Shī'ah persuasion after the elimination of Aḥmadnagar. There was again a lateral relationship between the ancestors of the two dynasties, as Chānd Bībī, Queen of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, was the direct descendant of Qarā Yūsuf's son, Jahān Shāh, while the Quṭb Shāhīs traced their descent from his other son, Mīrza Sikandar.

But there was a pull in another direction as well. The expansionist tendencies of the Succession States after the disruption of Bahmanī Deccan had left a tradition of frontier clashes which proved to be their bane and persisted right through their history, except during short periods when they were endangered by strong external pressures. The League of the Four Sultans, the appeals of Chānd Bībī and Malik 'Ambar and the alliance of Bijapur and Golkonda at the time of grave peril were exceptions rather than the rule. This attitude of temporary understanding is well described by Faiẓī Sarhindī who observes as early as the reign of Akbar that the settled rule among *dakhnī* States was that "if a foreign army entered their country they united their forces and fought, notwithstanding their dissensions and quarrels they had among themselves."[52]

The Mughals perceived this spring-like attitude especially when both the States were in their downward trend, and successfully put an end to their autonomy simultaneously, so that neither of them should be able to help the other in any effective manner. Even the demands for *pēshkash* were made simultaneously. When Shah Jahan sent an ultimatum to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh in the beginning of 1631 he mentioned that his overlordship extended to the territories both of Bijapur and Golkonda and it was necessary that both should coin money in his name and have his name mentioned in the Friday sermons.[53] On the elimination of the Niẓām Shāhī dynasty, which had close

relationship with the 'Ādil Shāhīs, the latter became the natural butt of the Mughals. After some struggle, however, Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh was forced to accept the hegemony of the Emperor and agree to 40 lakhs as *pēshkash*.[54] But the final curtain was drawn in 1636. While both Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh and 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh were blamed for not submitting their *pēshkash* it is significant that 'Abdu'l-lāh was further charged with "having broken the bonds of servitude and to have prepared the way for an alliance with 'Ādil Khān", who had in his turn made common cause with Shāhji the sequestrator of the Niẓām Shāhī territory. The two imperial farmāns which were virtually ultimatums were sent simultaneously, through Mukarramat Khan to Bijapur and 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf to Golkonda.[55] It is against significant that both the Kings of Bijapur and Golkonda had to travel more than five miles from their capitals to meet imperial envoys, and both the Kings were rewarded by Shāh Jahan's bejewelled portraits. In both cases the word *Inqiyād* or "Submission" was used, and the unilateral treaties or *farmāns*, were more or less identical in their purport. But what is interesting from the point of view of Golkonda-Bijapur relations is that while " 'Ādil Khān" was pampered as the strongest ruler (*duniyādār*) of the Deccan and the chief potentate of the region", he was ordered not to send anything in money or in kind ("naqd-o jins") to "Quṭbu'l-Mulk". On the other hand a wave of suspicion was created in the mind of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh who was made to say in the *Ta'ahhud Nāmā* of April-May, 1636 that "if 'Ādil Khān tries to conquer my country, I would request you to come and help me", and in case the Emperor or his Viceroy by-passed his entreaty and he was made to pay to " 'Ādil Khān", then an amount equal to such a payment would be deducted from his *pēshkash*.[56]

One of the first contacts after this came with the invasion of Karnatak by the armies of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh. The scions of the great dynasty which once ruled Vijayanagar, Venkaṭa III and his successor Srīranga III, were fast losing ground and their small kingdom was being

swallowed up slowly but surely by their "vassals as well as their enemies".[57] It was therefore only natural that both Bijapur and Golkonda-Haidarabad should try and fill in the vacuum. The first to step in was Bijapur, and it was at the instance of one of the warring local chiefs, the ruler of Tarikere, that Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh sent an army under Randaulā Khān who captured Ikkēri with the help of Keng Hanuma in December 1637. Sīra followed, where he appointed Shāhji as the Governor of the district, and Bangalore and many other forts were taken the next year.[58]

These sweeping movements of the Bijapur army, which made short work of resistance in Karnaṭak, were not to the liking of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh. In 1642 the Golkonda army marched along the east coast and subdued a number of coastal towns right up to Pulicat and Armagon. But it was not till Muḥammad Sa'īd, the new sarkhēl, was commissioned by the King to march into the interior of Karnaṭak, that an effective advance was made and far-reaching results were accomplished.[59] As will be seen later, the diplomacy and progress of Muḥammad Sa'īd were so definite and the clash so imminent that Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh and 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh had to sign a pact in Ṣafar 1056/March-April 1646 to the effect that "the territory, spoils of war, goods, jewels and cash of Sri Ranga Rāyal were to be amicably divided between Bijapur and Golkonda in the proportion of 2: 1". This agreement was regarded as of supreme importance and was later the subject of a considerable amount of communication between 'Abdu'l-lāh and Shāh Jahan.[60] The immediate effect of the agreement was the siege of Vellore in April 1649 by the combined Quṭb Shāhī and 'Ādil Shāhī armies and the promise to the Rāyal to pay a large war indemnity. But this unity almost immediately led to discord between the two as the whole indemnity to the tune of fifty lakh *hons* and a large number of elephants was taken over by the Bijapuris.[61]

The rift seemed to be permanent, and as the representatives of the two Sulṭānates overshadowed the authority of the local Nāyaks, the latter were also divided into two warring groups. The Nāyak of Tanjore "threw himself at the mercy of Mīr

Jumlā", and the Nāyak of Jinjī "also solicited his protection". On the other hand Tirumala, the Nāyak of Madura, who did not see eye to eye with the Nāyak of Tanjore, appealed to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh for help. It was in 1647-48 that 'Ādil Shāh sent Muẓaffaru'd-dīn Khān Muḥammad to enter the Quṭb Shāhī territory and raze the border forts to the ground[62]. 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh immediately appealed to the Emperor to intervene. In a series of despatches to his envoy at the Mughal Court, 'Abdu'ṣ-Ṣamad Dabīru'l-Mulk, the Sulṭān complained to Shāh Jahan that while no attention was paid to the Agreement by Bijapur, "even the territory which was Golkonda's share" had been taken over by the Bijapurīs. In a despatch to Mīr Faṣīḥu'd-dīn, who had apparently succeeded 'Abdu'ṣ-Ṣamad at the Imperial Court, the Sulṭān asked him to approach Shāh Jahan that a *farmān* be issued under which both "'Adālat Panāh" (meaning 'Ādil Shāh) and himself should be bound by the agreement, and the territories pertaining to Tanjore and Jinjī be partitioned accordingly. He further expressed his willingness to modify the agreement, if necessary, in such a way that 'Ādil Shāh might be allowed to keep all the moveable spoils of war while the territory taken from the Rāyal and his confederates might be divided equally between Bijapur and Golkonda.[63]

'Abdu'l-lāh also sent a number of despatches to his envoy at Bijapur, Ḥāji Naṣīrā, in which he commanded him to see Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh as well as the Queen of Bijapur, his sister, and remind them that the high policy of the two kingdoms was based on their mutual regard for each other, and it was incumbent that they should hold consultations and keep each other informed of any matter which might affect the welfare of either. One of the despatches asked Ḥājī Naṣīrā to bring it to the notice of the King of Bijapur how greatly hurt 'Abdu'l-lāh was by the occupation of certain *parganas* near Gaṇḍīkōṭa and Guṭṭī by the Bijapuri forces. In another letter he again asked the envoy to seek special audience of His Majesty "and my revered sister" and impress upon them that there should be no question of any "duality" in the matters pertain-

ing to Karnatak". "I undertake to inform His Majesty (Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh) of every action I take in the matter, and in the same way I expect reciprocity on the part of His Majesty as well".[64]

But this peaceful—or weak-kneed—policy of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh could not prevent war with Bijapur. Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh must have been rather puffed up by the grant of the title of *Pādshāh* by Shāh Jahan in 1061/1651, an honour which was unique on the part of Delhi as no other southern potentate had so far been recognized as King by the Delhi rulers.[65] The capture of Gaṇḍīkōṭa by Mīr Jumla on 24 August 1652 was a thorn in the side of 'Ādil Shāh, who complained to Shāh Jahan that 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's army had captured Gaṇḍīkōṭa "without the knowledge of the Emperor". On the other hand 'Abdu'l-lāh tried to clear his conduct by instructing his envoy at Delhi that Gaṇḍīkōṭa was within his sphere and the King of Bijapur should have no objection to its capture whatsoever. He also instructed his envoy at Bijapur to impress on the King the wrong that Siddī Raiḥān had done him by unlawfully attacking the territories of Gaṇḍīkōṭa and Guṭṭī and he should be properly warned not to commit such encroachments in future.[66]

Both the Golkonda and Bijapur forces were in war array, and a clash was only to be expected. Khān Muḥammad of Bijapur besieged the stronghold of Guṭṭī but soon abandoned it to pursue Mīr Jumlā at Gaṇḍīkōṭa itself which he had made the centre of his government. It fell to Raja Ghōrpaṛe of Mudhōl to dislodge Mīr Jumlā from Gaṇḍīkoṭa, and to make him sue for peace. After fairly long pourparlers it was agreed that he should pay an indemnity of two lakh and fifty thousand *hons*, while on the other hand Gaṇḍīkōṭa and Kokkanūr were to be returned to Mīr Jumlā. The terms were agreed to by Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh in January-February 1652.[67] The sum total of the treaty was that the flag of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh was again flying on the ramparts of Gaṇḍīkōṭa, and except for a loss of some prestige Mīr Jumlā's diplomacy had won the day.

Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh was succeeded to the throne of Bijapur

by his nineteen-year old son 'Alī Ādil Shāh II, on 26-1-1067/4 September, 1656. He had to encounter many difficulties during his reign of sixteen years. The title of Pādshāh granted to his father by the Emperor did not prove auspicious to the Mughal-Bijapur relations and the war which followed proved to be a cementing force between 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and his nephew 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II, leading to the withdrawal of the Mughal forces. 'Alī died less than four months after 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's death, on 12 November, 1672.

Progress of Quṭb Shāhi arms in Eastern Karnatak

We have dealt with the intervention of the Mughals in the affairs of Golkonda and Bijapur as well as the conflict between these two kingdoms consequent on the penetration of Golkonda arms mainly in Eastern Karnatak, and of Bijapur mainly in Western Karnatak. It is clearly difficult to extricate the military exploits of Golkonda in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh from political pressures, especially when the Deed of Submission of 1636 on the part of 'Abdu'l-lāh and its prototype five weeks earlier on the part of 'Ādil Shāh had made both the Quṭb Shāhī and the 'Ādil Shāhī monarchs subservient to the fiat of the Mughal Emperor. We have it from Dutch sources that the Emperor actually "commanded the Sulṭāns of Bijapur and Golkonda to conquer and partition the Karnatak between themselves".[68] It is possible that the Mughals foresaw the final elimination of the two kingdoms and the subsequent annexation of the country south of the Tungabhadra by themselves.[69]

The period of the advance of the Quṭb Shāhī forces into Eastern Karnatak was practically covered by the reign of Venkaṭa III who was proclaimed Rāya at Vellore in 1635, and his successor Sriranga III about whom very little is known after 1658 when his capital, Chandragirī, passed into Quṭb Shāhī hands.[70] It was in 1052/1642 that 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh commissioned Mīr Muḥammad Sa'īd to advance into Karnatak as perhaps a counter-move to the advance of the 'Ādil Shāhī army which had penetrated into large parts of Western Karnatak.

Muḥammad Sa'īd had proved his loyalty to the Throne time and again. He had filled the post of *Sarkhēl* with distinction since 9-2-1047/15-6-1637 and impressed the Sulṭān with his qualities of head and heart. The King summoned him and granted him robes of honour, while orders were passed to the officers of several battalions and companies to join him in his great work. 'Alī Riẓa Khān, *sarlashkar* of Koṇḍāvīdu, the head of the Royal Guards, Ghāzi 'Alī Baig, the head of the Maratha cavalry, Dādājī Kāntia, 'Alam Khān Paṭhan, nāikwārīs like Asīr Rāo who had shown his mettle in previous reigns, Venkaṭa Reḍḍī, 'Ainu'l-Mulk, Shujā'u'l-Mulk and others with numerous cavalry and artillery were commanded to proceed to the front. Orders were further issued that articles of food for soldiers, followers and steed should be procured mainly from Masulipaṭam, Koṇḍapallī and Koṇḍavīdu, and should be paid for according to the price current in the market", while the vendors were required to accompany the army. In order to expedite and organise the work at the front, a regular postal system was established between the camp and the capital by means of *dāk chowkīs* and arrangements were made to send daily news from the army headquarters to the capital by means of fast messengers and pigeons.[71]

The army thus collected consisted of 40,000 foot-soldiers and 4,000 horsemen. It was concentrated at Koṇḍāvīdu, the headquarters of the province adjacent to Eastern Karnatak.[72] From Koṇḍavīdu it took the straight road south, and by forced marches, evidently without any opposition, it reached Nellore on the third day. Nellore is situated in a vast plain stretching north and south and was protected by a large fort with strong circumvallation and battlements. There were a number of sorties by the garrison but they were all repulsed and the fort occupied. The next strong fort on the way south was Ḍumlūrū or Ḍanḍalūrū, which was so strong and so well guarded that Muḥammad Sa'īd had to write to the capital for a large body of mine-layers. On their arrival trenches were dug and fired on 20-1-1052/11 April, 1642 and the fort was occupied. Venkaṭa now gathered together a large force consisting of his own army

as well as Velugoṭi Timma, Ḍamerla Venkaṭa of Madraspaṭnam and Poonamallee, and other local chiefs. But the allies were defeated on 1-2-1052/21 April, 1642 and Muḥammad Sa'īd was able to occupy the large Sriharikōṭa island and a number of other forts. Highly strung by the shock of this defeat, Venkaṭa fled "to the mountain tracts in the Chittoor district" where he died on 10th October, 1642.[73]

Ghāzi 'Alī Baig was acting Commander of the Quṭb Shāhī forces in the absence of Muḥammad Sa'īd who had gone to the capital to pay homage to the King. 'Abdu'l-lah was anxious to strengthen Ghāzī 'Alī Baig's hands and he now sent other picked officers to help him such as Syed Muẓaffar (who was destined to play an important part in Quṭb Shāhī politics), Shāh Ghazanfar Khān, son-in-law of Randaula Khān, Commander-in-Chief of the Bijapur army, and others.[74]

After the rains had subsided, the Quṭb Shāhī army again left Nellore and proceeded to the fort of Nakbat, the defending garrison of which left it in the middle of the night at which it was occupied by the invaders.[75] Three days later the army reached Rāpūr. It was brought to the notice of the royal army that "Sangrēzrāj" who was one of the most powerful rāyas of the locality, was bringing ten or twelve thousand horse and a very large number of foot soldiers to defend Rāpūr.[76] As the fort was in the centre of a large forest and it was risky to depend on such a vast jungle, it was decided to construct two small forts from which attacks might be made. It is recorded that the foundation stone of these forts was laid by the Commander himself and it was he who struck the first tree with his hatchet which led to the clearing of the forest around. It is worth noting that we come across the names of Vankaṭa Reḍḍī, his brother Timma Reḍḍī and Rāwalji Kāntia as officers who were placed in charge along with Khairāt Khān and Syed Muḥammad Mazendrānī. The great fort at Rāpūr was entered on 19-10-1052/31 December, 1642. The next large fort, Kullūr, was reached five days later (24-10-1052/4 January, 1643). There seems to have been a considerable struggle and the fort

was not occupied before the end of Shawwal 1052/January, 1643.[77]

Moving further north, thus completing three quarters of the circle with its apex at Nellore, the army reached the great redoubt of Udayagirī which had changed hands a number of times previously.[78] There was only one entrance to the fort, which was constructed on an eminence of the Vēlikoṇḍa range. There was a chasm five hundred yards wide and "a few thousand yards" in depth which precluded any attempt to scale the fort. It so happened that the Rāyal, Srīranga III, who had come to the tottering throne on 29th October, 1642, was facing an internal crisis by the rebellion of Ḍāmarla Venkaṭa of Kālāhasti and of Krishnappa of Jinjī. It was, however, not an easy matter to capture the fort. It appears that Muḥammad Sa'īd somehow won over the Rāya's Commander, Mallaiyā, who pointed to him a secret passage to the great fort. The Quṭb Shāhī army took immediate advantage of the pointer and captured the fort without any resistance. The news was whisked to the capital which it reached on 10-4-1053/18 June, 1643. The Sulṭān was so pleased with the Commander's success that he presented him with robes of honour and made him Mīr Jumlā, a title with which he is generally known in history.[79]

Mīr Jumlā's victory naturally led to the occupation of Siddhout.[80] But it was not without further struggle that he could keep his hold on Udayagirī. Srīranga was able to excite the jealousy of the Sulṭān of Bijapur and obtain from him in June 1643 considerable help in the shape of 6,000 horse and 20,000 foot soldiers. With this array he "marched against Udayagirī, and dislodged the Golkonda forces from the fort" in January 1644.[81] But Srīranga had only a breathing time, for early in 1645 Mīr Jumlā again attacked the citadel, and the Rāya's general, Chinnana, whom he had sent as the head of an army of 50,000 to oppose him, quietly surrendered it to the Quṭb Shāhī Commander.[82]

This second capture of Udayagirī naturally led Mīr Jumlā onwards, and he was able to annex a number of fortresses in the Cuddapah district such as Kalitūr, Duvvūrū, Chennuru,

Budvēl, Porumamilla and Kamlāpuram, while the Maṭlī Chief, Kumāra Ananta II who was the overlord of the territory where these towns were situated, had to pay a considerable amount of money by way of tribute.[83] From Udayagîrī the road was clear to the south by the east coast. Mīr Jumlā circled the English factory at Fort St. George and occupied Tirupatī and Chandragiri. He had to negotiate with the officers of the Dutch factory at Pulicaṭ, and the town was occupied on 11th December, 1646. He finally captured San Thome, south of Madras, and Chingleput "which in strength and impregnability was equal to the seventh heaven".[84] San Thome and Chingleput were the farthest points reached by the Quṭb Shāhīs. Although there was little obstruction on the part of the Rāya or his feudatories, the Bijapurīs, barred the way, and it was now that the Pact referred to above was signed partitioning the assets of Srīranga. In the end Ganḍīkōṭa and Kokkanūr were occupied by Mīr Jumlā, who made the former the chief town of his considerable conquests.

The period from the defection of Mīr Jumlā to 1662, when we first meet his astute successor Riẓā Qulī Bēg, entitled Nēknām Khān, was taken up by an attempt to make Karnatak an appanage of the Mughal Empire by Aurangzeb. But his preoccupations at Delhi and the shifting of Muḥammad Sa'īd's interests first to the North and then to Bihar and Bengal, made Karnatak a far cry. Muḥammad Sa'īd had left Tupaki Krishnappa of Jinjī[85] and Bālā Rao as his representatives in Karnatak, and they soon came into conflict with the assertive Dutch and English factories at Masulipaṭam and Madras. But with the decline of Mughal influence in the kingdom 'Abdu'l-lāh tried to regain his authority in the region, and in 1662 appointed Nēknām Khān Governor of the Karnatak.[86] The English factors at Masulipaṭam were still greatly concerned with the question of Mīr Jumlā's junk which had been captured by the English and renamed St. George or the Great George. The English were so much perturbed at Nēknām Khān's "harsh demands" that they now wished to square the disputes with

Muḥammad Sa'īd's representatives. On 24th May, 1661 the Agent at Madras wrote to Masulipaṭam that "the Nabob's junk should be satisfied to him or to his factors at Masulipaṭam and the ship handed over to his representatives".[87]

We have a series of letters from the English Agent at Madras to his Chief at Masulipaṭam which clearly show the tussle which was going on between Nēknām Khān and the English over the question of customs as well as the demand for the stationing of the Quṭb Shāhī officers and troops at Madras. Nēknām Khān had his camp at Tiruvallūr, about 25 miles west of Madras, and from there he exercised pressure on the English. He had already demonstrated his mettle by laying siege to San Thome which seems to have slipped away from the Quṭb Shāhī grasp, and by forcing the Portuguese garrison into surrender in May, 1662. The English were, in a way, hemmed in by Nēknām Khān from the south as well as from the west. They had coveted this "neglected east coast town" to the extent that they would not have minded exchanging it for Bombay as the dowry of Catherine of Braganza the queen of Charles II of England, but their hopes were now shattered.[88]

The star of the English seemed to be on the wane right along the Golkonda coast. The Quṭb Shāhī Governor of Masulipaṭam is reported to have come to Pēṭapoli and occupied a garden belonging to the English Company. When Salusbury, the English Agent, protested to the Governor "he bade him be silent".[89] The pressure from "the new Nabob" was so great that Winter wrote on 7th January, 1664 that he was nervous as he had come within five miles of Madras.[90] However he had the hardihood to detain two elephants belonging to "the Nabob", but on receiving a "sharp letter" from him he had to return them forthwith. The English were afraid that Nēknām Khān would stop provisions from reaching Fort St. George and make the English accept his demands that a Quṭb Shāhī official should be allowed to erect a warehouse within the fort and collect custom dues through his officers. This the English were not prepared to do. The subservience of the English was such that

they had to approach Nēknām Khān to protect Fort St. George by their enemies, "Dutch, French or others". There is a letter from the Company to the Agent and Council of Madras dated 18th December, 1665 in which they say, "we desire you to engage the king of Golkonda, his Nabob or any other of the natives that have the power near the fort to assist you in the preservation thereof".[92] Nēknām Khān had actually to protect the fort against the Portuguese by means of a "siege" which lasted from 19th June 1666 to 8th July 1666.[93] Following the same policy, the King issued a *farmān* forbidding the Dutch to show any hostility to the English "on pain of our displeasure", and when some Dutch ships threatened an English ship her captain averred that he was "under the protection of the King of Golconda".[94] The authority of the King had increased to such an extent that according to another *farmān* the Dutch were forbidden to meddle in any of English shipping on the whole of the coast "from Manikpattan to the coast of Gingerlee beyond St. Thome".[95]

In spite of these good turns on the part of the Quṭb Shāhī authorities the English at Madras remained adamant regarding their share of customs, and Foxcroft, who was the first to be appointed Governor of Madras by the Company, was still refusing to accept the terms offered by Nēknām Khān. He had therefore to blockade Madras again in 1670, this time to enforce the demands of the Golkonda administration on the English. The blockade lasted a month.[96] The dispute finally came to an end when Langhorn assumed the Governorship of Madras. Nēknām Khān was able to issue a "Cowle" (Qaul) dated 23rd February, 1672 under which it was stipulated that the Quṭb Shāhī Governor would be entitled to half the customs of the town of Chennapaṭam, including the arrears which were paid forthwith, while the town of Madraspaṭam was to remain with the English in perpetuity.[97]

This was the last important act of Nēknām Khān as the Quṭb Shāhī Governor of Karnatak. He had turned the scales in favour of 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shah in a miraculous way and

extricated Quṭb Shāhī authority from the quagmire in which it had fallen after Muḥammad Sa'īd's treason. He died almost at his desk on 10-12-1082/30 March, 1672, a little over three weeks before the Sulṭān's death. His mortal remains were taken to Golkonda with great pomp and buried in the royal necropolis on a platform outside the mausoleum of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and almost facing the tomb of Muḥammad Amīn, father of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.[98]

APPENDIX

Section I. *Military Organisation*

The picture of the military organisation in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh is far more clear than that under his grandfather Ibrāhīm, although the Telugu *kaifiyats*, the *Ta'rīf Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh* and other documents give us a fairly clear view of the great battle fought on 23rd January, 1565 at Banihatti.[99] In 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign we have the testimony not only of the European travellers who had their friends in the army especially its artillery establishments but also of the Mughal who began to exercise their increasing control over the affairs of South India. Then we have rather a live account of the progress of the King from Haidarabad to Masulipaṭam and back in 1639 by an eye-witness to the pomp and glamour which attended the great procession consisting of as many as forty or fifty thousand military and civil officers and followers. The vivid accounts left to us by the European travellers is sometimes prejudiced and at many places incorrect but it can be made the base of our observations with regard to the military equipment of the period.

As was the case with most of the countries of the world the army of Tilang-Andhra was based partly on feudal levies and partly on soldiers paid by the King. In his letter to Colbert, the Finance Minister of Louis XIV of France, Bernier speaks at great length about the military organisation of the Mughals, their feudal levies, the pay of the soldiers, their uniform etc. It is only by the way that he says that "in the Deccan alone, the (Mughal) cavalry amounts to twenty or twenty five thousand, sometimes to thirty thousand, a force not more than sufficient to overawe the powerful king of Golkonda and to maintain the war against the king of Bijapur and the Rajas".[100] Thèvenot, who is not very accurate about historical facts relating to the Deccan, says that "a trooper (who ought to be a Mogul or a Persian) was paid 10 chequins a month and for that he has to keep

two horses and four or five servants. A footsoldier is paid five chequins and for that he has to carry a musket and keep two servants".[101]

Tavernier, who was in the Deccan a number of times between 1639 and 1662, says that the common soldiers of the infantry division wore only 3 or 4 ells (about 5 yards) of calico "which is barely enough to cover their front and back". It appears that most of the soldiers were Hindus, for Tavernier says that their hair were tied in a knot on the top of the head. Their main weapon was a "broad sword like the Swiss . . . . The barrels of their muskets are stronger than ours and much neater", for the iron with which these arms were made was of a superior quality. Horsemen carried bows and arrows, a buckler, a battle-axe, a head piece or helmet and a jacket of mail which hung from the head piece to the shoulders.[102]

There were definitely vast stores of fire-arms which must have accompanied the armies undertaking various campaigns. Bernier says that Mīr Jumlā kept a formidable body of troops, with a park of artillery which was "composed principally of Franks and Christians".[103] When there was an immediate danger of the Deccan being attacked by the Mughals 'Abdu'l-lāh ordered the strengthening of the border fortresses specially Qandhār. Its sixty battlements were strengthened by five or six large cannon each, which could fire as much as four or five maunds of stone missiles at a time, and a number of *minjanīqs* or catapults. Moreover orders were sent that the Superintendent of the royal arsenal should issue quilted cloaks, coats of mail, helmets and armlets.[104]

There are gleanings of the military organisation of the Sulṭanate in the diary of the progress of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh to the East coast in 1639 kept by Mirza Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, who accompanied what may be termed a moving court and a moving city. The hundred palanquins carrying the royal ladies and their entourage were accompanied by one thousand horsemen, one thousand footsoldiers, lancers and carabineers.[105] In the order of precedence, in the procession which was formed on the emergence of the King from his capital, we find the *Lashkar*

Khāṣā Khēl or the Royal Body-Guard placed immediately after the "Majlisīs" or the Privy Councillors. On the other hand the members of the Corps of Body-Guards had to be careful on pain of death, and it is reported that when the cavalcade stopped at Amankal which was two *gāo* or twelve miles from Panagal, seven soldiers of the *Khāṣā Khēl* were found negligent in their duties and were executed.

A number of forts came to be inspected on the way, one of which was Musṭafānagar—Konḍapalli, "one of the greatest forts of Tilang" amidst "a range of hills covering about 40 farsakh". The hill, on the top of which the fort was constructed, was "full of wells and tanks and of greenery all round". The King ordered that it should be further strengthened by the addition of a few thousand carabineers and that the godowns should be filled with grain. He also ordered that an arsenal should be constructed within the fort.[106]

Another typical fort was that of Ganḍīkōṭa which Tavernier calls "one of the strongest cities in the kingdom of Golkonda" and which had been captured by Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumlā "only eight days" previous to Tavernier's arrival on the 1st of September, 1652. The fort was situated on a high mountain with only one gate which was about 25 feet broad. On the top there were large rice and millet fields which were watered by local springs. Tavernier noticed that there were a number of French soldiers, mainly gunners, and one of the French engineers, Claudius Maille of Bourge, had been employed to cast brass cannon. At Ganḍīkōṭa Tavernier was the guest of an English gunman as well as an Italian gunman.[107] There were quite a number of English gunners also who had left Fort St. George to join Mīr Jumlā's army of Karnatak because they had better prospects, and he "readily offered protection to any runaways from Fort St. George garrison".[108] This process seems to have continued, for we find English gunners like Christopher Wilkins in Quṭb Shāhī service in 1662.[109] Evidently when Mīr Jumlā crossed over to the Mughal camp he took with him his artillery "manned by English and French gunners".[110]

In spite of the growth of professional soldiers who were paid

by the State treasury through their commanders, feudal system still continued to some extent. During the Sulṭān's progress to Masulipaṭam the concourse passed by the *Muqāsās* of Piṭhōji Kantia, of Khān-i A'zam Rashīd Khān and of 'Ali Akbar 'Ainu'l-Mulk, where they made presents of 1500, 1000 and 1500 *hons* respectively. It is however, not clear whether these *Muqāsādārs* had to provide army personnel or not.[110a]

Thus it may be averred that the army was well equipped. It is no wonder that even with the waning of the Quṭb Shāhī power on account of lethargy, inertia, and the increasing power of the Mughals, coupled with the defection of Mīr Jumlā and many other nobles of the kingdom, the army gave such a good account of itself almost everywhere. Its organisation was so well conditioned that even after Mīr Jumlā's treason it remained a force to be reckoned with, and the new Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Nēknām Khān could advance to San Thome and expel the Dutch from there.

Section 2. *Economic Aspects*

Coinage

The reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh saw a veritable plethora of coins current in the kingdom, a phenomenon which is not met with in any other reign.[111] We have got rather a cryptical remark of Ferishta, corroborated in part by the French traveller Thèvenot, that it was only copper coins which were minted at Golkonda-Haidarabad, and that the gold coins current in the kingdom were the hons originally minted at Vijayanagar, while the silver coins were the Mughal rupee and its subdivision the half rupee and the quarter rupee.[112] On the other hand we have a whole list of coins current in the kingdom mentioned by other foreign travellers and in greater detail in the correspondence of the factors of the Dutch and the English East India Companies.[113] We have the old pagoda or hon and the new pagoda, the Mughal rupee and the Golkonda rupee, fanam, nevel and tar current in the kingdom. It is further expressly stated that the pagoda was actually being struck in different

parts of the Quṭb Shāhī state and even at Bijapur. The queer thing is that while the 'new' and the 'old' pagoda vary little in their intrinsic value, they differed in term of their purchasing power, as it was only the 'old' coin which the king demanded by way of revenue and other taxes. Besides these there were quite a few European coins current, such as Spanish reals-of-eight, Portuguese pardaos, Dutch guilders, Siamese ticuls, Persian lāris and ʿabbāsis, Venetian sequins, Gujarati muḥammadīs, Hungarian ducats and the English double albert, noble and ryder. This nearly completes the kaleidoscopic circle of the coins current in Tilang-Andhra in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and contrasts with the simple numismatics of his predecessors.

This complication is doubled by reason of the licence given by the king's representatives to agencies such as the Dutch East India Company to coin rupees and hons with their emblems. To make matters still worse, the value of the pagoda in terms of fanams and rupees changed from place to place, as for instance the pagoda or hon was worth 15 fanams at Pulicaṭ, and even 32 fanams at Madras.[115]

It was during the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh that Tavernier, Bernier and Thèvenot came to the Deccan and wrote their memoirs regarding the condition of life in the Quṭb Shāhī dominions. We have again a mass of information regarding the coinage, weights and measures, prices etc., contained in the letters exchanged between the Dutch and the English factors of the Golkonda coast and their principals in Batavia and London respectively. Tavernier was in the Deccan in 1638-39, again in 1651 and lastly in 1657, while Bernier was at Haidarabad in 1666, and Thèvenot was in the Deccan about the same time.[116] These three eminent Frenchmen were preceded, during the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh's father Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, by William Methwold, Schoerer and others whose writings have a bearing on the economic life of the Quṭb Shāhī dominions in 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign.[117]

Schoerer was appointed a junior factor at Masulipaṭam about

1609 and was there at least till July, 1614. In his time Fort St. David was already the site of an English factory, Negāpaṭam was Portuguese while the Dutch had their factory at Pulicaṭ. Negāpaṭam had its own currency, the unit of which was pardão equal to two Dutch guilders and ten fanams in value, while a fanam fetched 20 or 25 cash. The Pulicaṭ pagoda fetched 15 fanams and this was more or less similar to the value at Negāpaṭam. At Peṭapōli or Niẓampaṭam a pagoda was of 16 fanams, a fanam of 8 or 9 nevels, a nevel of 4 or 5 tar cash, which was the smallest coin current in the locality.[118]

Methwold, who was at Masulipaṭam from 1618 to 1622, does not give the details of the coins current in the kingdom, but gives us the useful information that a pagoda was equal to a French crown or 7 shillings and 6 pence of English money. In the same way the anonymous writer whose 'Relations' have been included by Moreland in his collection[119] says that a Spanish real fetched 10 or 11 fanams. He also gives the pagoda table as:

Pagoda = 15 fanams = 8 or 9 nevels[120]

It thus appears that while the pāgoda or hon was the standard gold coin, even the value of the smaller gold coin, which was about 5 grains in weight, fluctuated from place to place, and was thus more or less a token coin. Apart from this, the pagoda, which weighed about 55 grains, was struck by the Dutch at Pulicat, the Danes at Tranquebar and the 'Ādil Shāhīs at Bijapur. As has been mentioned the Dutch minted the coins under a licence from the Quṭb Shāhī king and the English were also coining money perhaps to a limited extent. But the English, who always envied the Dutch for their success in commercial undertakings and were often at war with them in Europe, wanted to coin money on the sly and thus to defeat them in the Indian market. There is a very significant passage in a letter from the Masulipaṭam factors dated 7th January, 1667, in which it is suggested that "could most of the gold the company intended for these parts be coined into new pagodas in England, of the same goodness and stamp as these at the Fort, and brought ashore undiscovered it would advance the prices".[121]

This is a very strange proposal and shows the depth to which English could stoop in order to get material gain *vis à vis* the Dutch.

The rather simple calculation of the pagodas and subsidiary coins was complicated by the minting of what came to be called new pagodas.[123] While Thèvenot, who was at Haidarabad in 1666, says that the old pagodas fetched Rs. 5½ or 8 French livres, the new pagodas could be had for Rs. 4 or sometimes even 6 French livres.[123] The value of the old pagodas went up gradually till it reached its peak at 170 new pagodas for 100 old ones in 1667.[124] Evidently the quality of gold in the new pagodas deteriorated, for Tavernier says that variation in the value of the two pagodas was due to the comparatively low quality of the gold contents of the new. He also remarks that "these pagodas were coined by the English pursuant to a license from the sultan".[125]

Apart from these native coins the Mughal rupees were also freely in circulation in the kingdom, while according to the *farman* of Shah Jahan and the "Deed of Submission" of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh of 1636 the Sulṭān was forced to coin his rupees with the Mughal legend embossed on them.[126] These rupees were divided into half and quarter rupees. A rupee fetched 55 paise or 40 dam. Thèvenot[127] says that the rupee was, like the 'abbāsī of Persia, one tola in weight, and equalled 30 French sols or one shilling and six pence of English money. A paisa was as large as rupee and was made of copper which was imported by the Dutch. There was also a "gold rupee", the value of which was 120 French livres, each livre being equal to one shilling and six pence.

Copper had been coined in the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom at least from the time of Ibrāhīm QuṭbShāh and was continued during the reigns of his successors.[128] We have five distinct varieties of the copper coins of the reign extant; viz.,

(i) Obv., *Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh*
Rev., *Ẓuriba Haidarabad*

(ii) Obv., *Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-lāh Pādshāh*
Rev., *Ẓuriba Muḥammadnagar*

(iii) Obv., *Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-lāh Pādshāh Ghāzī*
Rev., *Ẓuriba Dāru's-Sulṭānat Ḥaidarabad*

(iv) The same as (iii) with the emblem of the Shī'ite *'alam* on both sides.

and finally the rather pathetic and well known coin, the only dated copper, of 1068/1657, with the king's title replaced by the epithet, *Khutima bi'l-khair wa's-Sa'ādah,* the first word of which may be read either as *Khutima* meaning "sealed" or *Khatama* meaning "ended", in both cases foreboding the end of the dynasty.[129] The date is significant as it was a couple of years later than 1065/1655 when Haidarabad was occupied by the Mughal army and the Sulṭān was forced to give his daughter in marriage to Prince Aurangzeb's son Muḥammad Sulṭān and declare him heir to the throne.

While there is no "rupee of gold" spoken of by Thèvenot in existence and there are only a few specimens of the silver rupee coined at Golkonda, there are hundreds of 'Abdu'l-lāh's coppers distributed in different museums of the world. On the other hand the introduction of foreign coins in the Quṭb Shāhī dominions shows that the State was dependent on foreign currency to a very large extent, and the impression of the Imperial motto and seal on the Quṭb Shāhī coins made Tilang-Andhra a virtual protectorate of Shah Jahan.

Weights and Measures

Compared to the coinage the weights and measures of the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh are simple, though even they vary from locality to locality in certain respects. As is well known the kingdom was the entrepôt for diamonds, and besides there being rich diamond mines in the Krishna valley, Golkonda was the centre of the diamond trade. Diamonds were weighed by the mangelins[130] which were supposed to weigh 7 grains at Raoulkoṇḍa and $5\frac{2}{5}$ grains at certain other places, five mangelins being equal to 7 carats of diamonds. In certain parts of the kingdom they were also sold by rattīs, a weight which was roughly half the weight of a mangelin, i.e., $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains.[131]

The unit of weight of other articles was the seer, but the seer was variable. At Surat in western India 40 seers made a *man,* but the *man* was of 34 lb. which would make a seer to be of $1\frac{8}{17}$ lb. only. The weight of a *man* also seems to have varied from place to place for, during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh it was $24\frac{1}{4}$ lb. at Pulicaṭ, $27\frac{1}{4}$ lb. at Niẓāmpaṭam and 26 lb. at Masulipaṭam.[132] In the Portuguese settlement of Nēgāpaṭam the *man* was of 8 viss, each of $2\frac{7}{8}$ lb., or equal to barely 23 lb., while at Niẓāmpaṭam the viss was of $3\frac{1}{8}$ lb. and the *man* of 25 lb. At Masulipaṭam the *man* sometimes rose to $36\frac{3}{4}$ lb.[133] Twenty *man* made a candy on khandi, which weighed 480 Dutch pounds at Nēgāpaṭam and 500 lb. at Niẓampaṭam.[134]

The measure of length of textiles was *hasta* or cubit, which was equal to $1\frac{3}{7}$ Dutch ells. Yards are also frequently mentioned in the transactions of the English, and presumably they were equal in length to the modern yard. The measure of distance was *kroh* or *kos* which works out roughly to 8 miles for 5 *kos* but varied in different parts of India. The *kōs* in Tilang-Andhra was marked by kōs-mīnārs, scores of which, erected in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh, still flank the road connecting the capital with the east coast.[135]

Products and Manufactures

(i) *Precious Stones*

Perhaps the most profitable industry of the region was the mining, refining and cutting of diamonds, a process which made Golkonda famous the would over. For this trade Raoulkoṇḍa may be taken as a model, although the mines there were situated in Bijapur-Karnatak and not in the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom. Tavernier says that the mines were discovered "about two hundred years ago" that is, about 1460. Round about the mines the ground was sandy, but in the rocks there were diamond veins and the miners had to strike the diamonds out and sift the pebbles and sand in sieves, leaving the diamonds behind. But in the process of striking the rocks the diamonds, perhaps other-

wise sound, became full of flaws. For giving lustre to the diamonds and cutting them steel machinery was employed. At Raoulkoṇḍa the contractors had to pay 2% of the value of the diamonds to the government by way of royalty, besides the tax on the permission to dig, which amounted to two pagodas per day if the number of workmen employed did not exceed fifty, but if they exceeded this number then the tax was raised to four pagodas. The actual miners' wages amounted to just 3 pagodas per annum which works out to about one rupee per month. These salaries or wages were so meagre that the miners had recourse to theft of diamonds even to the extent of swallowing uncut diamonds or secreting them in the corner of their eyes. The price of diamonds was paid by bills of exchange on Agra or Golkonda, which were evidently the chief markets for the sale of precious stones in India.[136]

Probably the largest mine within Quṭb Shahi dominions was at Kulūr on the Krishna, and this had been worked for a hundred years before Tavernier visited the locality. It was only by a mere chance that this rich mine was first discovered by a peasant who was digging his field to sow millets. While doing so he chanced to find a diamond weighing 25 carats. He took it to the capital where everyone was taken aback at the discovery, and the mining began.[137] The mines were immediately let out to contractors at the rent of 3 lakh pagodas per annum for diamonds weighing 10 carats or less, while stones of more than 10 carats were to go to the king as a part of his royalty. The mines were sublet by original lessees to sublessees who were not too scrupulous, and they allowed the stones even of more than 40 carats to escape the vigilance of the royal guards and find their way to the market.[138]

When Methwold visited the mines they were worked by thirty thousand men including miners, porters and sifters, but this number had gone up to more than sixty thousand workmen when Tavernier visited them thirty years later. The diamonds which were mined at Kulūr exceeded all expectations and many of the stones weighed more than 40 carats. But Tavernier says that the stones were not clean, for the water of most of them

was either black or red "according to the colour of the earth round about." Green diamonds were in great demand as, when cut and chiselled, they acquired white colour. He speaks of a huge stone weighing 900 carats and says that it was this which Muḥammad Sa'īd presented to Prince Aurangzeb when he crossed over to the Mughal camp.[139]

It was to a large extent these mines which had made Mīr Jumlā "the richest man in the kingdom".[140] The Kulūr mines were within his jurisdiction, and he farmed them in favour of some of his relations and friends on condition that he kept for his own use "the largest and the most perfect of the diamonds", one of which he presented to the Emperor Shah Jahan in 1657. This stone then weighed 756 English carats. Later it was ground and polished by the Venetian Hortenso Borgio after which its weight was reduced to 286 $\frac{19}{32}$ English carats. This stone was the famous *Kōh-i Nūr* which travelled from Delhi to Persia, thence to Afghanistan and Lahore, and was finally delivered to Sir Henry Lawrence by Gulāb Singh on behalf of the boy Maharaja Dulīp Singh in February 1849, and now happens to be "the brightest jewel" in the crown of Queen Elizabeth II of England.[141]

Tavernier says that the largest diamond he ever saw in a shop weighed 176$\frac{1}{8}$ mangelins or 242$\frac{5}{16}$ carats and cost 750,000 French livres. In the same way a ruby belonging to the king of Bijapur was 14 mangelins or 17$\frac{1}{2}$ carats in weight and cost him 14,200 pagodas or 74,550 French livres. He also mentions a diamond weighing 319$\frac{1}{2}$ rattīs or 279$\frac{9}{16}$ carats, but adds that when it was rough it weighed as much as 907 rattīs or 793 carats.[142]

Besides diamonds the kingdom produced other precious and semi-precious stones like garnet, amethyst, topaz, agate etc.[143] But pearls were imported from the Persian Gulf. There is an interesting episode with regard to the import of pearls which is worth mentioning. Tavernier says that he boarded a "great vessel" belonging to Golkonda from Gomron in Persia with cargo including a parcel of "long pearls" which were meant to have been sold to 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shah. On reaching

Masulipaṭam on July 2, 1652 he learnt that the king would not purchase anything till Mīr Jumlā had passed it. The Mīr was then besieging Gaṇḍikoṭa, the chief town of Karnatak, and it was on September 1 that Tavernier reached the place which had been captured by Mīr Jumlā just a week earlier. It was a full fortnight before the minister allowed him to proceed to Golkonda which he reached on October 2. Mīr Jumlā had promised to write to his son asking him to make arrangements to introduce the Frenchman to the palace. But Tavernier could not find the young man at all, and it is quite possible that he might have had a signal from his father not to be concerned with the transaction. Anyhow, when the bag containing the pearls was at last sent to the king, he would not consent to pay the price demanded by Tavernier, and the party had to leave Haidarabad for Surat sorely disappointed.[144]

(ii) *Textiles*

Not only was Masulipaṭam the chief port on the Golkonda Coast where ships from Europe and the Far East brought goods to the country and in exchange exported local products to them, but it soon became the centre for textile manufacture.[145] In the north Srikakulam on the Orissa frontier was well known for the manufacture of muslin "which was as fine as that of Dacca".[146] In the district of Rajahmundrī some fine qualities of cloth were manufactured such as *betilles* or fine muslin, *salempores* or bordered stout calico and *percalles* which was the best calico in the market.[147] Masulipaṭam was also the centre of the *kalemando* industry which was the European name for the cloth painted by a *qalam* or fine pen, while cloth, both printed and plain, was manufactured at the Dutch factory at Pulicaṭ. These, along with fine chintzes and *bāftās* or pure white fine calico, which was prepared in the Mughal dominions, were in great demand in south-eastern Asia and even in far off Mozambique and Abyssinia.[148]

There was so much demand for Indian made cloth by "the English, the Danes and the Moors" that the Dutch complain of the tightness of the cloth trade in the 1630's.[149] This must

have been a great loss to the Dutch, as Thèvenot said earlier in the century that they made considerable profit by the carriage and sale of chintz and other kinds of apparel. He also says that the chintz made at San Thome was "much finer and of better colours than anywhere else in India."[150] The whole of the Coromondal coast was in fact dotted by large and small towns where cloth was manufactured and allied trades, such as the cultivation of the cotton plant, spinning, weaving and packing were regularly carried on. Bernier enumerates carpet making as one of the major industries of India, and in the Quṭb Shāhī dominions the centre of this industry was Warangal.

(iii) *Other manufactures*

Besides diamonds and textiles, which were the *forte* of the kingdom, we find that Indalwāi was the centre of the manufacture of swords, daggers and lances which found a market "all over the Indies" and were made from iron which was mined in the Kālāghāt hills near the town. At Narasāpūr Pēṭa, "two or three leagues from Masulipaṭam", were large ship-building yards where "Muslims, gentoos and Portuguese" built their ships Shipbuilding was possible in the locality because iron and other articles needed for the industry, such as the wood called red sanders with very thick polar trunks and their subsidiary varieties were found not far away and brought from inland forests by the river Krishna.[151] Evidently it was at these yards that large ships belonging to the kingdom, which plied in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea, were built. This was probably not to the liking of the English, for we have the record of a royal warrant of king Charles II of England, dated 21-2-1662 ordering that no one should "teach the natives to build and navigate ships in those parts to the great prejudice of the English nation, contrary to the royal charter granted to the said (East India) Company".[152] This shows how even at this early date the English authorities wanted to paralyse Indian industry by artificial means and thus to establish their hegemony first in the field of trade and commerce and then in the politics of the country.

(iv) *Agricultural Produce*

Credit is due to the European travellers of the seventeenth century for having observed the changes of the season so correctly and for having given a fairly accurate estimate of the agricultural produce of the region. Thèvenot says that winter in Golkonda really starts with the rainy season and there are great storms of rain and thunder till the middle of July. He goes on to say that rains continue in August, September and even in October, but differently to the early rains they are without thunder. During the rainy season rivers are always full and they could be crossed only on elephants. It seems that he was also a witness to the depredation of the river Mūsī, for he says that it "beat down two thousand houses and many people perished".[153] Methwold, who was at Musalipaṭam for four years, says that the hottest months of the year extend from March to June and the rainy season lasts from July to October. There were generally two crops of rice every year, and in certain localities there were even three crops. Evidently rice was consumed by the "gentiles" or Hindus more than by others, and as potatoes were plentiful there was no dearth of victuals.[154] Cereals and other eatable commodities were produced in the region to such an extent that rice, millets, pulses, butter and oil were taken in sampans to Pulicaṭ and nearby Gugarazupaṭam as well as other places on the south coast, and still there was sufficient supply left for home consumption at cheap rates.[155] Indigo was also grown round about Ellūrū, but it appears that it could not compete favourably with north Indian indigo which was sold at lower rates.[156]

Thèvenot says that the land of Tilang-Andhra yielded "all things in abundance, specially fruit". Grapes ripened in January but were available as far down as March and even April. Grapes could be had in large quantities and a part of the produce was pressed into white wine. Cattle, sheep, poultry and fish were also abundant, and irrigation was carried on by means of artificial tanks, as at present,[157] and Tavernier rather laconically says that "you need no more than make a little dam upon the plain side and keep the water" to devise a tank.[158]

Thus in the early seventeenth century the Quṭb Shāhī dominions were not merely self-sufficient in the matter of food products but were able to export surplus products to neighbouring parts of South India.

Imports and Balance of Trade

Naturally, trade could not be carried on as a one way traffic. There were many articles of which India in general and Tilang-Andhra in particular were greatly in need. India needed copper, cloves, nutmeg, cinnamon, and other articles like lead, tin, sulphur, alum and camphor. Lead was imported to a large extent from England, broadcloth and similar articles from France, horses from Uzbekistān, Arabia, Persia and Ethiopia, "fresh fruit such as melons, apples, pears and grapes" from Samarqand, and dried fruit from Bukhārā and Persia. Moreover cowries were imported from the Maldives, ambergris from the Maldives and Mozambique, rhinoceros horns and elephant tusks from Ethiopia, musk and porcelain from China and pearls from Bahrein and Tuticorin.[159] In addition to these important commodities cardamum and pepper were imported into the state from the southern part of the 'Ādil Shāhī dominions, ginger from the Mughal Empire and cloves and cinnamon from Ceylon. Cargoes of ships from the west consisted of such articles as quicksilver, broadcloth, vermilion, gold and silver ingots and iron cannon as well as various articles of use which were meant to be presents for the high and the mighty.[160]

Salt was widely manufactured evidently by means of the evaporation of sea water. The production of salt was a state monopoly, and when Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-lāh transferred this monopoly to private enterprise the price of salt shot up by leaps and bounds and it was sold "for the price of silver". The king's sister was married to the king of Bijapur, and when she heard of the distress of the people she wrote to her brother that the monopoly of the intermediaries should be ended forthwith, otherwise "he would be held up on the Day of Judgment". On the receipt of this letter the Sulṭān rescinded his orders causing the price of salt to come down to normalcy.[161]

One of the chief imports of the Quṭb Shāhī state was saltpetre, which was an important ingredient of gunpowder. As wars with the Mughals went on almost without a break, saltpetre was in great demand. It was mainly a product of Bengal, and the English factory depended on this Mughal province for its supply. There was some forward trading in it, but the "local traders, including those at Peṭapōlī, were so much in debt that it was risky to give them any advances". The result was that saltpetre dropped almost entirely from the market, and in March 1665 it could only be purchased "at a high price of Rs. 4½ per maund". On the other hand the government of Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-lāh was in need of the article, and an attempt was made by the English to obtain a monopoly of supplying it to the Quṭb Shāhī government. But the transaction could not be entered into, for Haidarabad demanded five hundred pagodas in cash as well as five hundred candies of saltpetre within two months. It appears that the English were not prepared to accept these terms and the project seems to have been blown out.[162]

It is to be noted that in spite of such a large amount of imports from foreign countries and other parts of India the balance of trade remained in favour of the State, and the cost of imports did not exceed the value of exports. Bernier is perfectly clear on this point, and says that notwithstanding the importance of imported articles these transactions "did not occasion the export of gold and silver" from the country, for "the merchants who bring these take back the product of the land". The very fact that gold and silver bullion were articles of continued import into Tilang-Andhra, and "precious metals abound in Hindustan although the country be destitute in mines," shows that when gold and silver were the legal tenders, the balance of trade must have tilted in favour of the Quṭb Shāhī dominions.[163]

Price levels

There was some contrast between the prices of the products of the country and those fetched by the articles imported from

abroad. Schoerer gives a very useful table of prices which ruled the market just before 'Abdu'l-lah's reign, in 1610, as follows :

Rice, 1 to 1½ pagoda per bahar, i.e. about 40 to 60 seers a rupee;

Wheat of a better quality, 3 to 4 pagodas per bahar, i.e., about 20 seers a rupee;

Butter, 7 to 10 fanams or about 2 rupees per maund;

Ox, 1 to 2 pagodas, i.e., about Rs. 4½ to Rs. 5;

Goat, 1 to 2 fanams, i.e., about 5 or 10 annas;

Fowl, 1 pagoda, i.e. about 4½ rupees per 60 or 80.

Spotted deer, from 2 to 3 fanams to ½ pagoda, i.e. 50 to 75 paise to Rs. 2.50.

Imported articles were more expensive. Thus :

Pepper, cost 25 pagodas per bahar, i.e., Rs. 125 for about 240 seers.

Nutmegs, cost 30 to 60 pagodas per bahar, i.e., Rs. 135 to 270 for about 240 seers.

Cloves, cost 5½ to 10 pagodas i.e., Rs. 25 to Rs. 45 per maund.

Sandalwood, cost 100 to 120 pagodas per bahar, i.e., Rs. 450 to Rs. 520 for about 240 seers.

Lead, cost 17 to 20 pagodas per bahar, i.e., Rs. 77 to Rs. 90 for about 240 seers.

Tin, cost 75 to 80 pagodas per bahar, i.e., Rs. 335 to Rs. 360 for about 240 seers.

Alum, cost 12 pagodas per bahar, i.e., Rs. 54 for about 240 seers.

Sulphur, cost 20 pagodas per bahar, i.e., Rs. 54 for about 240 seers.

Quicksilver, cost 20 to 25 pagodas, i.e., Rs. 100 to Rs. 112 per maund.

Camphor, cost 4 to 20 pagodas, i.e., Rs. 18 to Rs. 90 per seer.

Musk cost 10 to 12 pagodas, i.e., Rs. 45 to Rs. 54 per seer.

Raw China Silk, cost 40 to 50 pagodas or about Rs. 180 to Rs. 202 per maund.

Twisted China Silk, cost one pagoda or about Rs. 4½ per seer, the maund for textures being of about 12 seers.[164]

Methwold has not got such rich details in his market statistics,

[illegible] says that when he was in the Quṭb Shāhī dominions eight hens cost 12 pence, a goat or sheep cost 10 pence while "a very good hog" could be got for 1½ or 2 shillings. When he visited Kollur mines he found that iron and steel was sold at 2 shillings to 3 shillings per cwt.[165]

Tavernier came to the Deccan a number of times ranging between 1638 and 1662. He gives us the price of saffron, myrrh and sugarcandy (by which he probably means crystal sugar) as follows :

Sugar, 4 mahmudis or about Rs. 14.64 per maund of 17 seers.
Myrrh, 30 mahmudis or about Rs. 78.20 per maund of 17 seers.
Sugarcandy, 18 mahmudis or about Rs. 43.92 per maund of 17 seers.[166]

In addition to the memoirs left by these travellers we have the correspondence of the factors and agents of the East India Company which throws a considerable light on the market prices. It appears that after the taking over of San Thome by Mir Jumla he [illegible] the prices of the commodities in the neighbourhood shot up to nearly 300 per cent. In all probability this increase was due to the haggling about the taxes which were to be levied by the governor of Karnatak and the [illegible]. However, it may be said it is reported that, per[illegible] at the time, food was [illegible] a seer [illegible] does not seem unduly [illegible] the lightness [illegible] brought by the ship. [illegible] there was no [illegible] it a cost [illegible] pagodas [illegible] There was [illegible] demand [illegible] the agents [illegible] be [illegible] increased [illegible] rise of [illegible]

sequently there were two scales of prices for all commercial goods, one in the old and the other in the new pagodas. "Thus the weavers must keep up the price of cloth or else they cannot pay rent and taxes (in old pagodas). . . . But surely this cannot last long, for as investments will be less in these parts so money will be scarce and they will not be able to find enough to pay the king in rent".[169]

Taxes

While some of the Quṭb Shāhī officials are said to be rapacious according to European travellers, and the system of farming the revenue may have led to some hardship, it is noticeable that the duties levied on import and export were comparatively low,[170] and there was a further relaxation in favour of certain European companies. Of these the Dutch were perhaps the most favoured nation not merely because of their widespread trade which included the whole of the East Indian Archipelago but also because of their hostility towards the Portuguese who were known for their callousness and their fiery zeal for proselytization. Latterly there had been some misunderstanding between the Quṭb Shāhī authorities and the Dutch officials but that had been made up. The English, who were often at war with the Dutch in Europe, closely competed for the favours of the Haidarabad government.

During the reign of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh the ships entering and leaving the port of Nēgapaṭam paid only 2% *ad valorem* duty on entry and the same amount on exit, while at the Dutch-controlled port of Pulicaṭ they had to pay this amount in addition to 15 pagodas per ship as anchorage dues. At Niẓāmpaṭam which was governed by a "Hindu governor of Golkonda who had farmed it" the amount charged was 3½% *ad valorem* duty on arrival and the same on departure, besides the tax called *chhāpa dallālī* or stamping and brokerage which amounted to 11%. These taxes were levied on foreign merchants only, and the Muslims and Hindus ("Moores and Gentus") could trade freely although even they had to make some presents to the Governor.

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sequently there were two scales of prices for all consumer's goods, one in the old and the other in the new pagodas. "Thus the weavers must keep up the price of cloth or else they cannot pay rent and taxes (in old pagodas).... But surely this cannot last long, for as investments will be less in these parts so money will be scarce and they will not be able to find enough to pay the king in rent".[169]

Taxes

While some of the Quṭb Shāhī officials are said to be rapacious according to European travellers, and the system of farming the revenue may have led to some hardship, it is noticeable that the duties levied on import and export were comparatively low,[170] and there was a further relaxation in favour of certain European companies. Of these the Dutch were perhaps the most favoured nation not merely because of their widespread trade which included the whole of the East Indian Archipelago but also because of their hostility towards the Portuguese who were known for their callousness and their fiery zeal for proselytisation. Latterly there had been some misunderstanding between the Quṭb Shāhī authorities and the Dutch officials but that had been made up. The English, who were often at war with the Dutch in Europe, closely competed for the favours of the Haidarabad government.

During the reign of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh the ships entering and leaving the port of Nēgapaṭam paid only 2% *ad valorem* duty on entry and the same amount on exit, while at the Dutch-controlled port of Pulicaṭ they had to pay this amount in addition to 15 pagodas per ship as anchorage dues. At Niẓāmpaṭam which was governed by a "Hindu governor of Golkonda who had farmed it" the amount charged was 3½% *ad valorem* duty on arrival and the same on departure, besides the tax called *chhāpa dallālī* or stamping and brokerage which amounted to 11%. These taxes were levied on foreign merchants only, and the Muslims and Hindus ("Moores and Gentus") could trade freely although even they had to make some presents to the Governor.

The great advantage which the Dutch had over other European nations was that they had a permanent representative at the Quṭb Shāhī capital, and while he was exerting his influence on the Court officials he was reporting matters to his company which made them aware of the situation at Haidarabad. The Dutch director of coastal factories, Berchem, had made an agreement with the king that the Dutch company would pay 3,000 pagodas as a lump sum annually covering all import and export taxes and would thus be able to trade freely. The only amount which they had to disburse was in the form of "presents" to the governor, harbour master and other port officers.[171]

The British were not to be driven to the wall by the Dutch. They had been able to get what is called the Golden Farman from 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh in 1636 which was in some way similar to the concessions granted to the Dutch. Under the Golden Farman the English were to carry on trade within the Quṭb Shāhī dominions duty free on payment of an annual lump sum of 800 pagodas, which was equivalent to the amount allowed as compensation to the farmers of the tolls at Masulipaṭam; in case the duties chargeable to the English exceeded the amount they were to pay extra.[172]

When Muḥammad Sa'īd became Mīr Jumlā and the lord of Karnāṭak he began to enforce these conditions with strictness. While Sri Ranga was still the titular ruler of Karnāṭak, the English agent Thomas Ivie had secured from him the concession under which the territory and government of "the village of Madras" was handed over to the Company and they were completely free to deal with their ware duty-free; they were further granted half of all the customs and duties recovered at the port.[173] The year after this concession was granted Mīr Jumlā occupied Madras and confirmed these privileges. Muḥammad Sa'īd was an astute statesman, soldier and financier, and in order to supervise the customs revenue fully he set up his own offices at Madras, San Thome and Mylapur with *adigars* (*adhīkarīs*) at their head. One of these adigars was Malappa who was the officer in charge at Madras from 1648 to 1654. He constantly attended the choultry to see that his master's

share in the customs revenue was duly credited, and at the same time he tried to increase the consumption of such articles as betel-leaf, herbs, etc., in order to increase the amount of customs. It is reported that "two Brahman brothers" assisted the Nawab's officers so much so that an Englishman could hardly "peep out of the town either to carry out or bring in anything, for they were sure to be invaded by *jainkaneers* or custom officers who demanded .... sometimes three, four, five or more fanams upon a pagoda".[174]

It was in January 1656 that Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumlā defected to the Mughal camp, and his place was soon taken by Riẓa-Qulī Bēg, entitled Nēknām Khān, one of whose objectives in dealing with the English company was that correct and honest account of export and import should be kept. This led to a considerable rift between the Quṭb Shāhī officials and the British which took shape in some petty squabbles such as the question whether the governor's servants should be served first at the grass market or Company's servants. Sir Edward Winter, the Company's agent at Madras, was actually caught riding through the town and given a good beating on 12th October, 1662. Naturally such a state of tension could not lead to any understanding between the two parties, and Winter suspected that the "Moores" would cut off all privileges of the Company. By an agreement of 1658 the Quṭb Shāhī officials had agreed to accept 380 pagodas annually as half the total amount of custom duties collected; but in 1662 they refused to accept such a small sum as the trade of Madras had increased considerably. The Quṭb Shāhī share was left to fall in arrears till 1672 when the English had to agree to pay 1000 pagodas for the previous eleven years and 1,200 pagodas as annual payment for the future.[175]

But the Quṭb Shāhī hold on the customs revenue became more exacting, and we find Winter complaining to Oxendon at Surat in a letter dated 2nd April, 1663, that the Governor of Masulipaṭam was pressing the English further and was proposing to establish a *banksaal* or custom house of his own to collect all customs there, and then perhaps to hand over half the amount

to the Company. They had realised that the English were making considerable underhand profits and were paying only a small portion of the proceeds to the royal officials. As Winter said in one of his letters, "either by fair means or foul we may bring things to a better pass or bid farewell to trade in East India.[176]

With Nēknām Khān's alertness and the consequent loss of the Company's revenue, the finances of the Company became so low that it had to borrow 9,000 reals of eight from the none too honest Winter himself for the day-to-day expenses as well as for the payment to the royal officials. As the Madras factors wrote to Bantam on 16th December 1663 the Governor was in fact threatening the very existence of the English in Madras with an army forty thousand strong, and was demanding that a Quṭb Shāhī official should have his residence within Fort St. George itself and that a custom house should be established where the exact amount of the custom duties be accounted for out of which a moiety should be handed over to the English. Thus the collection of custom duties was to be undertaken by the royal officials instead of the Company. The trade of Madras had further increased by leaps and bounds, and Nēknām Khān naturally wanted that every fanam and every dam should be accounted for. The location of the governor's office within the walls of the fort meant his insistence on the sovereignty of the Sulṭan as well as the need for the supervision of the import-export revenue. The English would, however, not countenance the existence of a royal governor within the Fort, though, as the letter says, they would allow, of course under duress, the division of the actual customs into two equal halves.[177]

Nēknām Khān thus made a great impression on the English factors, and early in 1665 he is called "the greatest of all forces and the greatest in power". But the Company was not agreeable or were unable to meet his demands, and it was decided "to close all the factories on the coast except Masulipaṭam".[178] It was no doubt one of the consequences of the strained relations between him and the English that a virtual boycott of English trade was effected; the customs revenue at Madras

dwindled from about 2,000 pagodas per annum to one pagoda a day, and English goods became practically unsaleable.[179]

As mentioned above, the Dutch were in a comparatively better position. They relied on a royal farman of 27th November, 1636 which had been brought to Masulipaṭam in great pomp and ceremony, while they were careful to give "a decent present to the governor to satisfy his immense avarice". It was addressed by 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh "to the Captain of the Dutch at Masulipaṭam", and directed that in case the Dutch had any complaint to make it should be brought before the *Shah Bandar* or *Sarsanat* for disposal, and in case they experienced any kind of violence they should submit a petition to the king in person.[180] Another royal farman was received by Anthonius van Dannen, Viceroy of the Dutch, at the request of his ambassador (at the Court), Jan van Twist "in which the king hoped that the Dutch would drive the Portuguese from India and capture Goa, after which they would receive half of the tribute and also a place where they like to establish themselves.[181]

Besides the duties on import and export which, after all, did not come to a large amount, and the taxes on diamonds, the Quṭb Shāhī treasury relied on land revenue and *pēshkash*. According to the theory that all land belonged to the king, land revenue was "farmed" or auctioned to the highest bidder, and there was a whole ladder of sub-farming from those who purchased the right to the actual tiller of the soil. Primarily whole districts were farmed, so naturally it was only the wealthy who were the highest bidders. They in their turn divided their fiefs into smaller units and put the right of assessment to auction to the so-called middlemen, and these further auctioned their right to petty capitalist villagers. These middlemen and villagers were mostly non-Muslims. Each of these "farmers" was at liberty to squeeze his sub-tenant up to a certain extent, and so long as the tenant-in-chief paid his dues to the royal treasury and there was no visible discontent among the actual tillers of the soil, there was not much chance of interference from the centre. Two things must, however, be borne in mind in this connection: firstly the right to collect rent was not hereditary, and secondly,

there was no right attached to any "farmer" except that of the collection of rent from the immediate sub-tenant. There was, in fact, a whole gradation of royal civil and military officers interspersed in *ṣubahs* or provinces, *sarkārs* or districts, and *parganās* or sub-divisions. Moreover the forts were royal property and the *qil'ahdārs* and governors were appointed directly by the king.[182]

The income from land formed the major source of royal revenue. These dues were paid mostly in cash but sometimes in kind as well; thus the district of Koṇḍavīḍu was farmed for 40,000 pagodas as well as salt, cloth and the dye called cheyroot, while the district of Masulipaṭam was farmed for 1,80,000 pagodas[183] The total revenue from regular sources in the previous region amounted to 17 lakhs to 20 lakhs of pagodas.[184]

Apart from these regular sources there was a continuous flow of what the Europeans called "presents", but this was a kind of *pēshkash* or *nadhrānā* to the king or his entourage, which took the form of cash as well as kind. A very curious term for some of the articles presented to the king, as coined by the European, expecially English merchants, is "toys" which included such odds and ends as large-sized mirrors, cut-glass drinking vessels and tumblers, brass cannon, pedigree dogs and mastiffs. Presents were showered on the king and his entourage for the purpose of obtaining a favour: thus the English company made a present of 6,000 pagodas for obtaining the Golden Farman, while presents from the Dutch company for obtaining their wide privileges came to the same amount besides elephants, horses and copper candelabra which weighed nearly 5 cwt. Such presents were given to territorial lords as well, for we have the instance of the nāyak who demanded and received costly velvet, damask and tafetta as well as cannon for the purpose of admitting the English into the port of Ārmagāon.[185] These presents may be taken to mean a kind of tax for favours received and work allowed. Apart from the presents, the method of presentation also was important. Thus a letter of February 6, 1661 says that the presents meant for the king must be made by the principal

servants of the coastal factories and should be attended by a large train of followers with proper music and pomp.[186]

Other sources of revenue were tobacco and salt, and every-one who entered a town was questioned and searched for these articles by royal officers. This octroi tax brought a considerable amount to the treasury. Another source of income was what may be called *ābkāri* tax, on the *tāṛī* or the fermented juice of the date-palm which abounds in Tılang-Andhra, aıd as this liquor was widely used it also helped to replenish the treasury.[187]

It was these varied heads of revenue which made the court of Haidarabad one of the richest in India. Although lakhs of rupees and maunds of diamonds and other precious jewels had to be carted to the Mughal treasury it was able to help the sister court of Bijapur with money in its efforts to withstand the onslaught of the Mughals.

Salaries and Wages

The salaries of high officials, both civil and military, were disbursed through the grant of jāgīrs or fiefs, the jāgīrdār being responsible for his quota of fully equipped soldiers for the service of the king. But this was not the universal rule, for we find that the king allowed the governor of Masulipaṭam a sum of 8,000 pagodas per annum, while the governor of Niẓāmpaṭam was paid 5,000 pagodas per annum. Moreover the harbour master, the *imām* of the central mosque and other officers of Masulipaṭam were paid in cash. We also find that subordinate servants were paid in kind, i.e., in the shape of rice, salt and grain, no doubt over and above cash payment. While the jāgīrdārī system was in vogue in general, at least some of the officers of the coastal towns were paid in cash, and thus the evils of the system were mitigated.[188]

The wages of the workmen and private servants were commensurate with the current market prices. Blacksmiths and goldsmiths were paid the equivalent of 3 pence per day, private servants a penny per day, and the highest pay which foreign merchants allowed to their private servants was the equivalent of about five shillings per month without any extra allowance

for food, and the same was the scale of the pay of palanquin bearers.[189]

It is interesting to find that the salary of an English factor of Fort St. George in 1668-69 ranged between £25 and £35 per annum while that of a writer was £10 per annum. Apprentices, fresh from England, were each paid just £5 per annum as allowance for clothes, but "care was taken for their good education and usage". Two clergymen attached to the Fort were paid the comparatively high salary of £50 each per annum.[190]

Section 3. *Sea Routes and Roads*

The Records

As has been mentioned elsewhere, our information regarding the means of communication in mediaeval Tilang-Andhra assumes greater proportions with the coming of the Europeans in south India.[191] Comparatively very few Europeans came to India during the period covered by the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shah, but the long reign of his son 'Abdu'l-lāh saw a greater influx of these foreigners, who came as traders, factors, envoys, travellers and adventurers. The data in the letters and journals of the officials of the factories, which were interspersed along the eastern coast or what came to be called the Golkonda Coast, cover many volumes of records, and are supported by the diaries and letters of many eminent travellers such as Tavernier, Bernier and Thèvenot, some of whom give a fairly detailed description of the routes covered by them. Incidentally—and this is important—most of the towns, rivers and ridges which formed the frontiers of the kingdom with the Mughal empire, Bijapur, Orissa and the southern states are all marked with some precision.

We have already dealt with Tavernier's sojourn in India which throws a flood of light on the sea and road communications of the kingdom.[192] Bernier was in Golkonda-Haidarabad in 1660 when he learnt of the death of the Emperor Shah

Jahan. He was in Bengal along with Tavernier in November 1665 and the two parted company at Dinapur on January 6, 1666. His *Travels* gives a mass of information regarding Indian politics and the social conditions of the kingdom, but at least a part of this information is just hearsay and incorrect. Compared to him, the third important French traveller, Thèvenot, is more reliable, and he gives greater details about the roads and means of communication in the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom.

It has been noticed in another context that in the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shah the seas were patrolled as far off as the island of Socotra which lies nearly 2,000 sea miles from Masulipaṭam. This patrolling by Quṭb Shāhī naval units was effective and guaranteed the safety of all foreign shippings as is evidenced by episode of the indemnity levied on the Dutch ship the *Wappen van Rotterdam* in 1623.[193]

Sea Routes

Coming to 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign we find that the Quṭb Shāhī ships were plying as far west as Bandar 'Abbās (ancient Gomroon) on the Persian Gulf, and it was one of these ships which brought Tavernier to Masulipaṭam in 1652 and which, he says, was "a great vessel of the King of Golkonda". He adds that every year Quṭb Shāhī vessels plied between Bandar 'Abbās and Masulipaṭam carrying cargo ranging from horses to calicos and chintzes, as well as passengers. But it appears that the duty of piloting the vessels and defending them against robbers and pirates was undertaken by the Dutch, "who are wont to allow these vessels which belong to any kings or princes of India a pilot and two or three gunners". The vessel in which Tavernier travelled was manned by six Dutch mariners and "above one hundred natives". The ship left Bandar 'Abbās on May 11, 1652, touched Ponte Galle on the south-western tip of Ceylon on June 6 and reached Masulipaṭam on July 6,[194] thus covering a distance of more than two thousand miles within two months less nine days, which works out at about forty miles per day. The displacement of the ships belonging to the English East India

Company in 1668-69 ranged between 200 and 400 tons, and the vessel which Tavernier calls a "big ship" even in 1652 must have been above the average.[195]

But the monopoly of piloting and guarding Quṭb Shāhī ships which the Dutch seem to have held, did not mean that they were allowed to take law in their own hands. It must be remembered that the Dutch and the English were at daggers drawn in Europe and elsewhere, and sometimes they would waylay English ships coming from Persia and Europe on the high seas as well as between Madras and Masulipaṭam. The Portuguese were unfriendly both to the English and the Dutch, and we have at least one instance of the Portuguese capturing an English ship going to Persia from Masulipaṭam and towing it to Goa.[196] The English were incurring much loss at the hands of the Dutch who were carrying on lucrative trade with the East Indian archipelago. They therefore managed to get full protection of their merchant navy from the Quṭb Shahi officials, and when their ship, the *Constantinople Merchant* was nearing Masulipaṭam the Shah Bandar or the Port Officer and the *Sar-simt* or the chief executive officer expressly prohibited the Dutch from molesting the English ship in any way. The English also produced a royal farman "absolutely forbidding the Dutch to use any hostility upon pain of displeasure", and another farman, accompanied by a letter from *Sarkhēl* "assuring the English of the safety and protection of this ship".[197] When, in spite of all this the Dutch wanted to board the ship, a Quṭb Shāhī official, Muḥammad Bēg, stopped them from doing so at the instance of the Governor. The Dutch were expressly warned that if they harassed the English they would be "cut off". Another royal farman forbade the Dutch from meddling with English shipping "on the whole of the Golkonda Coast from Mānekpaṭṭam to Gingerlee".[198]

It is interesting to note that when Thèvenot embarked on the *Hopewell* from Baṣra for Surat on November 6, 1665, he had to pay sixty shillings as passage money. He says that this amount was three times the amount he would have had to pay "on a Muslim ship". Thus it appears that the passage money

on a ship belonging to one of the Sulṭānates of the Deccan from Baṣra to Surat would be merely twenty shillings. Thèvenot reached Surat on January 10, 1666 thus covering a distance of about 1600 miles in two months and five days, which works out at about twenty-five miles per day. This is on the average much less than the distance covered by Tavernier when he travelled from Bandar 'Abbās to Masulipaṭam in 1662.[199]

It thus appears that during the period under review Masulipaṭam was the chief Quṭb Shāhī port on the east coast in much the same manner as Surat was the chief Mughal port on the west coast of India. It carried on extensive trade with Europe, the Persian Gulf and the East Indian archipelago. Although what was called the Golkonda Coast, was effectively patrolled by Quṭb Shāhī units and the security of life and property guaranteed as against pirates and marauders, its weakness lay in its dependence on the Dutch in the matter of pilotage and defence. Ship-building industry flourished at Narsāpur Pētā where even the Portuguese ships were built. This industry throve to such an extent that, as has been related above, it was supposed to be a danger to the English ship-building industry.[200]

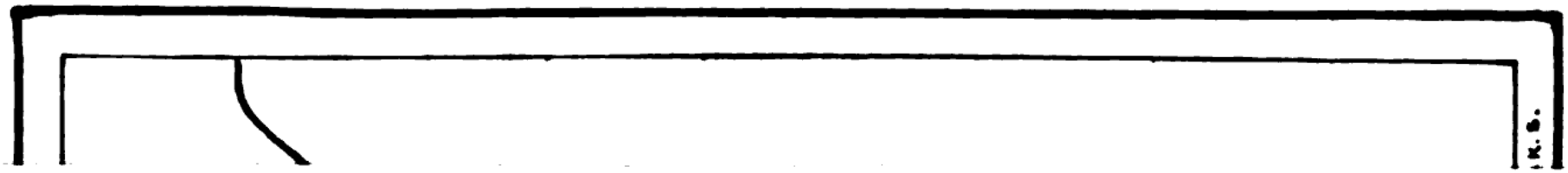
Tavernier and Thèvenot, who made extensive tours on Tilang-Andhra in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shah, are very careful in indicating the places where they crossed the Quṭb Shahi territory from the Mughal possessions or from the 'Ādil Shāhī dominions. Tavernier was in the Deccan a number of times and had to cross the frontiers of the kingdom on many occasions. He travelled to the capital of Tilang-Andhra both from Surat and from Agra. He says that travelling from Surat "you begin to enter upon the territory of the king of Golkonda" at Satnagar which, according to his calculation, was forty-two "kos" from Golkonda to the west.[201] In 1663 he took another route from west, passing Indalwāi and "Regivali" and says that "between these two places there is a little river which separates the territory of the Great Mogol from the dominions of the King of Golkonda".[202] A third time, travelling from Golkonda to Ramallakōṭa, he passed Jaṭpōl a few miles from the Krishna

which was "the boundary between the kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur.[203]

Thèvenot is more informative regarding the north-eastern and southern frontiers of the kingdom. He says that Chicacole (Srikakulum) was the last town included in the Quṭb Shāhī State, and the north-eastern frontier extended right up to the mountains of Orissa.[204] On the south-east, after the capture of Mylapur and San Thome "by the Moors with the help of the Dutch in 1662" the frontier extended to a point not more than two leagues beyond San Thome".[205] In the north-west, on the road to Indūr (modern Niẓāmābād) it touched a point about a league and a half from Calvar (Kalvarel), the last village in the Mughal territory, where a large number of mahwa trees separated it from Mughal Deccan,[206] while further west, on the road to Bidar, it was at a place between Kōhīr and Sajjāpūr that Mughal Deccan began.

Thus if we place the north-eastern border at the base of the Orissa hills, about where the town of Parlākimēdi now stands, we would find that it practically coincides with the corresponding border of modern Andhra Pradesh.[207] From this point to a few miles south of Madras it would cover a distance of nearly one hundred and thirty miles of coastal line and would include the ports then famous for export and import trade like Masulipaṭam, Pēṭāpōli (Niẓāmpaṭam), Pulicaṭ and Madras.[208]

Tavernier pin-points the frontier of the kingdom where it meets Bijapur and Mughal Deccan, while Thèvenot describes its extent coastwise. But if we study the points of advance of Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumlā southwards we would be able to observe the frontier even in greater details. Mīr Jumlā had reached Swariguṇṭā near Vellore as early as 1647, while a few years later he had annexed Chandragirī, Tirupatī, Sidhout, Udayagiri and Nandyāl, and in the south-west the Quṭb Shāhī banner began to fly over Gurramkoṇḍa, Guṭṭī Kokkunūr and Ganḍīkōṭa. The frontier touched the 'Ādil Shāhi dominions near Jinjī, Vellore, Karnūl and Pareṇḍā, towns which remained definitely in the hands of the Bijapuris, and the Mughal Empire



east of Kalyani, Bidar and Bīṛ, which were just outside the Quṭb Shāhī dominions.

Thus, compared to the present Andhra Pradesh, what may be conveniently called Tilang-Andhra, covered the whole of north-eastern Andhra Pradesh, included Bastar which had become a Quṭb Shāhi protectorate in the last reign,[209] the whole of modern Tilangana right up to the environs of Bidar, left out Karnul to Bijapur but included Guṭṭī, and then leaving Penukoṇḍa outside its border, included Tirupati and Madras to about six-miles south of St. Thomas Mount. The Quṭb Shāhi dominions in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh therefore included practically the whole of the present Andhra Pradesh in addition to the Marathi speaking state of Bastar and a small territory of the Madras State. At the same time the Telugu speaking district of Karnūl including perhaps Banganapallī remained under the 'Ādil Shāhi sway.[210]

Trunk Roads

Now that we are more or less sure of the frontiers of the State of Tilang-Andhra in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, it is comparatively easy to trace the main arteries of the kingdom. The centre of road communications was naturally the capital, Haidarabad, from which trunk roads led towards the chief Mughāl port, Sūrat, in the north-west, Bijapur and the capital of Portuguese India, Goa, in the south-west, the chief Quṭb Shāhī port, Masulipaṭam in the east, and Madras and beyond in the south. Some of these important towns, like Surat, Masulipaṭam and Madras, had two roads leading to Haidarabad, one straight and the other connecting some important inland towns. In all cases there was enough traffic not only in the shape of merchandise and human locomotion but also for armies and their vast commissariat which was necessary to maintain communications with the capital.

(i) *Roads from Surat to Haidarabad*

The first of these roads was one of the main arteries on which traffic from Surat passed on to Quṭb Shāhī territories. It

led from Surat to Daulatābād and Aurangābād, and from there it followed more or less the line of the South Central Railway passing Parbhanī and Nāndēṛ right up to Indūr (Niẓāmābād). From Indūr it followed the modern road to Indalwāi, which was the last principal stage in Mughal Tilangana. A few miles from Indalwāi it entered the Quṭb Shāhī dominions near Kalvārel, and passing Chinnā Mallareḍḍī, Biknūr, Vallōr, Jiḍpalli and Mēḍchal made a detour westward to the eminence called Maulā kā Pahār, which was a well-known place of pilgrimage even in 'Abdu'l-lāh's time. From Maulā ka Pahāṛ the road took a turn to the south-west, crossing Ḥusain Sagār and Purānā Pul to Chār Mīnār. As has been mentioned above, at Kālvārel the frontier between Mughal Deccan and Tilang-Andhra was separated by one of the many rivulets which flow in the locality, and was marked by mahwa trees on the Mughal side and wild palms on the Quṭb Shāhi side of the frontier.[211]

There was another trunk road from Surat to Haidarabad. It first marched from Sūrat along the Tāptī to the capital of the Mughal Deccan, Burhānpūr, and then passing through Malkāpūr and Ja'farābād, crossed the first trunk road at Ashṭī, now in the Bīṛ district of Maharashtra, and then passed through Pāthrī, Rājūrā-Aḥmadpūr and Bidar. It entered the Quṭb Shāhī dominions between Kōhīr and Sajjāpur, and then passed through Panchnigal, Mōmīnpet, Eniketala, a place called "Yacout-Kepensch", Yellākoṇḍā, Saudarguḍam, and Chilkūr, and then, after crossing the Eesi river by a causeway ("nerva"), came to a place called "Dence" and finally reached Haidarabad. The frontier between Mughal Deccan and Tilang-Andhra was probably marked by a small nullah about two miles west of Chilkūr, on the southern tip of the modern Osman Sagar.[212]

The road from Haidarabad to Bijapur and thence to Goa followed the road to Bidar as demarcated above, and then went due west as far as Shōlāpūr. From Shōlāpūr it took a turn to the south towards Bijapur.[213]

(ii) *Roads from Haidarabad to Masulipaṭam*

There were two main roads from the capital to Masulipaṭam,

one direct and the other which went first to the diamond mines at Kūlūr on the Krishna and thence to Masulipaṭam via Vijayawāḍā. Just like the junction of the two main roads in the west at Ashṭī, the two eastern highways met at Panagal near Nalgoṇḍa. It seems surprising that the direct road to Masulipaṭam was not in good condition, for the possible reason that most of the traffic from Haidarabad to the eastern coast passed along this section, especially after the opening of the mines about 1560. In fact, even today, only parts of this direct road to Masulipaṭam are fit for traffic, and the villages and hamlets, which might have been fairly large towns in the seventeenth century, are now so insignificant that it is difficult to spot them on the Survey of India sheets. Even when there must have been enough traffic in 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign the road was not in a good condition. Thèvenot is quite clear when he says:

> "Seeing that there was no Travelling neither in Coach nor Carriage because of the Badness of the Way and frequent overflowing of Rivers and Brooks I hired a Horse for myself and two Oxen for my Servants and Baggage, and I started with some Merchants".[214]

This road ran from Haidarabad and more or less followed the present Nalgoṇḍa road to Almāsguḍa in the Haidarabad district direct on to Chiruvapallī and Panagal. From Panagal it branched off to Amangal, Sirikipēta, Gurglūr, Anantagīrī, (all in the Nalgoṇḍa district), then to Penūganchiprolū and Pandyāla, both on the Manūrū river, and then to Maddūrū, Vayyūrū, Nidumōlū and Goddūrū and finally to the port of Masulipaṭam (all in the Krishna district). Many of the places through which the road passed are off the present highway from Haidarabad to Nalgoṇḍa, from where the road goes direct to Vijayawada and thence to Masulipaṭam. The old road crossed two rivers, the Mūsī at Sirikipēṭa and the Manūrū at Penūganchiprōlū. It again crossed the distributaries in the delta of the Krishna at Vayyūrū before reaching Masulipaṭam.[215]

The other road was the better road at least up to the Kūlūr mines. We are told that it passed by "Tenara" and "Jatenagar", Tenara being four "costes" from Golkonda and Jatenagar

twelve "costes" from Tenara. It is difficult to spot these two places, as both might be perversions of Ḥayātnagar, a historical town which was founded by Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam, mother of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, and which still contains a fine mosque and other buildings of the Quṭb Shāhī period. It is ten miles from Haidarabad and sixteen from Golkonda. Both Tavernier and Thèvenot speak at some length about the fine buildings and palaces at Tenara. Tavernier says:

> "Tenara is a sweet place where there are some very fair houses, to every one of which belongs a large garden. One of the four standing upon the left hand along the highway is much more beautiful than any of the others there. It is built of stone two storeys high, where there are several fine galleries, halls, parlours and lodging chambers. Before the front of the house is a large four square piazza, little inferior to the Place Royale at Paris . . . ."[216]

What Thèvenot says about Tenara is as follows:

> "The King has a stately Palace (there), consisting of four large Piles of Stone-building, two storeys high, and adorned with Porticoes, Halls and Galleries, and before the Palace is a large Square. Besides these Royal Apartments there are habitations for Travellers . . . ."[217]

This sounds very much like a description of the great fort-palace of Sulṭān Nagar, which is eight miles from Haidarabad and two miles from Ḥayātnagar. But there are difficulties in identifying Tenara with Sulṭān Nagar. Sulṭān Nagar is barely two miles from Ḥayātnagar on the Haidarabad side, and there is no habitation of a name similar to "Jatenagar" besides Ḥayātnagar. Apart from this we are aware that the fort of Sulṭān Nagar was abandoned by 'Abdu'l-lāh immediately after his accession, though it might have retained its appearance and beauty when Tavernier and Thèvenot visited it.

However that might be, the road led to Pantangī and thence to Panagal, and from Panagal it went direct to Nagalpad, Lakabaron and Kūlūr. From Kūlūr it crossed a distributary of the Krishna and reached Vijayawāḍa. Between Vijayawāḍa and Masulipaṭam there were four stages, namely, Paṭamaṭa, Vayyūrū,

Nirdumanārū and Marrivāḍū. It is significant that while the stages between Haidarabad and Kūlūr were of eleven to fourteen "costes", those between Vijayawāḍā and Masulipaṭam were much smaller, namely four to six "costes" only. This was partly because of the numerous distributaries of the Krishna in its delta area and partly because the terrain was "very rocky" and travellers had sometimes to get down from their carriages while travelling in this part of the country.[218]

(iii) *Road from Haidarabad to Madras via Gaṇḍīkōṭa*

This route was necessitated by the acquisition of the Karnatak territory by Mīr Jumlā and its annexation to the Quṭb Shāhī dominions. Tenara or Ḥayātnagar was the junction of this road with the Trunk road to the Kūlūr mines and Vijayawāḍa. The road may conveniently be dealt with according to the three sectors into which it was divided.

(a) *Sector from Ḥayātnagar to Kumbum :*

Kumbum was the frontier town of the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom before the conquest of Karnatak, and it may be presumed that the road in this sector was fairly well conditioned. It passed from Ḥayātnagar to "Paraida" and "Holcara", and then to Dēvarkoṇḍa, after which the Krishna was crossed. The next stage was Mancherla, and passing by Merrivamula and Tiripurānthakam it reached Duped and Venulakota, and finally Kumbum.[219]

(b) *Sector from Kumbum to Gaṇḍīkōṭa :*

From Kumbum the road led through Gudimiṭṭa, Sancharla Porāimamilla and "Catepali" and finally reached Gaṇḍīkōṭa, which had been the capital of Pemmasani chiefs and which was in Tavernier's time the headquarters of Mīr Jumlā.[220]

(c) *Sector from Gaṇḍīkōṭa to Madras :*

Gaṇḍīkōṭa fort is perched on a high hill, 1670 feet above the sea level, and must have been an important point of vantage.

The road, which wheeled round rather sharply towards Madras, must have been only partly developed. It followed more or less the south-eastern sector of the modern railway line which runs from Guntākal to Renīguṇṭa and Madras. The first stage was Gorēganūru on the north bank of the Pennar; then it passed by Gōlapallī, Vōnmiṭṭa, Uttukūru, Anantarājupeṭṭa, Kuruvu-Bandēlu, Gazulamenḍiyam, Narāyanavanum, Uṭṭukoṭāi and finally reached Madras.[xii]

(iv) *Road from Vijayāvaḍa to Madras*

Vijayāvaḍa was the junction of the roads from Masulipaṭam, Kulūr, Haidarabad and Madras. The road from Vijayāwāḍa to Madras more or less followed the modern railway line, though it took detours at certain places like Koṇḍavīḍu, Koṇḍukūr and Pulicaṭ which had an importance of their own in the seventeenth century. From Vijayāwāḍa it had first to cross the broad Krishna, and the first stage was met at Kākani which is barely four miles from the present district town of Guntūr, after which the "great city" and fort of Koṇḍavīḍu was reached. From Koṇḍavīḍu the road led to Koppuram, Addanki, Nennarapada and finally to the large town of Koṇḍukūr. From Koṇḍukūr the road ran to Dākēpallī and Nellore, and thence to Gunḍāvaram, Sarvāpallī and Pudēru. From here it crossed the border of the present Madras State to Sonnapaguṇṭā, and then passing by the principal Dutch factory, the Geldria, at Pulicaṭ, reached Madras.[xiii]

(v) *Road from Masulipaṭam to Srikākulam*

As has been noticed above, Srikākulam was the last important town of the Quṭb Shāhī State in the north-east. The road from Masulipaṭam ran along the coast to Palakollu on the main stream of the Godavari within the delta, thence it marched to Drakshāvaram, Bimlipaṭam and finally to Srīkakulum. This was the road which was familiar to Thèvenot and also perhaps to other European travellers. But there must have been another road running north-eastward touching the ancient towns of Elūrū and Rājahmundrī, through probably the presence of

Dutch factories at Palakollu and Drakshāvaram might have made the road through these towns more frequented and more familiar to Europeans.[223]

(vi) *Road from Haidarabad to Ramallakōṭa Diamond Mines :*

This was really a part of the highway which led from Haidarabad to Bijapur and Goa, but a very small part of that highway fell in the Tilang-Andhra territory.

Starting from Haidarabad it passed through Golkonda, Khānāpur, "Cokenol", Kovilkoṇḍa, Jaṭpōl and 'Ālampūr on the Krishna, which formed the frontier between the Quṭb Shāhī and the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdoms. The road then led to Karnūl and Rāmallakōṭa gold mines which happened to be in the 'Ādil Shāhī territory. This indicates that the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab, a part of which now forms part of Andhra Pradesh, was then under 'Ādil Shāhī sway. But as Golkonda was the centre of the diamond trade the sector of the road between Haidarabad and Ramallakōṭa must have been a very busy thoroughfare.[224]

Means of Communication :

If we picture to ourselves trains of ox-carts, *raths* or single-domed and double-domed luxury ox-carts, and what are called *bahlīs* in north India and *banḍīs* in Tilang-Andhra, with a posse of horses ridden by middle class people, oxen rīdden by the poor and palanquins or *pālkīs* used by the élites we would know what transport would be like in the Deccan of the seventeenth century. From the reports we get from foreign travellers we find that it was not horses but oxen which were harnessed to "coaches" (meaning *raths*) and carts (meaning *bahlīs*) and *chhakṛās* or *banḍīs*. In all such vehicles a kind of hammock was attached to the bottom of the vehicle for carrying grass for the animals as well as small luggage. The modest "cart" was generally drawn by two oxen, but sometimes as many as ten or twelve oxen were yoked to a vehicle especially when it had to negotiate a difficult incline or when it contained heavy material to be carried.[225] The average hire money for an ox-cart was one

rupee per day, presumably including a fully equipped cart, food for the driver and oxen and the wages of the driver himself. The inclusive term for the hire of an ox-cart from Surat to Haidarabad was forty-five rupees according to the number of days spent on the roadway.[226]

When roads would not permit the carriage of a "coach" or a "cart" such as in the case of a direct route from Haidarabad to Masulipaṭam, men of means travelled on horses and their servants and luggage were transported on oxen. These oxen were not puny and emaciated animals like those which are to be seen in India of today, but were fit to be yoked to royal and imperial "ox-chariots". The Gujarat breed of oxen was supposed to be the best in India and sometimes a pair was sold at as much as one hundred pieces of gold. "They will travel eighty kos in twenty-four hours and surpass even the swift horses". Even the more ordinary oxen "had paces as easy as European hacks". These "ox-coaches" were furnished in the best style, and Mendelslo says that the "coach" in which he and his wife travelled had "gilt all over, covered with several pieces of Persian tapestry and drawn by two white oxen.[227]

Those who could afford it travelled in palanquins or *pālkīs*. Some of them were covered with plates of solid silver and others had them painted "with flowers and other curiosities".[228] The porters who carried the palanquins could be hired at fairly low wages.[229] Each palanquin was attended by a number of footmen armed with bows and arrows and some even with muskets, both as a mark of dignity and for protecting the travellers from robbers and marauders. The wages of these footmen were more or less the same as those paid to the porters.[230] Sometimes regular soldiers also accompanied these caravans especially when a person of eminence was travelling. Thus Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumlā ordered sixteen horsemen and some artillerymen to accompany Tavernier from Gandīkōṭa. But when he had passed the danger zone of the newly conquered part of Karnatak these soldiers were withdrawn.[231]

Evidently there were no bridges over the rivers which flowed through Tilang-Andhra, even those which were in floods during

the monsoons. In the rainy season some of these were absolutely impassable, as is evidenced time and again in the case of campaigns undertaken by the Quṭb Shāhī kings. Of course an exception was the great bridge now called the Purana Pul over the Mūsī constructed by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh in 1578 which still serves the needs of the citizens of a large part of Haidarabad city.[332] The shallower streams had causeways such as those one sees in south India to this day. Large rivers like the Krishna and the Godāvari had to be crossed by means of ferry-boats. These ferries were large wicker boats covered with ox-hide at the bottom and outside and spread over with some kind of *darries* or carpets and were propelled by four oars worked by men standing at each of the four corners. "As for their couches and wagons, they fasten them between two boats by the wheel and the pole, the horses swimming all the while . . . . As for the oxen that carry the baggage, as soon as . . . . they have unloaded them, they only drive them into the river and they will swim over themselves.[333]

The last thing to be said in this connection is with regard to the postal arrangements in Tilang-Andhra. As is well-known, the great Arab traveller and raconteur, Ibn Baṭūṭa, describes the postal system at work in the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluq. The system was perfected by the Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan and kept right up to the downfall of the Mughal administration after the death of Aurangzeb. It had developed to such an extent that the various courts which had sprung up in different parts of the country had their daily newsletters sent by their emissaries from the Imperial capital as well as from the neighbouring states. In Tilang-Andhra the postal system impressed Tavernier. While describing the way Mīr Jumlā handled his correspondence at Ganḍīkōṭa, he says that the General distributed his sealed letters, some to footmen and others to horsemen. He describes the extraordinary speed by which letters were carried by footmen or runners. It is strange that the letters which were sent by runner-post all over India reached their destination with more speed than those which were sent by the rider-post. There were posts every two leagues or about

six miles where men were always ready to receive the letters and run on to the next post the moment the previous runners arrived. The condition of many of the roads was also suitable for these runners, for the more important highways had shady trees on either side, and where there were no trees the highways were marked by whitewashed stones every five hundred paces. It is interesting to note that the duty of white-washing these stones was the responsibility of the villages through which the highways passed.[234]

Section 4: *Administration, International Conduct and Social Conditions*

I. ADMINISTRATION

The Dastūru'l-'Amal :

There is an interesting section on the principles of government in Mirza Ibrāhīm Zubairī's *Basātinu's-Salāṭin* entitled "Dastūru'l-'Amal", extending to thirteen pages, which gives an insight into the ideals of administration in the Deccan. The section is appended to the events of the reign of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shah of Bijapur, a contemporary of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, and it may be presumed that it represents the ideals of government in the two sister kingdoms.[235] It is interesting to note that the style of this Dastūru'l 'Amal is similar to that of "Siyāsat Nāmā" of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Ṭūsī, which that great statesman is said to have written at the bidding of Sulṭān Malik Shāh Saljūqī, the great King of Central and Western Asia. Another interesting point is the statement in the subtitle of the section that its contents were "accepted by the predecessors of the Sulṭān who were known for their ideals of justice" and it ends with the admonition that the King should not desist from acting according to them.[236]

The section begins with a word of advice to the King that he "should adopt justice as his watchword, for the satisfaction of the population leads to the strengthening of the realm and replenishment of the treasury". Clear issues should be settled

forthwith in the courts and the party telling lies should be punished. The qāzīs, muftīs and the Chief Justice should be paid the salaries commensurate with their respective offices in cash, or else they should be granted the revenues from specified villages. There may be a Chain of Justice with a gong reaching the ears of the King himself, but prior to the "recourse to this contrivance a proper plaint should be lodged in the courts having jurisdiction over the cause to be tried".

The section lays great stress on the loyalty and integrity of the ministers. It says that jāgīrs should be granted to the wazīrs and the amīrs of the kingdom only for three years but they might be renewed on the expiry of the term. The wazīrs should have to submit a complete account for the amount of money accruing to them from their jāgīrs, and if the amount collected exceeded the amount spent on the items of expenditure sanctioned, it should be made good. A significant note is struck of punctuality, and the King is admonished to see that the ministers attend their respective offices punctually, His Majesty setting the example by being scrupulously punctual himself. The section prescribes a routine for the King and sets a limit to the time he should spend with his ministers, with the learned and with those with whom he enjoys life. It is laid down that the commandants of fortresses should not hold office in a single place for more than three years, perhaps because otherwise they would become too assertive. These are some interesting details thrown in, such as keeping the trunk roads and feeder roads clean, the closure of the market during certain festival days, the need of trees being planted on both sides of roads, the lay-out of trunk roads with large squares and fountains, the provision of training boys in arts and crafts, and the details of victuals for feeding the travellers and the needy at the expense of government.[237]

(a) *Central Government*

The King

As was the case not merely in India but in practically all

other parts of the world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the pivot of the administration in Tilang-Andhra was the King. He lived in grand style, and when, perhaps on rare occasions, he stepped out of his vast palaces he did so with a tremendous *éclat*. Thus when in 1046/1636-37 he went to visit the Iranian Ambassador who was staying in the mansion formerly occupied by Muḥammad Amīn Mīr Jumlā, he was received by the envoy in right royal fashion, and the huge tank, which still bears the name of Mīr Jumlā, was illuminated by myriad coloured lamps during the King's stay; and when 'Abdu'l-lāh returned to his palace his mother, the Dowager Queen, showered the Ambassador with costly presents.[238] Again, great pomp was displayed when the King left Haidarabad on long tours of the eastern provinces of the kingdom. The first tour was marred by the rebellion of certain local zemindars, and the cavalcade, which consisted of as many as fifty thousand men, had to retrace its steps from Koṇḍāpallī.[239] It was two years later, in 1049/1639-40 that the high watermark of pomp and pageantry was reached. Accompanied by the Dowager Queen, the ladies of the zenāna, the Peshwa and a number of ministers, the *majlisīs* and the nobles as well as foreign envoys and prominently the Ambassadors of Iran and the Mughal Empire, the King started on his two months' tour of the eastern regions on a golden *singāsan* or moving throne, with fanfares sounding and drums beating. He had a long retinue consisting of thousands of infantry, cavalry, artillery and elephants caparisoned with European velvet and pure silk, and no end of followers. This magnificent procession—it was like a whole city on the move—was preceded by thousands of workmen who repaired the roads, and arranged the next halt by clearing forests for the comfort of the King and his movable capital. The journey to Masulipaṭam, which is called *Bandar-i Mubārak* or the "Auspicious Port" took exactly two months to return, and it served the double purpose of showing the might of Haidarabad to the restive population of the east coast and exhibiting the magnificence and viability of the State to European Factors.[240]

The King wore a crown which had "a jewel about a foot

long—a rose of great diamonds, three or four inches in diameter". On the top there was "a palm branch like ornament with several springs each ending in a lovely pearl shaped like a pear".[341]

Like his grandfather, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, 'Abdu'l-lāh was fond of gay life and *abandon*. He was also, like his ancestor, cognisant of his own shortcomings and gradually entrusted the business of government to his ministers, and finally, in March 1634, he handed over his full and complete authority to the Pēshwa, Ibn-i Khatūn. In fact it was due to the foresight and administrative ability of Pēshwas like Ibn-i Khātūn and Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumlā that, in spite of the King's indolence and the onward march of the Mughal power and influence, the kingdom not only survived but was able to extend its frontiers never reached by the Quṭb Shāhī power previously.

Majlis-i Dīwān Dari

An interesting development in Tilang-Andhra was the evolution of Majlis or Privy Council. It appears that there were some "*majlisīs*" or Councillors even in the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh,[342] and from the beginning of the reign matters of import were decided after a full discussion among those in authority. This must have led to the formulation of a *Majlis-i Dīwān Dārī* or *Majlis-i Khāṣ* which was held regularly every day from the second regnal year of the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh. Not only were nominations to this Council made from among the persons who had made a mark in public service or belonged to the nobility but direct appointments of "majlisīs" were made to Ambassadorial and other responsible posts. Thus a "majlisī", Yūsuf Shah, who had already held the important ministry called the 'Ainu'l-Mulk, was appointed the Quṭb Shāhī Envoy to the Mughal Court in 1040/1630,[343] while the next year Mīrza Ḥamzā, who held the high office of Sarkhēl became a Councillor. We have a list of nearly twenty Councillors, and they include the King's preceptor, those who had migrated to the Deccan from north India as well as abroad

and came to hold high office in the Quṭb Shāhī dominions, physicians, poets, *raconteurs,* professors, commanders of forces, envoys and others. The King ordinarily presided over the formal meetings of the Council and whenever there was an official procession the Councillors took precedence over the King's entourage and the royal bodyguard. In 1049/1639-40 the King ordered the *majlisīs* "and other high officials to construct their house in Muḥammadnagar-Golkonda". [344]

The Pēshwa

In those far-off days there was no question of the collective responsibility of the Ministers, and it is difficult to say whether a "Ministry" proper existed. The head of the administration was the *Pēshwa,* and perhaps the most renowned of all the *Pēshwas* of the reign was Shaikh Muḥammad surnamed Ibn-i Khatūn by which epithet he is generally known in history. He was a man of great learning and aptitude, and his name was preceded by "Nawwāb 'Allāmī Fahhāmī" or the Nawwab of vast learning and intelligence. He came to have the power of appointment to all high offices, and as the King gradually lost interest in the affairs of state he handed over all effectual powers to the *Pēshwa.* We have a record of eminent persons who occupied *Pēshwaship* during the reign. When the youthful King came to the throne his mother, Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam appointed her son-in-law, Shāh Muḥammad, *Pēshwa* with a salary of 12,000 *hons.* As Shāh Muḥammad had little to his credit except his proximity to the throne, and was involved in some underhand money matters he was deprived of his high office on 9-9-1038/22-4-1629 and Shaikh Muḥammad Ibn-i Khātūn, who had already proved his worth as an envoy and as a high executive officer, was appointed in his place.[345] But as it was bruited that Ibn-i Khātūn also was guilty of certain undesirable acts he was interned in his own house while the charge of his high office was given to Muḥammad Riẓā Astrābādī on 13-6-1042/1612-1632. When Ibn-i Khātūn was cleared of all charges he was reinstated on 9-10-1043/29-3-1634 in a grand *darbar* "at which

all the nobles, the majlisīs, amirs, wazirs and foreign envoys were present" and the King entrusted to him full authority of the *Pēshwa* with his maternal nephew as his Deputy. He was also invested with the power and authority of Mīr Jumlā, and was given the portfolio of foreign affairs "which had become the most important of administrative charges" no doubt owing to the increasing danger from the Mughals.[346]

The new *Peshwa* not merely governed the state in the name of the King but also managed to keep company with the learned, the poets and the amīrs. Tuesday was the general holiday in the kingdom, when Ibn-i Khātūn retired to groves and gardens in the vicinity of the city to which foreign envoys, especially the Ambassadors of the Mughal Empire and Iran, were also invited.[347]

Jumlatu'l-Mulk

Next to the *Pēshwa* came Jumlatu'l-Mulk or, as he was popularly called, *Mīr Jumlā*. With Mīr Mumin's death in 1034/1624 no one was appointed to this high office. The first Mīr Jumlā of 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign was Manṣur Khān Ḥabashi.[348] It is related that Manṣur Khān did not perform his official duties personally but left everything to his Brahman subordinates "who became all powerful in the administration.[349] The importance of the office rose and fell with the personality of its holder and attained immense heights with the appointment of Muḥammad Sa'īd Ardistāni as *Mīr Jumlā*, so much so that all previous incumbents of the post paled almost into insignificance, and the epithet *"Mīr Jumlā"* became synonymous with Muḥammad Sa'īd. He had risen from the ranks, from the office of *Sardaftardār* or the Keeper of the Royal Records, becoming the *Ḥawaladar* of Kondāpalli-Mustafanagar, *Sarkhel* with a salary of 3,000 *hons, Sipah Salar* or Commander-in-chief of the army which distinguished itself by the conquest of Karnatak and the elimination of the once brilliant empire of Vijayanagar. During the incumbency of the pēshwāship by Ibn-i Khātūn the Pēshwā was like the all-powerful Minister of Delegation of the Abbasid period, and when Muḥammad Sa'īd rose to power as

Mīr Jumlā there were few in the kingdom who equalled him in authority. When he was ordered to Karnatak two Ministers, Shujā'ul-Mulk and Yūlchī Bēg, were actually ordered to accompany him as members of his staff.[250]

Wazīrs or Ministers

The *Pēshwā* was the apex of the administration and as the royal delegate he had even a larger authority than a modern Prime Minister. He had twelve Ministers to help him in his day-to-day duties. In the Deccan the term Wazīr is found as far back as the reign of the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty, 'Alāu'd-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh. It appears that the institution fell into disuse but it was revived under the Quṭb Shāhīs and became a part of the administrative system in 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign.[251] Here the Ministers entitled "Dhi Shaukat" or Possessors of Eminence,[252] and each was entitled to carry an embroidered flag as well as other emblems of high office. We are not aware of the portfolios of the Ministers, but we know that the senior-most among them was called *Amīnu'l-Mulk* and another was in charge of military affairs. When Mulla Uwais was invested with a Wazīrate on 14-4-1047/26-8-1637 he was received by the King with full honours befitting the occasion and granted robes of honour and full accoutrement of Ministership. Every Minister had a jāgīr, and this was never in the proximity of the capital. The King had a critical eye on the action of Ministers, and when he found that Yūlchī Bēg had incurred a debt of thirty or forty thousand *hons* he ordered that the debt should be cleared out of the Minister's property.

Dabīr

Perhaps next in order of precedence was the *Dabīr* or Secretary. The Central Secretariat consisted of two Secretaries, namely the *Munshiu'l-Mumālik* or Chief Secretary and the *Dabīr-i Farāmin-i Hindawī* or the Secretary in charge of the "Hindawī" farmans.[253] The latter post was almost invariably occupied by a Hindu, and as bilingual farmāns in Persian and

Telugu became the order of the day, it is this branch of the Secretariat which must have been in charge of the Telugu versions. In fact it is not known whether any actually "Hindi" farmāns were issued in 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign, it is possible that the term "Hindawī" in this context meant "non-Persian" or Telugu farmāns. The office of the *Dabīr* was called *Dīwān-i Inshā,* and one of the main duties of the *Dabīr* was noting on the petitions and drafting the farmāns which, however, had no value without the royal *"chhāp"* or seal. It is also hinted that the *Dabīr* had some judicial work to perform as well, and the English Factors call him "Lord Chief Justice". It is quite possible that the *Dabīr* heard and decided cases relating to the administration proper and as the English Factors and tradesmen had to deal with this aspect of the administrative system they mistook the Chief Secretary to be the highest judicial officer in the realm. It is noted that the *Dabīr-i Farāmīn-i Hindawī* was also *Majmū'ahdār* by which term was meant the Accountant General of the kingdom.[354] Sometimes the *Majmū'ahdār* was a distinct official, such as Narayana Rao who embezzled more than a lakh of *hons* and was taken to task by the *Sarkhēl* Mulla Muḥammad Taqī Sharīfu'l-Mulk in 1038/1628.[355] Evidently the influence of the Brahmans in public administration was increasing with the passage of time, and it is related that *Mīr Jumlā* Manṣūr Khān carried on his official duties with the help of the Brahmans "who thus became all-powerful in public administration".[356]

Kōtwāl

One of the most important of central officers was the Kōtwāl or Commissioner of Police.[357] He not merely kept law and order in the city but fulfilled many other responsibilities as well. Thèvenot, who visited Haidarabad about this time, says that "the most considerable of the local officers in the capital was the Kotwal". Along with his main function of keeping law and order in the vastly heterogenous population consisting of

Dakhnīs, Ḥabashīs, Persians, Mughals, Tartars, Armenians and Hindus of various castes and denominations, besides an increasing number of Europeans,[358] he was also the Master of the Mint and the "supreme judge" of the city in certain matters. When 'Abdu'l-lāh went on his grand tour of the Eastern Provinces with most of his Ministers, it was the *Kōtwāl*, Mīrza Nāṣir who was left in full charge of the capital under the minister, Shujā'u'l-Mulk.[359]

Sarkhēl

The *Sarkhēl*, (literally "Group Leader") was the chief revenue officer at the capital and had a large jurisdiction over the districts and provinces. Some of the most outstanding personages of the reign are mentioned as Sarkhēls, such as Muḥammad Taqī Sharīfu'l-Mulk, Mirza Rōzbihān Iṣfahāni and Syed Muẓaffar. As the Director of Revenue Department he had some authority over European trade on the east coast, and when the English captain of the ship, *Constantinople Merchant*, was put to trouble by the Dutch Factors, he appealed to the Sarkhēl who immediately placed him under the protection of the King of Golkonda. But later, possibly for some monetary consideration, the interests of the Sarkhēl shifted to the support of the Dutch against the English. Being the Director of Revenue, the Sarkhēl's office is described by some of our chroniclers as "a very eminent office".[360]

(b) *Provincial Administration*

Royal Authority

While the King's authority was supreme in the kingdom he perhaps did not take much care to see that his orders were duly honoured in the provinces, and those in charge of the outlying districts did practically what they liked. This was so mainly owing to the increasingly care-free character of the King, coupled with his sense of frustration at the suffocating impact of the Mughal power culminating in the Imperial *farmān*

of 1636 which made the kingdom a virtual protectorate of the Empire. The Dutch complained in so many words that the royal *farmāns* were not taken notice of,[261] and even for obtaining such worthless *farmāns* the court entourage had to be satisfied by rich presents. On the other hand the dilatoriness on the part of the officials at the capital was gradually becoming the order of the day.[262] The King's prestige declined to such an extent that when he sent a *farmān* along with a robe of honour and presents to Sir Edward Winter at Masulipaṭam he kept the *farmān* but returned the robe and the presents, and when he was summoned to Haidarabad he refused to go.[263]

The Simt

Right through the Bahmanī period the generic name of the province was *ṭaraf* (pl. *aṭrāf*), but this term was no longer in use and another term which seems to have taken its place was *Simt*, while the chief civil representatives in it was called *Sarsimt*.[264] But the *simt* answered more to a district than to a province, for it is mentioned that Bēlamkoṇḍa, Venūkoṇḍa, Niẓāmpaṭam, Koṇḍāpallī, Masulipaṭam, Ellūrū, Rajahmundrī and such other places were their capital towns.[265]

The Sarsimt was evidently appointed by the King, but there was another officer, the *Ḥawāladār*, who is wrongly called "governor" in the Dutch and English Factory Records.[266] This officer was mainly responsible for the collection of local taxes, and the office was publicly auctioned or "farmed" and given to the highest bidder. Although his actions were generally supervised by the *Sarsimt* he was more or less free to do as he liked. His main function was to collect the revenue and pay the Centre the amount of the "farm" at the stipulated periods. It is expressly stated that most of these "governors" were opulent Brahmans or Banias, who lived in a lordly style, while they acted as local collectors and local judges in petty cases. They were taken to task if they did not remit the instalments of the "farm" punctually, and it is stated that they were sometimes even flogged for any discrepancy. It can well be

surmised that such a state of affairs was not helpful to the increase of their prestige even in judicial matters.[367]

As an instance, the annual "farm" of the district of Masulipaṭam was valued at 1,80,000 pagodas, out of which the King allowed 5,000 pagodas to the Ḥawāladār as his salary, while 3,000 pagodas were retained by him as the salary of his subordinate officers. Subinfeudation, descending to three or four steps till the ordinary tiller of the soil was reached, must have increased the task of direct control by the Centre to a remarkable extent.[368] A letter dated January 7, 1667 says : "Formerly the King's servants governing the country were allowed a salary, but now it is rented out to some of the great men who let it out to others and they farm it out to others under them, so that in place of one formerly there are five now and everyone seeks to make what he can".[369]

The deterioration in public morality must have set in with the passage of time. When Tavernier left Golkonda for Aḥmadabad he deposited his money with a friend as he had in any case to return to Masulipaṭam by the Haidarabad route. His friend died while he was away. Immediately the *Shāh Bandar* or the Port Officer locked and sealed the room in which Tavernier's money was kept, and it was a matter of surprise and satisfaction that he found his money safe and intact on his return. All he had to do was to produce the banker who had cashed his bill of exchange as a witness and pay a small fee of 4½ crowns to get back the amount.[370]

By way of contrast with this security at the capital, we find that when Sir Edward Winter was summoned by the King to settle pending matters he refused to go as "there was no security at Masulipaṭam . . . . for the great men of Golconda had fallen out among themselves. . . . And who can trust themselves under such bad government".[371] Apart from the time-lag there must have been a contrast between the comparative security at the capital and that in the outlying districts. We hear of the *Ḥawāladār,* the *Shāh Bandar* and the *Sarsimt* prohibiting the Dutch from offering violence supervising the *Banksāl* or Custom House for three days and forbidding the Dutch to show hostility

to the English,[272] which seemed to be almost an every-day affair at the principal port of the kingdom.

Shāh Bandar

This was the name usually given to the Chief Port Officer, but as has been noted above, there was a *Shāh Bandar* even in Haidarabad where he discharged his duties as the Provost of Merchants.[273]

Military Command

In contrast to the rather loose atmosphere in the outlying districts, the territories which had a military or a semi-military government like the newly conquered Karnatak, had a remarkably efficient administration. There is a pen-picture of the transaction of official duties by Muḥammad Sa'īd *Mīr Jumlā* at his Gandīkōṭā headquarters, and it is well given to us by Tavernier; it would be better to quote it more or less *verbatim* here :

> "We found the Nawab in his tent sitting with his two Secretaries. He was sitting, according to the custom of the country, barefoot, with a great number of papers between his toes and between his fingers, and he ordered what answers be given to everyone. After the Secretaries had wrote (*sic*) the answer he caused them to read them, and he took the letters and sealed them himself giving some to foot messengers, others to horsemen. As a matter of fact foot messengers are faster than horsemen, since, at the end of every two leagues, the runner, when he reaches the stage throws the letters in the hut and they are immediately picked and carried by another fast runner to the next stage".[274]

This tradition of efficiency was continued by the great administrator, Nēknām Khān. He was a strong ruler who did not believe in any lassitude in administration and who would not allow much liberty to European traders who took advantage of any weakness in administration. Thus he forbade the Dutch to fortify Pulicat, and was against the grant of any

further leases to foreigners. It was with difficulty that "even a qualified Moor" could enter a fortress without a written warrant from him. Nēknām Khān is called "His Highness" by the Dutch and "General of all Forces" by the English, thus exemplifying the great esteem with which he was held by the foreigners.[275]

II. INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT

The pattern of international conduct was set during the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.[276] In the sixteenth century there were three grades of diplomatic representatives in the Deccan, viz., (i) *Rasūl* or *ad hoc* Envoy accredited for a single purpose, whose mission ended when the objective had been reached; (ii) *Ḥājib-i Muqīmī*, literally "Resident Envoy", who was somewhat like *attachés* originally assigned to the army of a friendly power for the time being (the office tended to be a permanent institution); and (iii) *Vakīl* or permanent Ambassador.[277] This set-up was certainly an improvement on the previous system when a citizen of the capital of a friendly state was asked to look after the matters in which the other state was interested. The new pattern was set and finalised with the emergence of the Mughal Empire as a Deccan power, the close relationship of the Shī'ah rulers of Haidarabad with the Iran of the Ṣafawīs, the establishment of the Dutch, English and French factories on the "Golkonda Coast" and the confrontation of the Quṭb Shāhī army and the Portuguese at Mylapore and San Thome after the conquest of Karnatak by Mīr Jumlà Muḥammad Sa'īd.

Categories of Envoys

Two distinct categories of envoys may be perceived with the evolution of foreign relations, namely, the permanent Ambassador who had come to be called *Hājib-i Muqīmī* or Resident Envoy and the *Hājib-i Maṣliḥatī* or *ad hoc* envoy with some special mission. The representatives of the Dutch and the English Companies, which started sending them to the

capital very early, were called Agents, not accredited by a foreign power. And perhaps also for that reason they did not enjoy the diplomatic immunity which the *Ḥājibs* and the *Rasūls* came to have. These Agents are sometimes also called "Residentiaries" or Resident Agents, to distinguish them from temporary Agents sent for specific purposes, such as when submitting a petition for granting a *farmān*. Thus Caulier was sent to Golkonda by the Dutch Company in the middle of 1661 for the purpose of obtaining a *farmān* authorising the Dutch to expel the Portuguese from San Thome. Perhaps because he had brought certain conditions with him as well, it was with some difficulty that he could secure an audience of the King. When Caulier requested the King to read the letter he had brought with him, His Majesty snubbed him with the remark that the letter need not be read in his presence as the contents were already known to him, and simply ordered that the letter be passed on to Nēknām Khān, the royal Commander in the Karnatak, for his opinion. Finally, it appears that the negotiations were not successful from the Dutch point of view, and Caulier had to be content with bringing only the draft *farmān* (for it was without the *chhāp* or the royal seal) to Masulipaṭam.[278] Whenever the Dutch were able to secure a *farmān* from the King they received it with great pomp with drums beating, fanfares sounding and a glittering procession.[279]

Practically no diplomatic immunity was enjoyed by European Agents at the court. An interesting case may be cited here. In 1636 there was some trouble between the Quṭb Shāhī Government and the English about the lease of a village near Masulipaṭam, and the English were not satisfied with the *farmān* which had been sent to the *Sarsimt*, Muḥammad Swāleḥ. They told him that they would not give up the lease till the money they had spent for the betterment of the village was refunded. The King was greatly enraged at this affront, and we are told that the English Agent at the capital was dragged out of his house, given a good beating and imprisoned.[280]

Sometimes the court showed considerable leniency to European Agents. Thus in July 1663 the King summoned the English

"Residentiary" to Haidarabad, and when the envoy had the royal audience he was honoured by royal *tashrīf*, at the same time "promising full reparation and satisfaction for the harm done to him". He also put his hand on his heart and promised that "not a hair (of the Agent) would be harmed". He also proposed that an offensive and defensive alliance might be entered into with the British.[281] This desire was repeated four years later, but the English Company was not favourable to such an alliance and the Court of the Company opined that it was not the policy of the Company "to be dragged into any act of hostility" against anyone in India.[282]

It was perhaps due to the trade which the kingdom carried on with south-east Asia and also to the growing greed of the Dutch who were not favoured at the capital at this period, that we find a Siamese Ambassador arriving at Madras *via* Tenasserim in Burma on the way to Tilang-Andhra. He took a circuitous route because he was afraid that if he took the direct route *via* Masulipaṭam he might be captured by the Dutch who were at war with Siam as from April, 1665.[283]

It is rather remarkable that in addition to the Ambassador of the Mughal Empire we find envoys of Aurangzēb, when he was Viceroy of the Deccan, as well as of his son, Prince A'ẓam when he was residing at Daulatābād. The striking thing about these envoys was that they were accorded the same honour and position which was given to the Imperial Ambassador. Thus when Qāẓi 'Azīzu'd-dīn was appointed Prince Aurangzēb's special envoy the Sulṭān rode to Bāgh-i Nabī to receive him, and when Mīrzā Niẓām Shīrāzī reached the vicinity of the capital he was received by the Sulṭān at Khairiatābād.[284] The Imperial Ambassador was nearly always received by the King at Ḥusain Sāgar which is nearly six miles from where the Quṭb Shāhī palace stood. Thus 'Abdu'l-lāh received the Mughal Ambassador, Shāh 'Alī Bēg at Ḥusain Sagar on 10-5-1040/5-12-1630, and again he went to receive the Imperial Emissary, Khwājā Zāhid, who had brought the "Deed of Submission" from Delhi, five kos or about eight miles from the palace on 17-8-1046/4-1-1636.[285]

The authority of the Imperial Ambassador naturally increased with this instrument, and when Bernier was at Golkonda in 1667 he found that the Ambassador "issues his commands, grants passports, and ill-treats the people, and in short, speaks and acts with the uncontrolled authority of a sovereign".[386]

While this inordinate rise in the status of the Imperial Ambassador was due to the creeping in of the Mughal power, the high esteem with which the Ambassador of Ṣafawī Iran was held at Haidarabad was largely due to the religious and cultural affinity between the two courts. When in 1036/1626 the youthful 'Abdu'l-lāh sat on his throne he was attended by the "Ambassador of Great Eminence" *(Ḥājib-i 'Aẓīmu'sh-shān)* of the Emperor of Iran and "the King of the countries of Hindustan", the name of the Iranian envoy taking precedence over the name of the Mughal envoy. When the Iranian Ambassador Imām-Qulī Bēg, returned to India along with Khairāt Khān, the Indian envoy to Iran, in 1044/1634 he was received at the Quṭb Shāhī border by Mir Mu'izu'd-dīn Muḥammad, and at the palace at Khairiatābād by the King himself. There is a record of the Sulṭān paying a state visit to the Iranian Ambassador at his residence in the garden villa of the former Mīr Jumlā, Muḥammad Amīn on the banks of the Mīr Jumlā Tank to the east of the city when the whole tank was illuminated with thousands of lamps and the villa was carpeted with cloth of gold, while presents worth lakhs were laid at the feet of the Sulṭān.[387] This visit might have been made as a kind of set-off to the pompous reception accorded to the Mughal Ambassador Khwājā Zāhid, a few days previously.

It appears that the foreign envoys were paid their full expenses while they stayed at the capital, and their passage back when they left for home. Thus the Iranian envoy was paid 12,000 *hons* per annum during his stay at Haidarabad and when he took leave to go back to his country he was paid another 30,000 *hons* as passage allowance. Similar allowances were paid to the Mughal Ambassador and, to a lesser degree, to the envoys of other states.

The diplomatic corps at Haidarabad consisted of Resident

ambassadors of the Iranian and the Mughal Empires, the Sulṭānates of Bijapur and Aḥmadnagar (so long as the latter lasted) the Dutch and the English envoys, besides *ad hoc* emissaries of other states including the once mighty empire of Vijayanagar. Of them the doyens were the ambassadors of Iran and the Mughal empire. While the Sulṭān dealt with the Dutch and the English Companies through his administrative officers, he had his accredited representatives at the Persian and the Mughal courts as well as at Bijapur. It should be noted that the ambassadors and envoys were expected to accompany the court on special occasions and the two senior Ambassadors were always close to the person of the Sulṭān.[288]

After the "Deed of Submission" the despatches from 'Abdu'l-lāh ("Quṭbu'l-Mulk" according to the Mughals) took the form of mere "petitions" in which the names and titles of the Emperor sometimes covered fifteen or twenty lines, and the Quṭb Shāhī envoys carried with them not only these *'Arẓdāshts* but also *"Pēshkash"*, or tribute, as a further emblem of submission. These despatches were couched in the most abject terms and were addressed to the Emperor as well as to Prince Dārā Shikōh and Prince Aurangzēb according to the turns in their fortunes.[289]

III. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Sources

As usual, our Indo-Persian chronicles deal more with life at the court than with the life of the common man, while, on the other hand, the description of the people, as given by European travellers and merchants, gives us a fair insight into the life of the generality. There may be stray references to the social set-up in the Indo-Persian chronicles, but that is always by the way and sometimes even in a sneering tone. The reason why European travellers take pains to delineate the ways of the people, Hindu and Muslim, is that everything seems so totally strange to them. It is rather quaint that as Europeans were familiar with Spanish Muslīms whom they called Moors,

so the European travellers call the ruling aristocracy in the Sulṭānates of the Deccan, "Moors" in contrast with the name "Gentile" or "Gentoos" given to the Hindus.[290] It would not be necessary to describe the religions of the two communities of the Quṭb Shāhī dominions as they existed in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, as they do not differ from the religious practices of today to any great extent. Moreover, while the European travellers were full of awe for the authority which the Sulṭān and his entourage possessed they had scant respect for the religions and social customs of the people.

Medical Treatment

Sometimes these travellers indulge in incorrect descriptions. Thus Tavernier, writing about 1651, says that there were no physicians in the kingdoms of Carnatic (meaning Vijayanagar), Golkonda or Bijapur except those who attended the Kings or Princes.[291] At least so far as Golkonda-Haidarabad is concerned, this is wrong, as the great hospital, *Dāru'sh-Shifā,* had existed from 1595, and not merely was free treatment given to all and sundry but nearly three hundred and fifty patients were lodged and fed at the expense of the Government. Tavernier admits that "in great cities there may be one or two men who sit in some known places and given potions and plaisters" and that "they do not demand the value of six pence" for the diagnosis and remedy. The reason probably was that, apart from the great state hospitals like the *Dāru'sh-Shifā* at Haidarabad, the state kept salaried *ḥakīms* and *vaīds* in different towns at its expense, and they were commanded not to charge the patients for treatment.[292]

Evidently allopathic treatment had also crept in. Tavernier says that he lodged in the house of Pieter de Laan, a Dutch chirurgeon, who lived four leagues from Golkonda, probably at the palace town of Ḥayātnagar. De Laan was so well-known that he was called to the palace for treatment of ailments. Thus when the Queen was suffering from a severe headache the Dutch physician was called. It is interesting to read that he was first

given a bath and his hands were cleaned and rubbed with sweet oil in order to make them thoroughly immune from germs and microbes. Then a curtain was drawn and the Queen's arm was incised and made to bleed. De Laan was awarded fifty *pagodas* or about two hundred rupees as his fee.

But Yunānī and Vaīdic medicines also must have been in common use, although some of the treatments handed down to us seem rather quaint. Thus Thèvenot says that "mordechin" or cholera was treated by the cauterisation of the feet or by binding the patient tightly, while flex or looseness of the bowels was treated by rhubarb (*rēwand chīnī*) and powdered common seed (*zīra*) taken in lime water.[203]

Music and Dance

The gradual laxity in the morals of the court and people naturally led to the increase in the number of public women in the capital. Evidently they had to be registered and licensed, and Tavernier notes that the names of as many as twenty thousand were entered in the *Darogha's* book. Thèvenot says that no stigma was attached to those who frequented the rooms of these whores, while Tavernier is more romantic in his description and says: "In the cool of the evening they stand by their doorways, and when night comes they light a candle or a lamp for a signal". In rather a tell-tale sentence Methwold remarks that "all meat (except cow's flesh) is common to them and they themselves are common to all"! Methwold, enchanted by the dances that he saw (they must have been of the Kathākalī and the Kūchipūḍī variety) says that they were "admirable to behold and impossible to express in words", but avers that music and dance had become the monopoly of the prostitutes.[204] Evidently the best among the dancers had to dance before the King or the provincial Governors, as the case might be, at least once a year. They were also invited to sing or dance not merely at social functions such as wedding or circumcision but also when large vessels arrived at a port, and even at the celebrations of religious festivals such as the month-long celebrations of the Prophet's

Birthday. There were also the *dēvadāsīs* attached to Hindu temples whose profession was to dance before the idols. To the foreigners these temple dancers were not greatly different from the public women. One of them says that there were cases when a woman's children did not survive, she vowed that if the new-born girl were to live she would "make her a prostitute", probably meaning that she would dedicate her to the life of a *dēvadāsī*.[295]

Dress

The close relationship of the Government of Vijayanagar with that of Golkonda during the early years of the reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh[296] led to the dovetailing of cultures and incidentally, to the similarity in apparel. The "kuleh" (Pers. *kulāh,* cap) and the cabaya (Arab. *qabā,* long coat) became parts of the dress of the *élite,* both Hindu and Muslim. Among women, the *sārī* of twelve cubits covering a bodice with sleeves coming up to the elbows, was the rule, while the heads of women were usually covered when they went out. Some Hindu women wore only *sārīs* without a bodice, others a short bodice covering only the breasts while some wore a bodice which might be long enough to cover the navel.[297] Among the more affluent classes of society the *sārī* as well as the bodice had borders of varying width of gold and silver embroidery. Among the Muslim women the alternative dress was the *dopaṭṭa* of about four and a half yards of cloth, one end of which was tucked on to the *pāijāmā* or trousers, which were embroidered and kept in check by girdles with embroidered ends.[298]

Mughal influence was slowly but surely infiltrating into the realm of men's dress, and the peculiar Mughal turban, the *nīmā* and the *jāmā,* and the large kerchief tied on the belt, became the dress of the upper classes, both Hindu and Muslim. The only visible difference was the Hindu caste mark or just a coloured dot between the eyebrows. Certain castes had large tufts of hair left on the back of their heads which were tied into a kind of top-knot. The common people among the Hindus had the upper part of their bodies bare with a *dhōtī* reaching

the knees, and they contented themselves with a small loin cloth while at hard work.

Ornaments

As the region was proverbially rich and the people were affluent, it is no wonder that not merely women were laden with ornaments but even men wore ear-rings, and those who could afford it had strings of pearls loosely hanging round their necks and jewelled bands round their arms. Women wore ear-rings, sometimes six or seven in each ear, finger rings, toe rings, gold or silver bands round their waists, many varieties of neck-ware and ornaments round their wrists, arms and ankles, even a ring or a jewel on the side of the right nostril and sometimes even on the bridge of the nose.[300]

Religious Freedom and Education

There was complete religious freedom, and both Hindus and Muslims could attain the highest office in the state at the bidding of the Sulṭān. In some respects the knowledge and skill of the Brahmans made them indispensable to the administration, because while they were "employed by the Moores for writing and keeping accounts on palm leaves with a pen of iron, they are competent astronomers observing the course of the seven planets through twelve houses, hours of eclipse and other astronomical predictions, and "not even the Moores will undertake a great journey without their advice".[301] Polygamy, though permitted, was not generally practised. It is interesting that the practice of *sati* was not merely discouraged but actually prohibited and women were sometimes prevented from burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands.[302]

Education seems to have been fairly general, for "the Moores have their children taught to read and write if they are capable." "Some of the gentoos have also their children taught to read and write, and when they are fit, to learn the craft pertaining to their hereditary caste.[303]

Festivals

The Sulṭan took great interest in two Muslim religious anniversaries, namely the Birthday of the Prophet and the Day of the Martyrdom of Imām Ḥusain. The latter anniversary was sacred to the Shī'ah, the persuasion to which the Sulṭān and the royal family belonged, and the celebrations continued for ten days of the month of Muḥarram, the first month of the Hijri year; the former fell in the month of Rabī'ul awwal, the celebration of which had gone out of use during the reign of the King's father, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh. 'Abdu'l-lāh laid great stress on the proper routine prescribed by tradition for Muḥarram, doubly hallowed by 'Abdu'l-lāh's grandfather Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. We are fortunate in having a detailed description of the celebrations, which lasted for forty days, in Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad Ṣā'idī's *Ḥadīqatu's-Salāṭīn,* extending to about nine printed pages. They consisted of illuminations, processions of ta'zias, army reviews, beating of the breast, grand concourses of the people and free food to the needy. The King had more than thirty palaces in the capital and suburbs and each of them vied with the other in these celebrations. The drinking of wine as well as meat eating, cutting of hair, even the sale and purchase of betel-leaf, was prohibited for fifty days. It is further specifically related that the first ten days of Muḥarram were held sacred not only by the Muslims, Shī'ahs and the Sunnīs, but also by the Hindus.[304]

These celebrations were intertwined with the grand *langar* procession. It is related that when the Sulṭān was still a boy, he was once riding his favourite elephant, *Man-mūrat,* on the way to Golkonda. The river Mūsī was in spate, and while crossing the *Purānā Pul,* the elephant became mad, threw the *mahāwat* to the ground and took the young King right into the jungle. This naturally upset the Queen Mother, especially as the King could not be traced for many days, and she vowed that if her son would return safe and sound she would have a golden chain, *langar,* manufactured equal to the weight of the elephant, place it in the building which accommodated *Ḥusain*

'Alam and then have it broken into pieces the proceeds of which would be distributed among the poor and the indigent. The Prince returned after about a week, on the fifth of Muḥarram, and the Queen kept her vow. The rejoicings connected with this happy and propitious event had to be dovetailed with the Muḥarram celebrations and were continued even after the conquest of Golkonda by Aurangzēb and the establishment of the Aṣaf Jāhī rule.[305]

The other great festival was the Prophet's Birthday. It is strange indeed that even on this sacred occasion the general rejoicings and illuminations lasting for a whole month, and alms-giving which reached the limit of thousands of *hons,* were accompanied by song and dance; musicians and dancers from "Hindustan and Iran" performed before eager audiences. We are also told that wine drinking was the order of the day during the month, scents were used by all and sundry and betel leaves distributed in lakhs. The depth which morality had reached is evident from the fact that even in this sacred month drink and merriment went on and everyone "waited for nightfall when there would be ample opportunity for a life of abandon and reckless pleasure.[306]

This recklessness went to even greater extremes at least in court circles when the birthday of the King was celebrated in the month of Shawwāl. "Dancers from Haidarabad and Tilang, beautiful women from Karnatak, pātars (Hindu *demi-mondaines*) from Ahmadabad", all joined hands (and hearts) to make the occasion memorable. Flowers of hues and scents of different varieties abounded, betel leaves and condiments were distributed and gaiety reached its apex.[307]

Pomp versus Power

The progress of the royal cavalcade to the east coast in 1639 with its thousands of followers, its gaiety and glitter, which is described in detail in *Ḥadīqatu's-Salāṭīn,* illustrates a strange phenomenon. While political power had reached its lowest ebb and was fast heading towards the quagmire in which it was

destined to sink, so far as superficial grandeur was concerned the court of Golkonda-Haidarabad had few equals. When the Sulṭān was making his grand progress eastwards he had already made his obeisance to the Mughal Emperor in 1636 and was writing abject letters to the Mughal Princes and Ministers.[308] Among his vast entourage during his six weeks' tour eastward it was the Mughal Envoy who, along with the Iranian Ambassador, had precedence over Quṭb Shāhī officials and whenever a new envoy arrived from the Mughal capital he was received by His Majesty in person many miles from the city.

Section 5: *Literature*

Although the Quṭb Shāhī monarchy had reached its lowest ebb during 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign, it was an era of almost unprecedented literary achievement not merely in the official Persian but also in Telugu, Dakhnī and Arabic.

(i) *Persian :*

As has been related above, although astrologers had decreed that Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh should not see the newborn babe till he was twelve, Prince 'Abdu'l-lāh had the advantage of the close attention bestowed on him by his father as well as his renowned mother, Queen Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam, who appointed some of the best teachers available to train the child. Persian was the official language of the state as well as the language of communication among the learned, and it is no wonder that 'Abdu'l-lāh's court became the rendezvous of scholars and writers in that language.

One of the foremost among such scholars was Muḥammad ibn Khāṭūn, who not only became the Vakīl and Pēshwa of the kingdom on 9.9.1038/24.3.1629,[309] but rose to such an eminence in the realm of knowledge that he came to be known as *Hazrat 'Allāmī Fahhāmī* or "the most learned and full of wisdom". He was an author of note and wrote a number of books such as the Commentary on *Jāmia 'i 'Abbasī* and *Sharḥ Irshād*.[310] It is related that he held regular classes twice a day and delivered

lectures on the commentaries of the Qur'ān, logic, philosophy and mathematics. He was a poet of some eminence and composed a number of mathnawis, ghazals and quatrains. He was in constant company of the learned and those who were expert in all branches of knowledge such as commentaries of the Qur'ān, apostolic traditions, jurisprudence, mathematics and logic, while every Tuesday, which was a day of rest in the kingdom, he was at home to the learned the whole day. It may be remarked that the historian and litterateur 'Ali b. Ṭaifūr Bustāmī, the author of *Ḥada'iqu's Salaṭin*, which was compiled in the next reign, was one of the pupils of Ibn Khāṭūn.[311]

One of the lasting literary monuments of 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign is the famous Persian dictionary, the *Burhān-i Qāti'*. This was compiled by Muḥammad Ḥusain Burhān, completed in 1061/1651 and dedicated to the Sulṭān. There is a learned Introduction in which the author details the broad structure of the Persian language, viz., the origin of the proto-Persian and Pahlavī, the genius of the language, number of letters and their significance, the method of having a correct knowledge of the language, changes of letters for the formation of new words, pronouns, addition of letters in the beginning, middle and end of words, addition of letters for the purpose of beauty and embellishment, suffixes, variations and correctness in writing. In the body of the book words have been enumerated under each orthographical heading, the total number of words dealt with being 19,177. These words are arranged according to the modern alphabetical scheme. The author claims that the Dictionary contains "all the words in Persian, Pahlavi, and Dari, besides such words in Greek, Assyrian, Roman, Zhend, Pazhend," presumably those which have been incorporated into Persian. *Burhān-i Qāti'* is still one of the basic dictionaries of the Persian language.[312]

Another Persian work of a permanent value compiled during 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign is Mīrza Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad Ṣā'idī's *Ḥadīqatu's-Salāṭin*.[313] It is a detailed history of the first nineteen years of the reign and was written at the instance of the Pēshwa, Muḥammad ibn Khāṭūn. It purports to be a day to

day chronicle of the kingdom from 'Abdu'l-lāh's birth on 21.10.1023/21.11.1614, to 26.12.1053/25.2.1644. It is like a diary of the court and government where not merely the pomp and merriment are described but also the manner in which the kingdom was administered, and it gives a fairly correct picture of the social life of the people along with the administrative and the international set-up. The diction of the book is such that the reader is not bored, in spite of the wealth of facts that are contained in it.

We are also blessed with collection of letters written by the King, his ministers and the élites to the Shāh of Iran, kings of Bijapur and Dārā Shikōh, Aurangzēb and Shāh Jahan and other magnates and dignatories of contemporary India. These give an insight into the inner psychology of the Sulṭān, as well as the political, international, and, at times, the social condition of the kingdom, such as no political history can give. These are *Inshā-i Ḥājī 'Abdu'l-'Alī Ṭāliqānī*, and two collections of letters, one in Haidarabad and the other at Karachi.[314]

There is an allusion to Maulana Ulfatī's *Quṭb Shāhī*, containing seven chapters, five of which are: (i) The praise of the Sulṭān and his character; (ii) Palaces and the royal edifices; (iii) Population of Haidarabad; (iv) Annual festivals and their celebration; and (v) The army. The book is unfortunately non-existent and it is said that the unique manuscript of this important work was destroyed in the floods of the Musi.[315]

There are quite a number of other Persian books written either in 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign or copied under his command, and they show not merely his love of the language but also his general inclinations. Thus 'Alī b. Ṭaifūr Bustāmī wrote the *Tuḥfatu'l-Gharā'ib* containing the Traditions of the Prophet, verdicts of the saints, acrimonious sermons of certain preachers and the advice of the learned.[316] The same author was responsible for *Anwāru't-taḥqīq*, consisting of extracts from the writings of the Ṣūfī saint Khwājā 'Abdu'l-lāh Anṣārī.[317] We have then the book on prosody called *Riyaẓu's-Ṣanā'i' Quṭb Shāhī* written by Ulfati b. Ḥusain Sāojī probably at the instance of the Sulṭān himself.[318] There are two copies of the book on

medicine, *Ikhtiyārāt-i Quṭb Shāhī* which were originally written in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and copied under 'Abdu'l-lāh's command by 'Abdu'l-lāh Sa'īdī Shīrāzī who completed the transcription on 1.11.1039/2.6.1630.[319] The well-known Indian book on Sexology, the *Kōka Śāstra*, was also translated into Persian verse by one Muḥammad Shāh, whose *takhalluṣ* was Jāmī.[320]

There were other *savants* of note who gave of their best to 'Abdu'l-lāh's kingdom. "Whoever from 'Irāq and Khurāsān reached the capital he was loaded with royal favours". Such was Mullā Khalīlu'lāh, the story-teller, Mullā Khalqī Shustarī, who had been in the royal service since the days of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh as a professor in the Medical College attached to the Dāru'sh-Shifā, Mir Faẓlu'l-lāh Shīrāzī, who was "versed in all branches of knowledge" and is said to have collected one thousand Apostolic Traditions in support of the Shī'ah faith, and Shaikh Hārūn Jazā'irī, who taught fiqh for thirty years and died in Dhi'l-Ḥijjah, 1047/March-April, 1638.[321] Even the Dakhni writers Wajhī and Ghawwāṣī composed stray lines in Persian, and Ghawwāsī's ode in honour of the birth of a son to the king on 11.11.1031/8.9.1622 is couched in chaste language. There are at least two lines of the king himself which have been handed down to us.[322]

(ii) *Telugu*:

Although Telugu received a certain amount of set-back during the short reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, it was revivified by his son 'Abdu'l-lāh. The close contact between those who spoke Telugu as their mother-tongue and those who had adopted Dakhnī led to a spirit of toleration almost amounting to cultural integration. While Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shah II of Bijapur was steeped in Hindu lore, even the villagers of the Quṭb Shāhī dominions had made Muslim traditional stories a part and parcel of their culture. As a learned author says, "We find cultural synthesis and harmonious co-existence of Hindus and Muslims in Andhra, particularly in the area which was under

the direct control of the Quṭb Shāhīs".[333] The stories connected with Muḥarram, the month of the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson, Imām Ḥusain, became a part of the Hindu folk-lore and were rendered into Telugu verse. There were, no doubt, variations from the historical version, which was moulded according to the likely appeal the story would make to the populace in the city, the tiller in the country-side and the pot-maker in the village, but that only enhanced the local value of the songs. It is interesting to note that there are different kinds of the Telugu songs connected with the Muḥarram festival, such as *Jangnāmā, Panjtan-i Pak* and *Marthiyas,* meaning respectively, the story connected with the War, the Five Sacred Personalities and the Dirges. "Most of these songs are sung not only during Muḥarram but throughout the years by Telugu folks",[334] and vary from locality to locality.

The translation of a Telugu song from Rāyalsīma might be quoted herewith advantage:—

"Salutation to Thee, Salutation to God, Salutation to Almighty !
In the City of the Sky there is a beautiful Fort;
Inside the Fort there is a Palace made of glass;
Inside the Palace of glass there are high seats;
There are whisks and beautiful thrones;
Who are on those two thrones?
These are Hasan and Husain, two brothers,
Kings in Court, Lords on the Throne,
Monarchs ruling over the Seven Isles".

Here is another:—

"Two sons were born to Bibi Fatima;
They were Hasan and Husain, the two brothers.
Hasan was the elder and Husain was the younger.
A battle rose in the Sky which they fought out,
A battle rose in the farthest lands which they fought daringly".

Of course the sequence is anachronistic, unhistorical and fanciful, but that only shows how the story was twisted to suit the popular taste. The dirges are all Teluguised and even the marriage of Haẓrat Qāsim is placed in the Andhra atmosphere,

and sacred rice is said to have been thrown on the bridegroom, as is the custom in orthodox Hindu marriages today. A trinket is worn on the forehead, a thread is tied to the wrist and garlands are placed round his neck.[325]

Not only are these anachronisms interesting, but the gusto with which these songs are sung to this day by the villagers is most remarkable. The language used is not essentially the same as was used by the villagers three centuries ago, for it changes with the passage of time and is continuously brought to the level of these current *patois* of the locality. But there is no doubt that the songs are the result of the mutual understanding between the two great sections of the population which reached its apex during the reigns of 'Abdu'l-lāh and his son-in-law and successor Abdu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh.

Apart from this, there was a direct encouragement given by the Court to Telugu song and music. It is related that the musician Kshatrayya, who was the founder of a particular style of music and dance called *Mowa Gopāla Padamū*, came to Golkonda and composed as many as one thousand songs and at least a *padamū* which he dedicated to the Sulṭān.[326] There were quite a number of other writers who flourished in the kingdom about 1650. Such were Lakshmi Narasimham of Gaḍwāl who compiled a chronicle with a mythological theme called *Narasimha Vilāsamu*, and Karpuram Krishnamachārya of Chērapallī (Nalgonḍa district) who rendered the *Bhagavata Gītā* into Durpada meter.[327] A member of one of the aristocratic families of the kingdom was Raja Surabhi Mādhava Rāyalu of Jataprōlu (Jatpole, Maḥbūbnagar district), who wrote a highly scholarly poem which has become almost a classic, namely *Chandrika Parinayamu*, or "Marriage of Chandrika".[328]

There is another interesting development in the progress of Telugu in 'Abdu'l-lāh's time, for we come across some bilingual farmans with a longer version in Telugu than in Persian, leading to certain unilingual Telugu farmans of 'Abdu'l-lah's successor Abu'l-Ḥasan.[329]

Thus 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's reign carried the torch of Telugu language and literature burning while it also saw the

permeation of Muslim traditions into the very bosom of Telugu folk-lore and the part-adoption of Telugu along with Persian as a language of administration.

(3) *Dakhnī, or Proto-Urdu :*[330]

Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh was a great patron of Dakhnī and was himself a poet of merit.[331] There was a certain amount of set-back in the literary progress of that language in the time of his son-in-law and successor, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, who was greatly influenced by Persian culture and language. Even Wajhī, who had penned his imaginary romance, *Quṭb-Mushtarī*, in the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh had to be silent right through Sulṭān Muḥammad's reign, and move his pen again only after his death to write his great allegorical romance, *Sabras*, at 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's command in 1635.[332]

In Professor Sarwari's opinion "*Sabras* is a milestone in the development of Urdu prose, and is perhaps the most resplendent specimen of old Urdu," while Dr. Zore says that the absorbing style and high imagination depicted in the book make it one of the best books written in proto-Urdu ("Qadīm Urdu").[333]

The whole story is allegorical in character. The main *personae* are 'Aql (Intellect) and 'Ishq (Love) on one side, and Ḥusn (Beauty) on the other. Some of the other characters are Naẓr or View (the Spy), Himmat or Courage (the King), Raqīb or the Rival who is depicted as the demon, and so on. In the same way the names of cities, forts, gardens and groves are all tell-tale and allegorical. The reading is interesting from the beginning and doubly so when one approaches the end.[334]

Another great name in the history of Dakhni in 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign was that of Ghawwāṣī who was created *Maliku'sh-Shu'arā* by the Sulṭan. He has left us three fairly long narrative poems, *Shaifu'l-Mulūk wa Badi'u'l Jamal*, *Ṭūṭī Nāmā* and *Maina Satwantī*. Ghawwasi started life as an unknown person, and we are not aware of the date of his birth, nor yet of his death. This is rather extraordinary as he rose to some eminence and acted as Quṭb Shāh's envoy to Bijapur in 1045/1635-36. The

secret of his comparative obscurity towards the end of his life is, as he says in *Ṭūṭī Nāmā,* that he had got all he wanted and now he wished to spend the rest of his life in prayer and meditation.

Ghawwāṣī wrote his *Ṣaifu'l-Mulūk wa Badī'u'l-Jamāl* in 1035/1626 which is the date of the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh. At least one of the manuscripts mentions Sulṭān Muḥammad as the reigning king :

سر سلطان محمد قطب شاہ گنبھیر – جگ اُدھار ے اور جگ دستگیر

while in all other manuscripts the line has been changed thus :

چو سلطان عبد اللہ آفاق گیر – سو لنھن شہنشاہ گردوں سریر

Evidently the thirty days in which the book was compiled fell partly in the reign of one monarch and partly is that of the other. *Ṭūṭī Nāmā* was completed on 6-7-1049/18-10-1659. Both these books are renderings from Persian, the *Saifu'l-Mulūk,* being adapted from the Persian translation of a well-known story from the "Arabian Nights", while *Ṭūṭī Nāmā* is based on the Persian translation of an ancient Sanskrit work, the *Shuka Saptati* or the "Parrot's seventy (tales)," which was partly rendered into Persian in 730/1329-30.[335] In the first *maṯhnawī* there is a profusion of purely Hindi words, while the *Ṭūṭī Nāmā* contains quite a large percentage of Arabic and Persian words and even Persian constructions sandwiched in Dakhni words and phrases. It is, however, interesting that 'Abdu'l-lāh is called "Mahārāj" as well as "Sulṭān", while God is called "Niranjan" at least once, showing the influence of Hindu culture on the life of Haidarabad.

A third outstanding work by Ghawwāṣī is the *maṯhnawi* called *Maina-Satwanti.*[336] The editor of the printed work considers this to be earlier in point of date than the foregoing two maṯhnawis, as "the two are more advanced in their diction than this". As regards the source of the technique of "stories within story" which is the common feature of Ghawwāṣī's works, the author says that he borrowed the tale from Persian sources,"

but according to the editor, its origin can be traced to Maulana Dāwūd's book, the *Chandāyan* of 789/1484,[337] and *Maina-Sat* of the fourteenth century, both of which are in the Awadhi dialect. The story was rendered into Persian and a number of Indian languages, and it is probably the Persian rendering which formed the basis of Ghawwāṣī's *Maina-Satwanti*. It was its moral appeal which made the story popular with the reading public.

Ghawwāṣī has also to his credit his *Kulliyāt*, edited by the late Professor Muḥammad bin 'Umar. The printed edition is based on a unique but faulty manuscript in the State Central Library of Haidarabad. The Collection shows that the poet was at home in practically all the forms of Dakhni poetry, such as *mathnawī*, *ghazal* or amatory lyrics, *qaṣīdā* or ode, *rubā'ī* or quatrain, *marthia* or dirge, *rekhtī* or women's idiom, and *tarkīb-i-band* or poems consisting of long stanzas akin to sonnets.[338]

Ghawwāṣī had shed his light far and wide, but there were other writers and poets in the reign who have left their mark on Dakhni literature. One such was Ibn Nishāṭī who wrote his *mathnawī*, the *Phūl-Ban* in 1066/1656.[339] Ibn Nishāṭī says that he began by writing prose, but nothing by him in prose has been unearthed so far. The *Phūl-Ban* is the Dakhni form given to a Persian poem called *Basātīn* and, as Dr. Zore says, it is one of the finest mathnawis in the Dakhnī idiom, and "it must have been the result of real and continued effort.[340] When the poem was ready, he presented a copy to the Sulṭān. It has certain peculiarities which distinguish it from other mathnawīs. As it is a later creation, its language is more modern, is simple and follows the language spoken by the people with very few archaisms. As in the *Arabian Nights*, a number of stories have been woven round a central theme. It is characteristic of the poet to go on describing the varieties of cloth found in the market, the musical instruments which were played at the time of formal repasts or the arms and armours which were used in the time of war, and it is this which makes the *mathnawī* doubly interesting to a student of the social history

of the Deccan.[341] One of Ibn Nishāṭī's characteristics is that he begins every section of the poem with a beautiful couplet in a chaste Dakhni couplet which runs through all these headlines. The meter and rhyme of these uniform headlines is different to the meter and rhymes adopted in the rest of the book. This device immediately follows the headline, and is, in a way, an amplification of that headline. The beauty of the meter and rhyme would be clear by quoting just one such couplet, one of the first, in which the poet begins to narrate the beauty of the capital city of Kanchanpaṭan:

صفت کنچن پٹن کی ہے دھری چر گرد بستی رو
سکل روے زمیں میں کیں نہ تھا اس شہر کا ثانی

There are 40 such headlines in verse.

The last *maṯẖnawī*, written right at the end of 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign was *Bahrām wa Gulandām* of Ṭaba'ī, who compiled it in 1081/1670-1.[342] There are two other poems worth mentioning before we pass on to the *Kulliyāt* of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh. One is the *marṯẖiya* of Malik Ḵẖushnūd who accompanied Ḵẖadīja Sulṭān to Bijapur, and whose dirge, the *Hasht Bihisht* was written in 1056/1646. The other poem is the famous *Chakkī Nāmā* or the "Book of the Grind Stone" of Syed Mīrān Ḥusainī Ḵẖudā Numā, which is a book with profound thought on theology and mysticism meant as an accompaniment to the disciples who were grinders of corn. This was penned "before 1070/1659-60."[343]

Unfortunately we possess only a truncated version of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's *Kulliyāt*. The unique manuscript in the Sālār Jung Collection runs only up to the letter ث (ṯẖ), the fifth letter of the Persian alphabet, and thus practically forms only a small portion of the whole work.[344] If somehow we discover the rest of his poem ranging from غ to ی we would be able to come to the correct conclusion regarding the excellence of his poetry. A very large number of the pieces are amatory in character, with few inhibitions, but like Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, nearly always ending with an invocation to God or the Prophet or 'Alī. There are again poems of mixed Dakhnī and

Persian which remind one of some of the poems of Amīr Khusrau. Thus :

گفتم کہ اے پری ترں ہے فتنۂ زمانا – گفتا کہ راست گفتی اے گن بھری سجانا[345]

Not only that; the number of Proto-Hindi words are intertwined well with Persian words. We have poems to celebrate the Ramaẓān, when all merrymaking and drink was stopped, the 'Id, when all this returned, and Basant, when the poems in its celebration ended, as usual, with the formal thanks to the Prophet and 'Alī. It is rather strange that only one *marthiā*, bemoaning the death of Imām Ḥusain at Karbala, has been discovered so far, but even that is not of a very high order.

Thus the reign saw the flowering of all that was found in Dakhni, and although there was an increasing influence of Persian in word-making, diction and prosody, there is no doubt that the language was developing an individuality of its own which was destined to affect the linguistic trends of the whole country.

(iv) *Arabic* :

As is well known, trade and commerce had existed between Arabia and South India even in pre-Islamic times, and there was really no break in this tradition even after the Arabs adopted Islam as their religion. Ibn-i Baṭūṭah, who was in India during the reign of Muḥammad b. Tughluq, recounts quite a few Muslim principalities on the south-western coast of peninsular India. The conquest of South India by the Khiljis and later by the armies of Muḥammad b. Tughluq temporarily put an end to the autonomy of these principalities, but the break-up of the Tughluq empire and the meteoric rise of the Sulṭānate of Ma'bar centered at Madurai, and later the establishment of an independent Deccan in 1346, meant the rift from the north which persisted more or less right up to the decay of the Quṭb Shāhī monarchy.

Although the Bahmani kings were not Arab in race nor spoke Arabic as their mother tongue, they patronised Islamic lore

which was couched to a very large extent in the Arabic language. They set up schools in the large cities of their vast Empire where both Persian and Arabic were the media of instruction. Moreover, from the beginning of Deccan independence there was a continuous influx of Arabs and non-Arabs from over the seas who were at home in Arabic, and the first capital of the Bahmanīs, Aḥsanābād-Gulbarga, and their second capital, Muḥammadābād-Bidar were full of learned men who were steeped in Arabic and Islamic lore. The great *Madrasah* established by Maḥmūd Gāwān at Bidar in 1471-2[346] was the centre of Arabic learning in the Deccan, and Maḥmūd was himself an Arabic scholar of no mean merit. It was to him that Jalāl-'ud-dīn Dawwānī dedicated his work, the *Shawākilu'l-Ḥūr*, a commentary of Shihābu'd-dīn Suhrawardī's *Hayākilu'n-Nūr*.[347] We have, again, a unique manuscript of Muḥammad bin abī Bakr al-makhzūmī a'd-Damāminī's voluminous work on Arabic grammar entitled *Manhalu'ṣ-Ṣāfī fi Sharḥi'l-Wāfī* which he completed at Gulbarga in 1422 and dedicated it to the Bahmanī king Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad.[348]

But the establishment of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty by Sulṭān-Quli Quṭbu'l-Mulk meant a certain amount of break from the tradition of Arabic patronage. Sulṭān-Qulī was of the Turkī stock [349] which, like many other Turkish families, had acquired a flair for Persian and had virtually adopted it as his mother-tongue. This process was accelerated by the Shī'ah faith of the rulers and high officers of state, a large percentage of whom were migrants from Persia and the adjoining lands. Still Arabic, which was the language hallowed by Islam, of whatever persuasion, could not be ignored. We have a beautiful Arabic poem carved on the two sides of the grave-stone of Prince Muḥammad Amīn, father of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, which is of a high order both from the calligraphic and literary points of view.[350]

But the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh saw the setting up of a whole circle of Arabic literature at Golkonda. This was occasioned to a large extent by the marriage of the king's eldest daughter to Aḥmad b. Ma'ṣūm, surnamed Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad

(son of Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm who had migrated from Iran to Mecca) some time after his arrival at the capital in 1645.[351] From that day, up to the accession of 'Abdu'l-lāh's youngest son-in-law, Abu'l-Hasan, to the throne in 1672, Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad became the centre of Arabic literary activities at Golkonda. But these were not confined to this circle, and quite a few Arabic books were compiled by poets independently. Such were Muḥammad 'Alī Karbalāiy's *Hadīya Quṭb Shāhī*, Maẓharu'd-dīn Aḥmad's *Tafsīru'l-Qur'ān* and twenty valuable brochures on different learned topics, and Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad al-Gīlānī's *al-Muntakhab*.[352]

More important, however, are two compendia of Arabic literary history of Golkonda from the pen of Niẓāmu'd-din Aḥmad's son by his Arab wife, Syed 'Alī, namely *Sulwatu'l-Gharīb fī Uswatu'l-Adīb*, and *Sulāfatu'l-'Aṣr fī Mahāsin i'sh-Shu'arābi kullē Miṣr*.[353] The former book "gives a detailed account of his (the author's) journey from Mecca to Golconda . . . . and contains interesting information regarding Chitapur, Bijapur, Gulbarga and Golconda".[354] On reaching Golkonda Syed 'Alī met a number of Arabic scholars who formed his father Niẓāmu'd-din Aḥmad's literary circle. His other work, the *Sulafatu'l-'Asr* is replete with most valuable information regarding Arabic poets. It is divided into the following sections :

(1) Poets of Mecca and Medina.
(2) Poets of Syria and Egypt.
(3) Poets of Yemen.
(4) Poets of 'Ajam, 'Irāq and Baḥrain.
(5) Poets of Maghrib.

Niẓāmu'd-dīn was himself a poet of renown, and there are notices of his poetry in Ghulam 'Alī Āzād's *Subḥatu'l-Marjān* and in 'Abbās b. 'Alī al-Makkī's *Nuẓhatu'l-Jalīs*.[355] He composed quite a number of panegyrics for the Sulṭān which are reproduced in his son's anthology. But the poet seems to be cognizant of the weakness of his father-in-law, the king, and in one of the *qasīdahs* he says:

و اذ ناب خطب معضّل قام رائه – مقام جيوش غرقت فى صفا السرد

"And when calamity comes, his statesmanship takes the place of armies clad in armour."
And the qasidah is continued with the prayer : —

تعطف علی عبدلکم صادق الولا – غریب فرید حل فی ادور الهند

"So, be lenient towards your slave who is faithful, isolated, a stranger who has alighted on the Indian threshold".

His style "is simple, sweet and fluent, while his poetic diction is easy, sober and elegant."[356]

There was quite a bevy of Arabian poets in Syed Aḥmad's circle, some of whom were so versatile that they communicated with him in verse. *Sulāfatu'l-'Aṣr* gives a list of such poets. It consists of the names of poets of Indian lineage such as Shaikh Muḥammad whose grand-father had migrated to Mecca and who returned to India earlier than 1055/1645, the Madanīs, such as Syed Ḥasan ibn Shadqūm, the great author, Syed Muḥammad Mūsavī, known as "al-Kibrīt (the Ruby), and al-Khaṭīb Aḥmad who communicated with Syed Aḥmad in verse. Some were from Mecca such as 'Alī b. Qāsim al-Shīrāzī al-Makkī and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad a-Jauhari.

These and other poets and litterateur adorned the Arabian circle of Syed Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad. Most of them compiled panegyric poems and other compositions of the same genre, but they were of a very high order. They were from Syria, Yamen, 'Irāq and Baḥrain. A few lines from one of them, Abū 'Abdu'l-lāh Muḥammad al Baḥrainī might illustrate the inner feelings of some of these migrants. In a *qasīdah* for Syed Aḥmad he says : —

فمالی و للهند التی مذ دخلتها – محت رسم طاعاتی سیول من الدر

"What am I to do in India? Ever since I have set my foot in it the torrent of its pearls has erased the traces of my devotion."[357]

Even more famous in the literary field was Syed Aḥmad's son, Syed 'Alī, who preferred to call himself "son of Ma'ṣūm" after his grandfather. Born on 15-5-1082/17-8-1642, he arrived at Golkonda on 6-12-1658 at the age of 16.[358] Apart from his

travelogue and his compendium of the Arabic poets of Golkonda mentioned above, he was the author of a *dīwān* or anthology of his own verse, where one comes across some fine pieces by him.[360] These poems are no mere panegyrics in praise of those in authority but are full of rich thought emanating from the very bosom of the author. Thus, while bemoaning his own loneliness after his father's fall, he cries out :

يا رسول الله يا من لم يزل – للورى من فضله كسب و ربح
اد نه منى جوارا فلقد – ضاق و الله به فى الهند فسح

"O Messenger of Allah; O thou whose Grace is always a source of gain and profit,

Bring him in Thy nearness, for I swear that even the widely stretched. India has been straitened."[360]

Being friendless and forlorn, he is homesick and dreams of the day when he would be able to go back to the land of dates and camels, and speaks of his loneliness with a highly nostalgic vein. He addresses the absent camel-driver and tells him that if perchance he is at Minā and Khaif (two places which one passes and sojourns during the pilgrimage to Mecca), he should greet those whom he might meet there and pray for their long life.

Though times were changing and Syed 'Alī had to cross over to Aurangzeb's court, he was still in close correspondence with those learned in Arabic lore outside India. Such were Abu'l-Ḥasan of Shīrāz, Jamālu'd-dīn of Najaf, Syed 'Ammār al-Barakāt of Mecca (who finally came to the Deccan and died at Golkonda), and his own brother Yaḥyā who was living at Mecca and with whom he carried on a long correspondence in verse. Some of his correspondents such as the famous author, Ḥusain b. Shihābu'd-dīn a'sh-Shāmī, actually came to the Deccan to meet him.

But with the accession of Abu'l-Ḥasan to the throne and the acceptance of Mughal service by Syed 'Alī, the chapter of Quṭb Shāhī patronage of Arabic came to a close.[361] Syed 'Alī finally took leave of Aurangzeb, and having performed his pilgrimage

to Mecca and Medina, migrated to Shīrāz where he died in 1705.

Section 6 : *Painting*

'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's reign may be said to be a landmark in the history of painting in the Deccan, for it was then that the technique blossomed and developed. We have already discussed the chief characteristics of the Dakhni *qalam* elsewhere, and quoted Goetz's opinion that "all datable products of the (Deccani) School belong to the time of Sulṭān Abul Ḥasan".[362] To this it might well be added that it was in 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign that the style took its definite shape. The two main groups of the rulers of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Cabinet des Estampes, O.D., No. 45, reserve), and the other in the Haidarabad Museum (reproduced in the booklet, *Hyderabad Art, Archaeology and Handicrafts,* Plate I, opposite p. 2) were obviously executed in the reign of Abu'l-Ḥasan.[363] The British Museum has the portraits of a number of Quṭb Shāhī kings, generals and statesmen, but they belong mostly to the reign of the last Quṭb Shāh.[364] Then there are quite a few portraits of the Quṭb Shāhī kings and statesmen from Sulṭān-Quli Quṭbu'l-Mulk onwards in the Rijksprentenkabinet at Amsterdam, but it is obvious that most of them were painted in the time of Abu'l-Ḥasan in the last year of whose reign they were taken to Holland. They have the same technique, the same border, the same brush, and everyone of them is inscribed in Portuguese, evidently by one of the Portuguese citizens of Golkonda-Haidarabad.[365] These portraits as well as those in the two groups mentioned above, must have been copied from some earlier portraits, but we find no traces of such prototypes.

There are, however, certain portraits and groups which belong to 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign. The most outstanding of these is the painting of a procession with 'Abdu'l-lāh as the central figure, executed on processed cloth, 11′ 10″ long and 2′ 11″ broad.[366]

This and similar groups in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and the National Museum at New Delhi are some of the most outstanding in the whole field of Dakhnī paintings. The processional group of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh is in fact a collection of the portraits of the king and his entourage, containing the exact likenesses of some of the grandees of the kingdom like Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumlā and Nēknām Khān, and (in a far corner to the right) the portraits of the fast rising Hindu administrators, Akkanna and Madanna, who were to acquire great prominence in the next reign. The picture must have been painted before 1656 when Muhammad Sa'id quitted Quṭb Shāhī service and went over to the Mughals, earning the title of Mu'aẓẓam Khān and later, governorship of greater Bengal. The king is shown as a middle-aged man sitting in a throne-like *howdah* on a caparisoned elephant with a servant holding the *chatar* or royal umbrella. 'Abdu'l-lāh has a large halo round his head, an *angavastram* round his neck, but it is of fur, not of silk or muslin. Different to the generality of faces in Dakhni *qalam,* which usually shows only half the face in profile, the face of the Sulṭān is shown three quarters, and this may be the result of European influences which came to the Deccan by way of Goa as well as perhaps by way of Agra and Delhi. There are other groups with 'Abdu'l-lāh as the central figure at Vienna and Leningrad, and they prove the height which Dakhni painting had attained during his reign.[367]

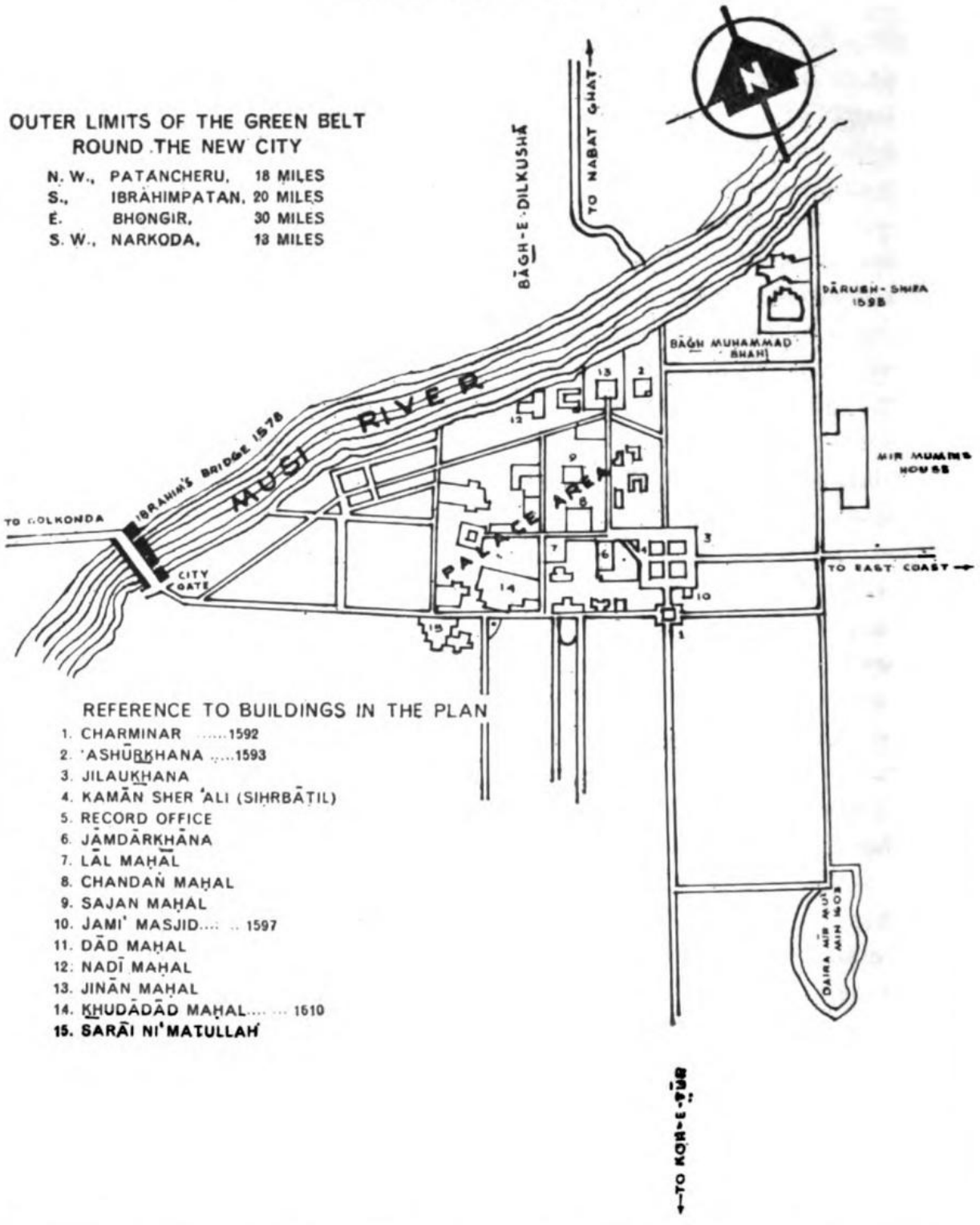
One of the characteristics of 'Abdu'l-lāh's pictures is his head-dress which is a definite deviation from the head-dress of all contemporary personages as well as of the Sulṭān's own predecessors, barring the founder of the dynasty. It is not a turban but a cap worn with a slant to the left side, and wound again, with a slant to the left, by an embroidered band, primarily to hold an aigrette based on strings of pearls, and secondly as an ornament to the cap itself. The face is that of an emaciated, almost spent person who has grown prematurely old, with rather curious mustachios flanking a shaven chin but not touching the well-trimmed moustaches. Quite a departure not merely in the matter of head-dress but also the face is the painting

or rather the pen-sketch housed in the Baroda Museum which Goetz attributed to 'Abdu'l-lāh.[368] We have here a middle-aged handsome young man with rather pensive, though slightly sarcastic face, a full beard and a turban of the most approved Mughal style of Shah Jahan's time. The remaining clothes which he wears are not distinct as the composition seems to be only a sketch and not a finished painting. There is a bilingual inscription at the top "Qutb Shah" in Persian and "Kutubushya Padusha" in Telugu. There is really nothing to indicate that the portrait is that of 'Abdu'l-lāh. Dr. Goetz rightly says that the picture is "in the best style of Shahjahan's school," but it is doubtful if it was "the work of an artist who accompanied the Mughal envoy who went to Haidarabad in order to negotiate the treaty of 1636". Even if we were to concede that the likeness is that of the reigning Quṭb Shāh in the time of Shah Jahan, aged about 22 (though he looks much older), there is a point which goes counter to the hypothesis of the portrait being painted by a Mughal painter. From the time the Mughals came in direct contact with the Deccan, they refused to recognize the Bahmanī Succession States as independent or their rulers, and not only in their farmāns and letters were they addressed as "Quṭbu'l-Mulks and "Ādil Khāns" but this mode of address was followed by the Indo-Persian Mughal chroniclers as well. We know from Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's *Ḥadīqatu's-Salāṭīn* how much 'Abdu'l-lāh was pampered by his countries and it is quite possible that it was not a Mughal artist but a faithful Dakhnī copyist of the *Shāhī* or Mughal *qalam* who made the sketch and inscribed it with the royal title.

There is another possibility. There are instances of old anonymous sketches and paintings superimposed in later times by the name of some high personages. The face of the subject is so utterly unlike not only 'Abdu'l-lāh's face but also of any other Dakhnī monarch that it is doubtful if it originally meant to depict him at all. It is not merely "in the best style of Shah Jahan's school" but quite possibly the picture of a Mughal noble superimposed by a simple "Quṭb Shāh" without so much as mentioning the name of the particular monarch. The whole

LAYOUT AND PRINCIPAL BUILDING OF HAIDARABAD AT THE TIME OF MUḤAMMAD — QULI QUṬB SHAH

SCALE : 1600 Ft = 1 Inch.



OUTER LIMITS OF THE GREEN BELT ROUND THE NEW CITY

N. W.,	PATANCHERU,	18 MILES
S.,	IBRAHIMPATAN,	20 MILES
E.	BHONGIR,	30 MILES
S. W.,	NARKODA,	13 MILES

REFERENCE TO BUILDINGS IN THE PLAN

1. CHARMINAR 1592
2. 'ASHŪRKHANA 1593
3. JILAUKHANA
4. KAMĀN SHER 'ALI (SIHRBĀṬIL)
5. RECORD OFFICE
6. JĀMDĀRKHĀNA
7. LĀL MAḤAL
8. CHANDAN MAḤAL
9. SAJAN MAḤAL
10. JAMI' MASJID..... .. 1597
11. DĀD MAḤAL
12. NADĪ MAḤAL
13. JINĀN MAḤAL
14. KHUDĀDĀD MAḤAL..... ... 1610
15. SARĀI NI'MATULLAH

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(to face p. 543)

physiognomy of the subject leads one to distinguish it from the physiognomy of any monarch of Golkonda-Haidarabad. Simply an inscription that it is the picture of a Quṭb Shāhī monarch hardly leads us anywhere.

Quite recently two almost life-size portraits executed in the technique of Dakhnī miniatures have been discovered lying in one of the non-descript corners of Haidarabad Museum and have been properly cleaned and mounted. Till recently they had been exhibited in the Ajanta Pavilion of the Public Gardens at Haidarabad but now they have been taken back to the Museum. They are the exact likenesses of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and Abdu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shah. They measure 5′ 6″ by 3″ and are unique in the whole field of Deccan art as the largest portrait paintings of the Dakhnī *qalam* in existence.[369]

Section 7 : *Architecture*

Just as Quṭb Shāhī literature reached its climax during 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign, so did Quṭb Shāhī architecture reach a fairly high watermark in his time. On the two-pronged attack on Haidarabad in 1656 the Sulṭān left his grandfather Muḥammad-Qulī's city for the old citadel of Golkonda never to change his residence again for any length of time, and the citadel which had become only a second-rate town regained life to a certain extent. It is unfortunate that many civil and some religious edifices constructed by 'Abdu'l-lāh in or near Haidarabad have been obliterated by ravages of time, while nearly all that he reconstructed in Golkonda remains undated, and in most cases we can only surmise the period of their reconstruction with the help of internal evidence or local tradition.

The Bādshāhī 'Āshūr Khānā, the construction of which was started by Muḥammad-Quli in 1001/1592-3, and completed in 1005/1596-7,[370] was further embellished by 'Abdu'l-lāh, as is evident from the single line in ṭughrā style on the western or main wall of the building mentioning his name along with invocations to God, the Prophet and Ḥaẓrat 'Alī. No date is mentioned, but it must have been done during the earlier part of the

reign. However, this can hardly be called an independent architectural achievement of the king.

For the first substantial group of buildings of the reign we have to move ten miles east of Haidarabad and two miles east of Sulṭān Nagar,[371] which had been left incomplete by Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh. Ḥayāt Nagar, now a small town, almost a village, was founded by 'Abdu'l-lāh's mother, Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam, in 1035/1625-26. Ḥayāt Bakhshī Begam was the virtual ruler of the kingdom at least during the minority of the Sulṭān, and it was here that the ceremony of the Sulṭān's coming of age was performed at the instance of the Queen Mother in Rajab 1041/January-February, 1632. All that remains of the palace (which was the scene of great rejoicings a number of times during the reign) consists of two large mounds, one entombing the palace proper and the other the *Tal-Makān* or subterranean residence which was perhaps occupied in summer as a refuge from the heat outside. Tavernier compares the palace of Ḥayāt Nagar with the Palais Royal of Paris, while Thèvenot says that "it consisted of large Piles of Stone Buildings two Stories high and adorned with Porticoes, Halls and Galleries". The present village, Ḥayāt Nagar, is situated a little to the north-east of the palace mound and the Khās Bagh or the "Private Garden" of the king. The best preserved and almost intact part of 'Abdu'l-lāh's buildings in the locality is the Great Mosque which has been constructed on a terrace 150 feet square. It has five beautiful arches leading to a double prayer chamber with five other arches dividing the hall into two equal parts. This terrace is reached by five steps from the raised courtyard of the mosque, 450′ by 400′ or a total area of 20,000 square yards, with a comparatively small ablution cistern in the middle, just 17′ long and 11′ 3″ broad. The façade of the mosque is ornamented by small pillars enclosing five cusped arches between each large arch, and these in turn are surmounted by a broad parapet wall incised by intertwined arches of the most pleasing variety. The space between each of the pillars supporting the main arches is decorated by two medallions and half a decagon in stucco. The roof of the mosque is made up of ten sunk-in domes, one

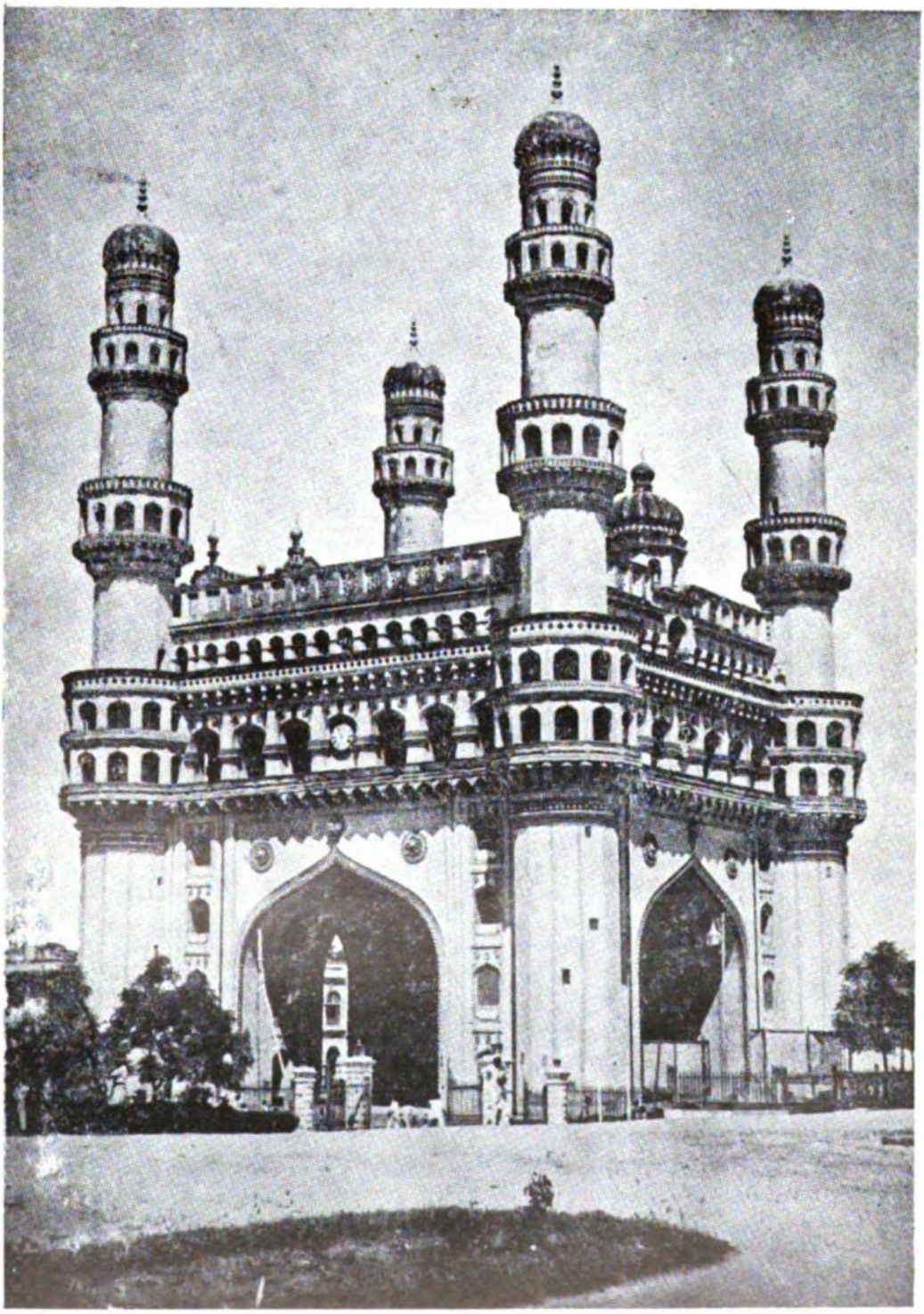


PLATE 1. *The Chārminār. (Courtesy, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh.)*

PLATE 2. *Mosque on the Uppermost story of Chārminār.*

PLATE 3. *Ma'dhanah on the top of Chārminar from the Central arch of the Mosque.*

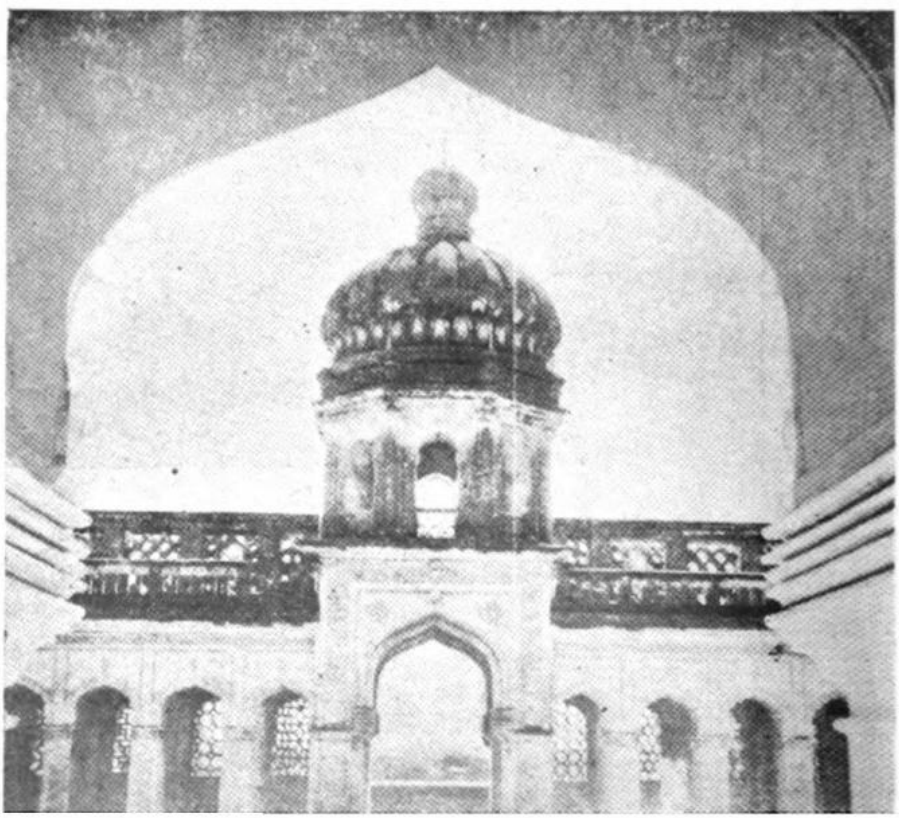
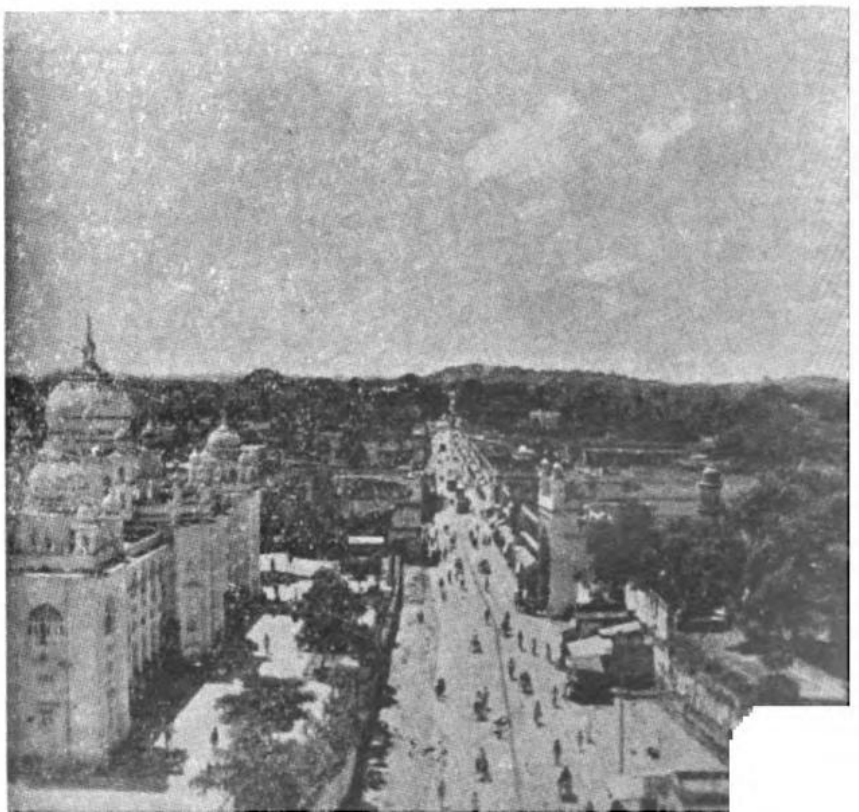


PLATE 4. *Vista towards Golkonda from Chārminār.*

PLATE 5. *Vista towards Koh-i-Ṭūr from Chārminār.*



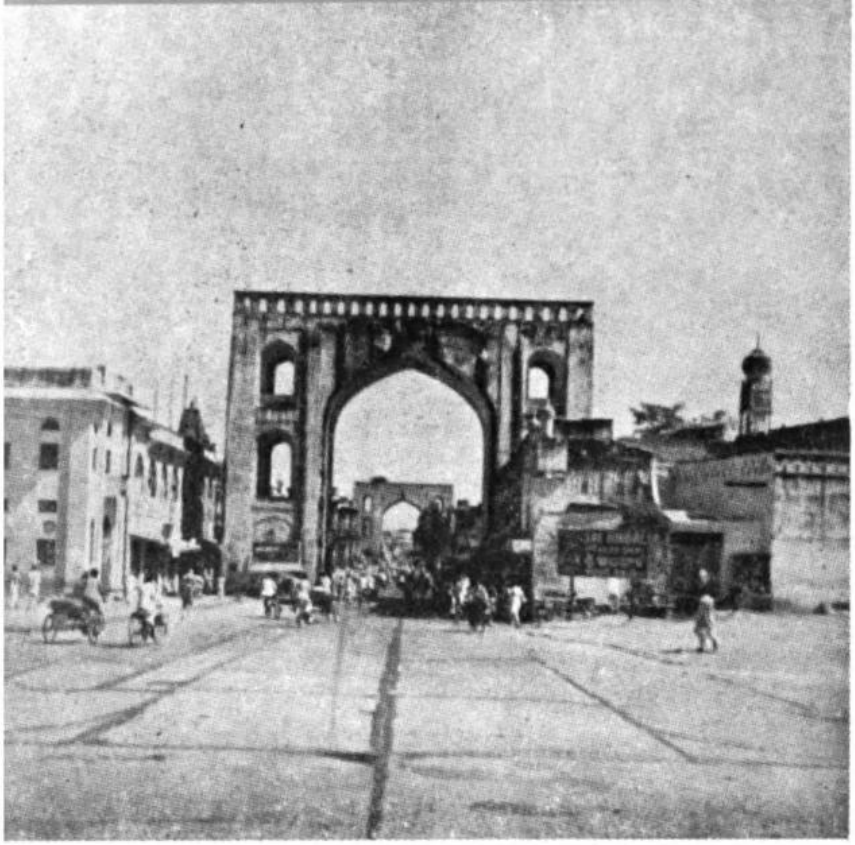
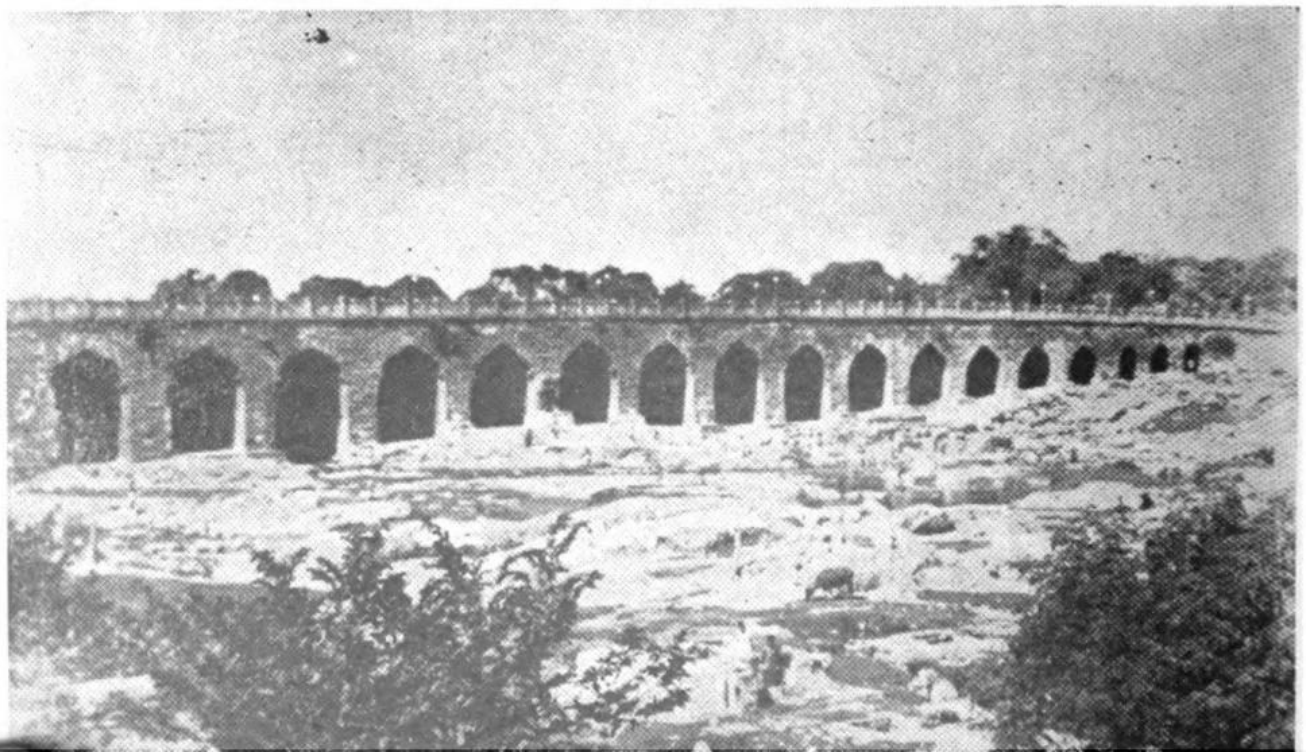


PLATE 6. *Two of the great arches enclosing the Jilūkhāna or Charkamān, Haidarabad.*

PLATE 7. *The Purānā Pul, Haidarabad, c.* 1598.



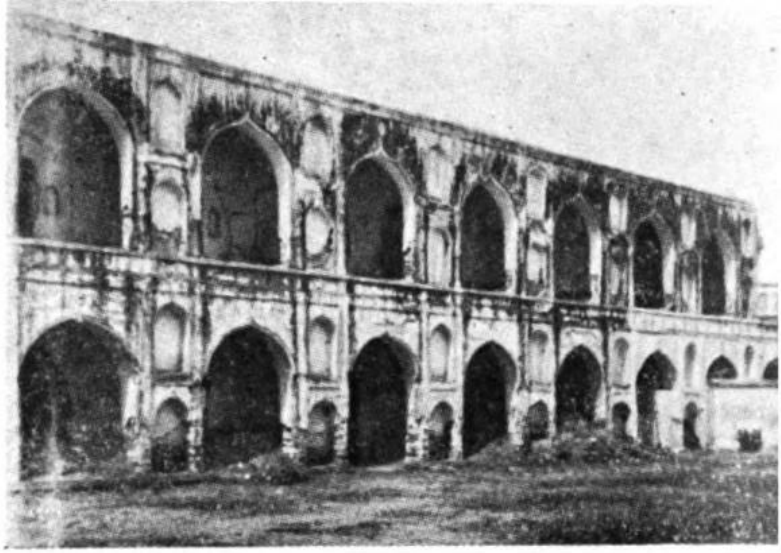
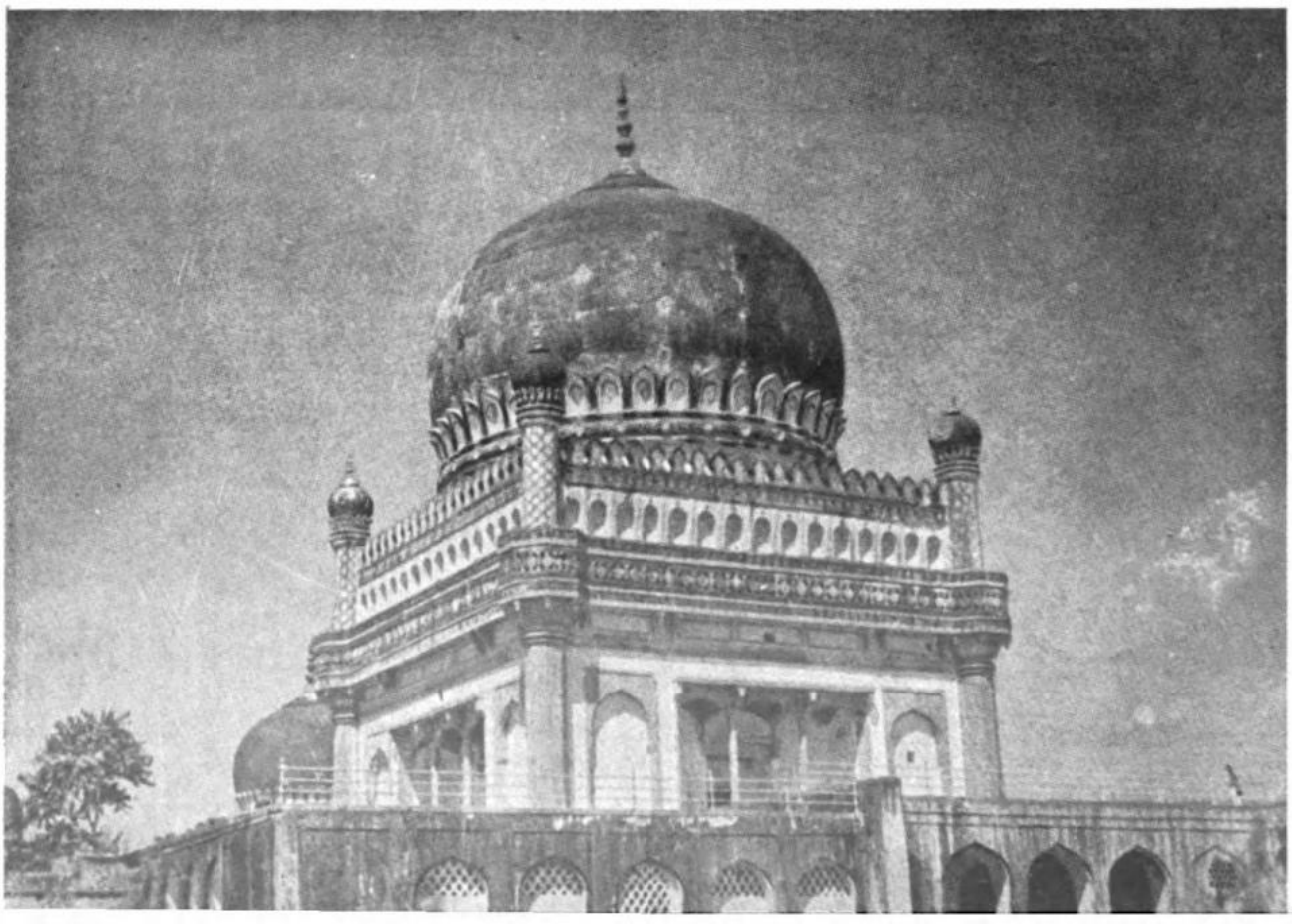


PLATE 8. *Daru'l-Shifā, Haidarabad, the Southern Wing.*

PLATE 9. *Tomb of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah, c.* 1611. *(Courtesy, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh.)*



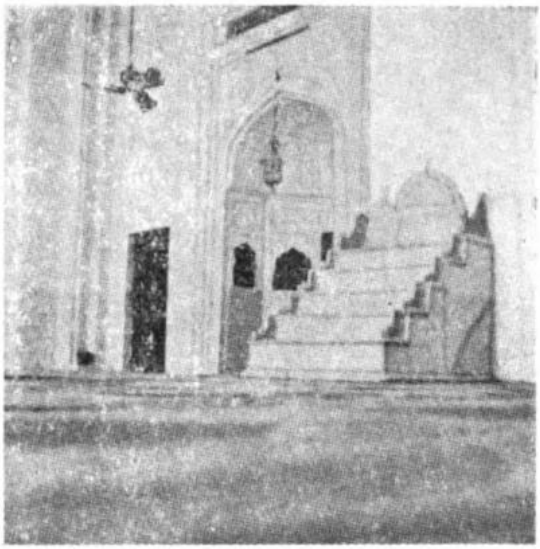
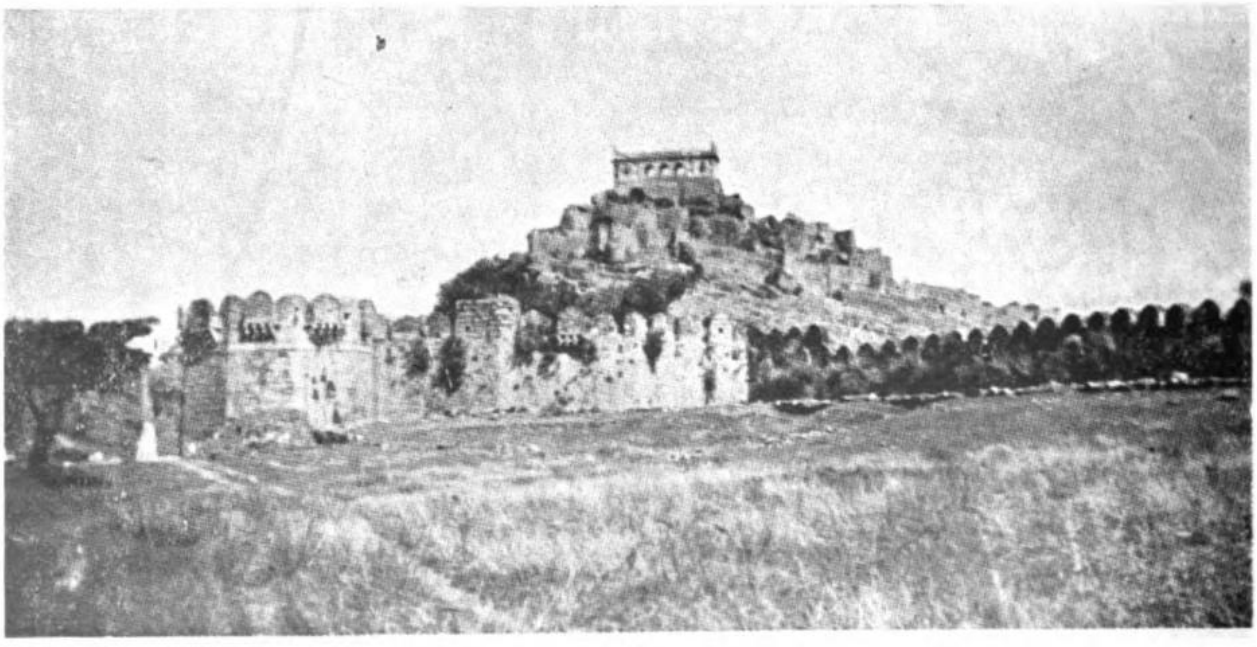


PLATE 10. *Mihrab and Pulpit, Mecca Masjid.*

PLATE 11. *Yali Gate, Golkonda Fort.*

PLATE 12. *Mecca Gate, Golkonda Fort, c.* 1559.



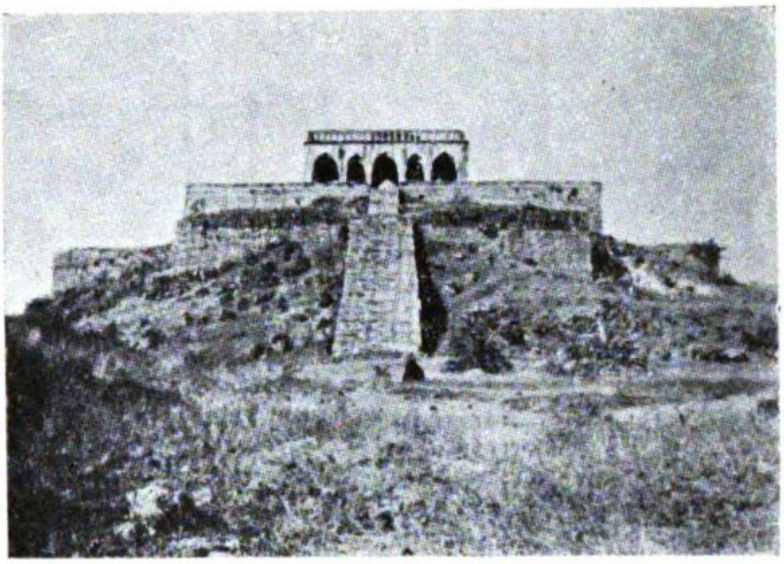


PLATE 13. *Taramati's Music Gallery, near Golkonda Fort, c.* 1660.

PLATE 14. *Pema'nati's Mosque, near Golkonda Fort, c.* 1670.

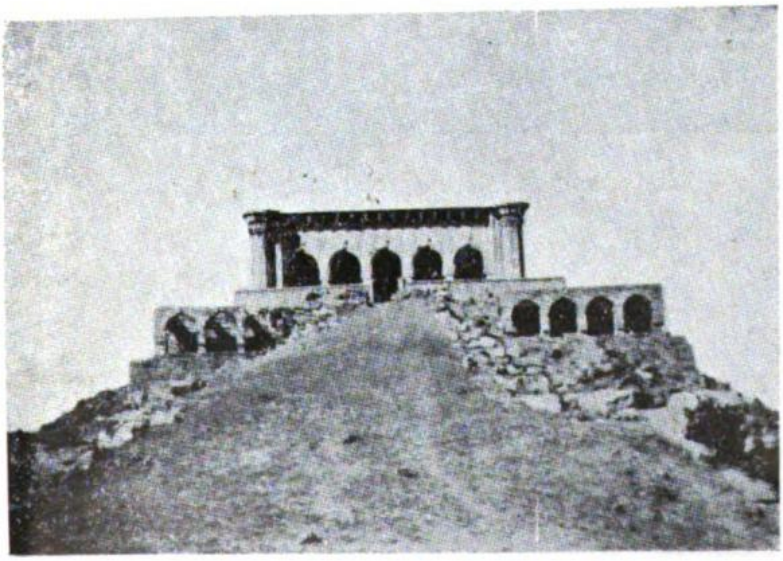
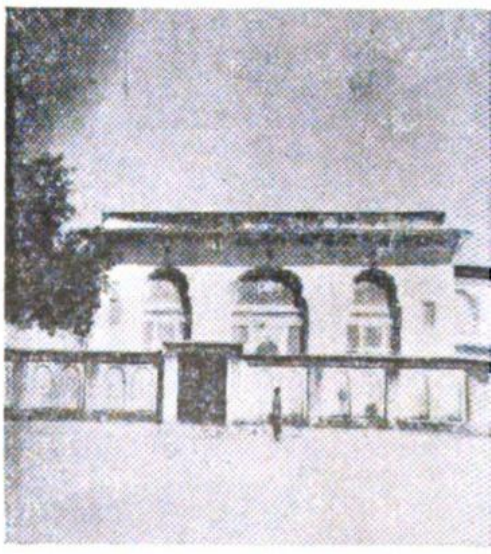


PLATE 15. *Baradari, Gosha Mahal, Haidarabad, c.* 1684.



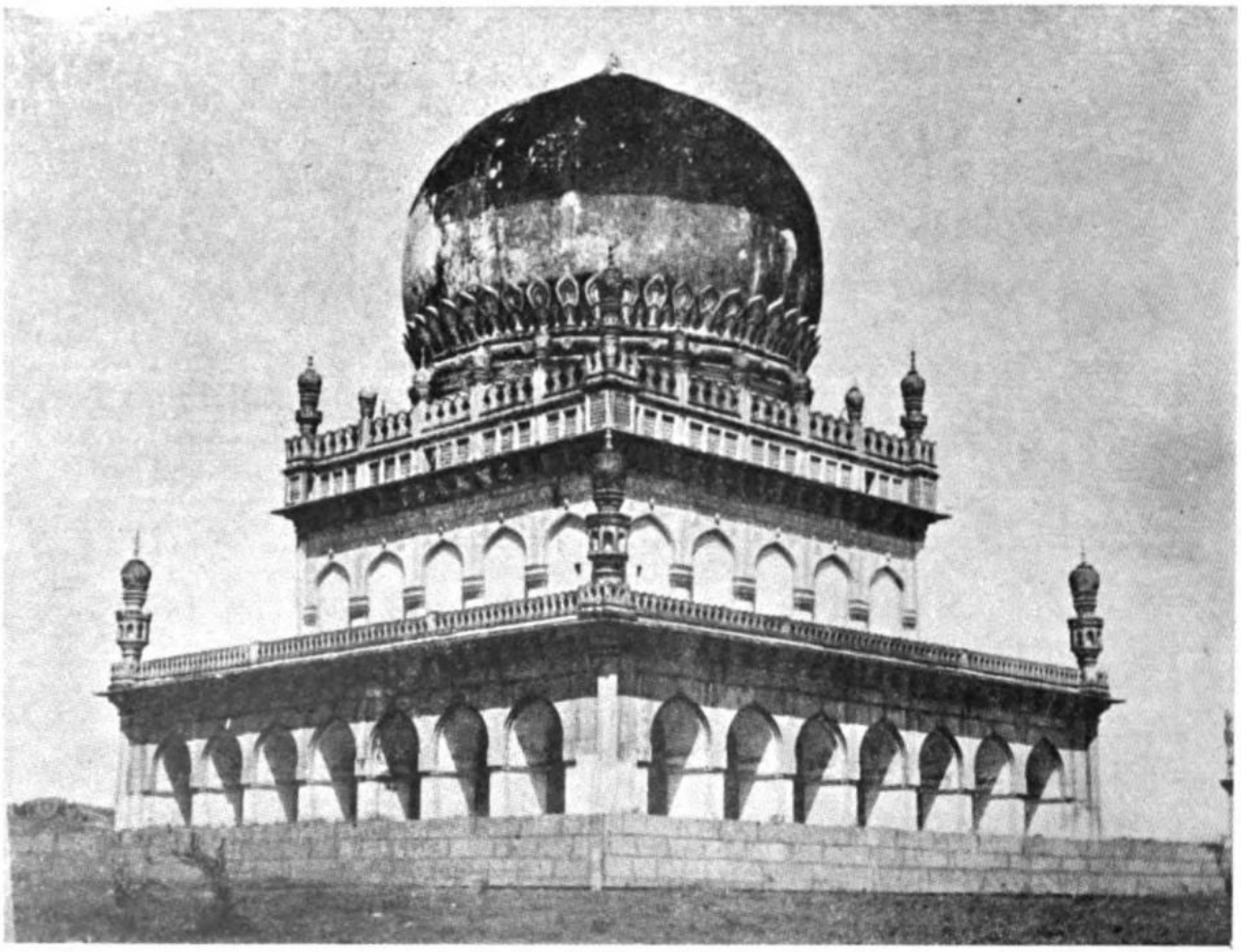


PLATE 16. *Tomb of 'Abdul-lāh Quṭb Shah, c.* 1662. *(Courtesy, Director of Archaeology and Museums, Andhra Pradesh.)*

in each bay, and these are embellished by intricate flowery patterns in stucco. The façade is flanked by two tall minarets which are visible for miles round, based on huge *kalasa*-like pedestal, while the solitary arched opening in the centre is capped by a beautiful lotus-like construction, itself topped by a solid Quṭb Shāhī dome.

One of the main features of the mosque is that it is surrounded by a huge quadrangle with 145 independent rooms, verandahs attached, which were no doubt meant for the students studying Islamic classics in the great mosque. The rooms and the verandahs are all uniform, the former measuring 8′ 9″ square, while the latter 12′ 7″ by 15′ 9″. There are three gateways to the quadrangle facing north, south and east. It is not correct to say that it was these rooms which formed the Sarāi Mān Ṣāḥībā, for there are the remains of more than 50 rooms excluding those which have been completely dilapidated, outside the walls of the quadrangle, and local tradition as well as personal observations point to these external rooms having been conveniently used as temporary homes for travellers.

Just outside the compound, on its north eastern corner, is a large square well called the Hāthī Bāolī in which effigies of birds of different kinds are beautifully worked in stucco. The building has pulleys for the ropes carrying leather buckets for raising water, three lower pulleys for oxen and the upper large pulley for an elephant. The water was carried to storage tanks below from where it was distributed over the area as well as the Khās Bāgh by means of clay pipes.[372]

Proceeding from Ḥayāt Nagar to Haidarabad, between the third and fourth mile, one passes two round Kos-mīnārs or mile posts dating back to 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign. They are similar to the posts right in the middle of the densely populated quarter of Kulthūmpura on the road from Haidarabad to Golkonda. Every one of such posts, 14′ 10″, is exactly double the height below the dome, i.e. 7′ 5″, and yet the optic illusion is perfect, as the height appears to the onlooker definitely greater than the girth.

Right on the other side of Haidarabad, to the north-east of

Golkonda fort, is the small village of Shaikhpē, which must have been a flourishing town in 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign. The most important building in the village is the magnificent mosque the minarets of which can be seen from a long distance. The platform on which it is constructed is oblong, measuring 121 feet east to west and 78 feet north to south and rising three feet from the ground. The actual prayer hall is 37′ 6″ long and 23′ 6″ broad, and is pierced by three arches 15 feet high and 10 feet wide. There are three fairly large shallow domes supporting the roof. The main inscription is carved on the western wall on six panels of black basalt, four containing Persian verses, one a Qur'ānic text and the last giving the name of the calligraphist, Luṭfu'l-lāh al-Ḥusainī a't-Tabrīzī, the date of the construction of the mosque, 1043/1633-4, and the name of the king. All the tablets are arranged in one line. The writing on five panels is in flowered *nasta'līq* or flowered *naskh* of a high order. The minarets and also the frontage of the mosque show the remains of coloured blue, green and yellow oblong tiles.[373]

There are a number of small mosques in the city as well as on the road from Purānā Pul to Golkonda which were constructed during the reign, but they are more or less of a uniform type. There are certain peculiarities of Quṭb Shāhī mosques in general and those constructed during 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign in particular. Most of them have two minarets flanking the façade, and where there are two other minarets at the back, which is by no means common, they are very small. The arches leading to the prayer hall are either five in number (answering to the *Panjtan-i Pāk* namely God, the Prophet, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain) or only three (answering to God, the Prophet and 'Alī). The domes are, almost in all cases, shallow, not visible from outside and used only to support the roof. Then, there is almost always a comparatively small ablution cistern in the midst of the open prayer platform. One of the pleasuring features of these mosques is the profuse use of black basalt made on the miḥrāb wall, and sometimes on the façade and even on the minarets. A fairly small mosque with practically all these peculiarities is the Raḥīm Khān's mosque near the Purānā Pul,

constructed in 1053/1643-44, where, in spite of its small sizes "black basalt has been profusely used in the arches, medallions, minarets, miḥrāb and the entrance gate", although the inscription of the invocations and verses by Mir 'Alī is not of the best.[374]

There are two other mosques in the city worth noting, one ascribed to Princes Kulthūm Bēgam and the other to the Tolī Masjid. Kulthum's Bēgam's mosque is situated in a side street branching from the main road to Golkonda in the part of the city called Kulthūmpura. It is a large mosque in the middle of a very large compound which is entered by a domed entrance. The platform on which the mosque has been erected on a plinth three feet higher than the ground level. The prayer chamber has three openings, while the conventional two minarets flanking the façade are full of stucco decorations, something like the minarets of the mosque at Khairiatābād. There are two small pavilions further decorating the parapet wall which has a number of arches for decorative purposes. There is no inscription except the names of God, the Prophet and Haẓrat 'Alī at the entrance to the compound. Kulthūmpura was once the centre of commerce, and one still finds a Quṭb Shāhī caravansarai, ḥammām and houses once occupied by leading tradesmen from far and near. The whole locality dates back to 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's time.[375]

The other important mosque on the road to Golkonda is the Tōlī Masjid, constructed in 1082/1671-2 by Mīr Mūsā Khān, the planner of Mūsā Burj in Golkonda Fort. The mosque is remarkable in many ways, namely its size, its once flourishing gardens and importantly, its blending of the best in the Hindu temple architecture and the Muslim mosque architecture almost without any mental break. Thus "the circular earthen pot, so common a theme in Hindu architectural ornamentation, is largely adopted here". The minarets seem to rise from such earthen pots, the façade is ornamented with a number of such pots cut in black basalt and there are brackets similar to elephant tusks supporting the chhajja, which is unusual in a mosque. While the scheme of the support of the roof is based

on the arch, quite a number of niches are set in the pillar and lintel style. The space between the two tall minarets is filled by extremely fine trellis work.[376]

A building which is a class by itself and goes back to 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign, is the Kamrakhī Gumbad near Purānā Pul. Kamrakh is a fruit with natural sliced effect, and a dome constructed in that fashion is very unusual. This tomb is that of Mīrānjī Khudānumā who was originally in the service of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh but became a recluse on having accepted Haẓrat Amīnu'd-dīn A'lā of Bijapur as his preceptor. The tomb was constructed by his son who was also named Amīnu'd-dīn after the preceptor, in 1070/1660.[377]

There are hardly any other edifice erected by the Sulṭan which have survived in Haidarabad. 'Abdu'l-lāh was a staunch shī'ah and greatly revered anything which pertained to the Imāms of the faith. One Darwīsh 'Alī brought a *panjah* from Najaf, where Haẓrat 'Alī is buried, and the *panjah* was received with great pomp by the Sulṭān. In the same way there was an 'alam which was supposed to have been fashioned from the wooden plank used for the funeral bath of the Prophet's daughter Faṭīmā. Both these were brought to Haidarabad in 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign, but evidently the 'Āshūr Khānas in which they were housed were destroyed and the present ones were erected by Niẓām 'Alī Khān Aṣaf Jāh II in 1191/1771.[378] The Bāgh-i Nabī and the Bāgh Lingampallī were laid out by the Sulṭan, but no trace is found of the Bāgh-i Nabī, while all that remains of the Bāgh Lingampallī is the great tank 200 yards square now completely dry, and the deep well with pulleys which were used for drawing water. Originally in the centre of the grove, which extends to several acres, there was a two-storeyed pavilion and the king often went to the garden for recreation and enjoyment.[379]

Two other palaces were erected by 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh in the vast park-like garden laid by the Mīr Jumla Syed Muẓaffar on the banks of the Mīr Jumlā Tank. It is related that when Syed Muẓaffar became very ill the Sulṭān went to enquire after his health in person. By way of thanks to him he presented the

pavilion as well as the garden to the king. The king thereupon ordered two lofty palaces to be built there with a grove full of large tanks, water-spouts and water-falls. On their completion 'Abdu'l-lāh was greatly pleased with them and ordered that the ensemble be named Sulṭān Shāhī Bāgh. No trace of these palaces remains, but the name "Sulṭān Shāhī" has stuck to one of the quarters of the city.[360]

There are two mosques, one at Kumbum and the other at Vinukoṇḍā, which are worth noting. The Jāmi' Masjid at Vinukoṇḍā was constructed in 1050/1640-41 by 'Alī Riẓa Khān 'Ainu'l-Mulk, a minister of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh. There are the regulation five openings in the prayer hall, while the *miḥrāb* is shaped like half a pentagon. In this is affixed an arch-shaped slab. In the central space of the slab is inscribed a verse from the Qur'ān and the *Nād-i 'Alī*, while on the margin is inscribed the Shī'ite *durūd*, all in naskh characters, but worked rather carelessly, as there are many calligraphic mistakes. In the small panel beneath the *Nād-i 'Alī* is written in rather indifferent nasta'liq characters an announcement in Persian that 'Alī Riẓā Khān was deputed to suppress robbery on the highway to the eastern ports as well as to pacify the newly conquered territory. It was as a thanksgiving for his success in the expedition that he erected the mosque at Vinukoṇḍā. There are three medallions on the top of the slab, two being duodecagons with the names of God, the Prophet and 'Alī repeated in the form of a flower, and the middle one in the form of a pointed arch with six semicircles on each side and a short Qur'ānic verse in the middle.[361]

The Jāmi' Masjid at Kumbum bears two Persian inscriptions on black basalt, one in prose and the other in verse, recording the erection of the mosque by Syed Ḥusain Mazendrānī, *ḥawalādār* of Kumbum, in 1059/1649. Muḥammad Sa'īd, who was then Mir Jumla and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Karnatak, is greatly extolled in the prose version. There are the usual two minarets, one of the tablets being affixed to the base of the northern minaret and the other to the base of the southern.[362]

Coming back to Haidarabad, we proceed to Golkonda. But before entering the fortress itself, we notice two structures, one a pavilion and the other a mosque, flanking the main road from Haidarabad to Osman Sagar, the large modern reservoir of water which was commissioned in 1920. The pavilion, called Tārāmatī's Bārādarī, is a typical structure, in a way symbolising the Shī'ah tenets. It rises about 150 feet from the ground level and is reached by a flight of five steps (perhaps answering to the *Panjtan-i Pāk* or the Five Sacred Personalities) leading to the first large platform; from this platform we reach a smaller platform by ascending another twelve steps. Another platform with alternating five and twelve steps, with suitable landings, leads us to the Bārādarī. The building is octagonal in shape with twelve arches and is erected on a basement 4′ 6″ in height. The visitor is thus brought face to face with the mystical Fives and the Twelves rather forcefully.

Right opposite this Bārādarī is Pēmāmatī's mosque which is likewise erected on an eminence about 150 feet high. There are no steps but the visitor has to go up a gentle slope to reach a very large square platform supported by twelve arches. The mosque appears to be incomplete and is without minarets; but if the staircases on both sides of the façade had been projected upwards, they would have taken the form of two minarets. There are five shapely arches. The chhajjā in front is supported by brackets of the Hindu pattern. Although incomplete, the mosque leaves on our minds the impression of piety as well as of the fine taste of the builder.[383]

The great débacle of 1656 meant a constant danger of another Mughal invasion: and now that Golkonda had again become the Quṭb Shāhī capital, it was necessary to make it doubly strong against any possible foreign attack. This was effected in three ways, namely, erection of a strong bastion on the southern vulnerable side of the fort wall, the construction of a moat, also on that side, and the erection of what is called Nayā Qil'ā or the New Fort enclosing an eminence on the north-eastern side of Golkonda from where Prince Aurangzeb trained his guns in 1656. The western wall had already been

strengthened at the instance of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh by Prince 'Abdu'l-lāh and completed by him after his accession to the throne on 29.8.1038/13.4.1629. There is a fine inscription which is inscribed on a grey sandstone slab in the form of an irregular cusped arch and two rather irregular peaked medallions on both sides. The inscriptions contain invocations to God, the Prophet and 'Alī beseaching them to assist Sultan 'Abdu'l-lāh, with the Nād-i 'Alī in the middle. The date is also incised in the middle left side of the inscription.[384]

There are certain peculiarities about Mūsā Burj which should be noted. The bastion is a decagon of which only six sides are visible. It is a three-storeyed structure "built of solid blocks firmly cemented together . . . . most of the blocks weighing over a ton". It is sixty feet from the bottom and is mounted by pieces of artillery. A peculiar feature of the bastion is the two inscriptions, one in Persian and the other in Telugu, both giving a short history of the battle which raged between the invading Mughal armies and the defenders of the fort in February-March 1656. The unusual thing about these inscriptions is that a short history of the battle, including the death in action of the Mughal Commander Mīr-i Mirān, has been noted. It was when peace had been established that the king ordered "Khan-i Dhī-Shān Mūsā Khān" to erect this large bastion. The date of the commencement of invasion is given in the Telugu version as "7th day of the bright half of Māgha in the year Manmatha (1578)", corresponding to 23.1.1656.[385]

To the northeast of the fort is the Nayā Qil'a. The fort wall between Mōtī Darwāzā and Jamālī Darwāzā forms the common wall between the old and the new fort, strengthened by a number of new bastions. Of these, the "Nau Burji" on the south and eastern side of the wall is interesting, as it is of a corrugated shape. Practically no edifices going back to 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign remain in the Nayā Qil'a except a part of a fine grove, called the Bāgh Nayā Qil'a, which is planned on a rectangular pattern. Probably it once extended on both sides of the beautiful channel which brings water from a large cistern in the south of a smaller cistern with an open platform called the

Dal-Bādal Chabūtrā situated right in the north of the garden. The channel as well as the garden is planned on the accepted Mughal pattern, with a small pavilion in the centre of the large cistern and one right in the middle of the channel.[386]

There are only two inscriptions going back to 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shah in the main Fort and both are probably out of their original site. One is fixed in front of the Ambār Khānā or storehouse half way up the *Bālā Ḥiṣār*. It registers the construction of the storehouse by Khairāt Khān in Rajab 1052/ September-October 1642, while the other is affixed to Mūsā Burj and records the construction of a certain number of shops, a well and a grove by the same Khairāt Khān. The latter inscription is in a non-descript hand but the former is in fine nasta'līq, though it does not mention the name of the calligraphist. It is, however, rather difficult to believe that by the *Ambār Khānā* is meant the rather stuffy, dungeon-like room in front of which the inscription has been affixed.[387]

There is one other building within the Fort with an inscription which arrests attention. The Hīrā Masjid is not very large, but it is enclosed by a high wall with cubicles for the residence of pupils. There are three arches leading to the main hall and the frontage is flanked by two beautiful minarets. There are a number of inscriptions, one of which indicates the name of the calligraphist, Ismā'īl b. 'Arab Shīrāzī, and the date of the construction, 1079/1668-69; another inscription on the miḥrāb of the mosque contains a Qur'ānic verse inscribed in a most beautiful tughrā style in the hand of Muḥammad bin Swāleh al-Bahrāni.[388]

The palaces which 'Abdu'l-lāh must have renovated after he fled from Haidarabad in 1656 are difficult to locate, as no palaces proper in the fort have any inscriptions. But a surmise may perhaps be made by the state of preservation of some of these palaces as well as their environments.[389] As we enter the Bālā Ḥiṣār Darwāzā and take a sharp turn to the left, the building to which we come face to face is the simple three-storeyed *Silaḥ Khānā* or "Ammunition Store House". It has seven wide arches on every storey but is entirely without any

ornamentation, with no turrets, no friezed cornice and no corner minarets. It is one of the most impressive buildings in the whole fort, and must have antedated 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh. Like many fort palaces, this building was gutted from top to bottom, and when it was cleared of the debris, it was found full of the rarest Quṭb Shāhī and Aṣaf Jahi pieces which have now been removed to a separate museum near Fatḥ Darwāzā.

Before entering the royal apartments we pass to our right a dilapidated, roofless small mosque which must have served the spiritual needs of the soldiers guarding the Silaḥ Khānā. The only parts of the mosque which remain are the miḥrāb and four other arches flanking it, and some stumps of pillars in fine polished black stone. But what impresses one is the profusion of encaustic tiles with beautiful foliage and delicately intertwined branches embellishing the ruined western wall, and these may serve as a pointer to the tile decoration in some of the royal tombs which have been obliterated by the ravages of time.

Turning to the left, a ruined passage leads to what may well have served as the residence of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh during his sojourn in Golkonda. These palaces are scattered over a vast, fairly regular quadrangle, 1,000 feet long with an average width of 650 feet, containing what are now called Tārāmatī's palace, the Jilū Khānā, a series of Khilwats or Private Apartments, the Shāhī Maḥal, a number of cisterns and jets of which the one with twelve sides is the most prominent and best preserved, the beautiful mosque named after Tārāmatī, the so-called Camel Stables and the characteristic Dād Maḥal or Palace of Equity with a Jharōkā or window opening out to the straight public road from Makkī Darwāzā to Bālā Hiṣār Darwāzā.[390] The palaces in this area are marked by two different kinds of walls and arches. The outer series of courtyards, one leading on to the other, have very wide arches ranging in width from 18′ 6″ to as much as 25′ 6″, while the lofty arches of the so-called Camel Stables range from 10′ to 16′ 10″. The thickness of the walls of the former is sometimes as much as 9′ and 12′. As one passes—

or rather, descends—from one courtyard to another—seven in number and all more or less independent, one faces a series of beautiful small arches surrounding independent courtyards, which symbolise beauty rather than the strength of the strong palaces which one has passed. It is possible that, although the outer palaces are often ascribed to Tārāmatī, it is these inner palaces which were occupied by the 'Abdu'l-lāh's zenana.

Right in the centre of the large roofed apartments of what is popularly known as Tārāmatī's palace, the architect has introduced an interesting device. If one stands at a pin-pointed place exactly under the foliated centre of the hall and claps his hands it gives a peculiar resonant sound which is not caused if the clapper budges even half a foot from the centre. It is said that the resonant sound is heard right at the top of the Bālā Ḥiṣār or Acropolis several hundred feet above.[391]

The small mosque named after Tārāmatī is a work of art in its own right. It has two small arches 9′ 10″ wide flanking one large commanding arch 14′ 4″ wide. The parapet wall, with a chhajjā of the Hindu pattern, is embellished by square openings, seven in the middle and five on the sides more or less of the same pattern as those in the Great Mosque at Ḥayāt Nagar. Similarly this mosque has also steps leading to the roof through the two side minarets, and the roof is supported by sunk-in domes with beautiful geometrical patterns in stucco. There is a peculiarity about this mosque and that is a small platform, just six feet broad supported by twelve small rather pretty simple arches which add a certain dimension to the whole edifice.[392]

There are three magnificent monuments of the reign in the royal necropolis, namely the tomb of 'Abdu'l-lāh's mother, Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam, the Great Mosque of the tombs erected by the queen dowager and the tomb of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh himself. Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam died at an advanced age on 28-8-1077/3-2-1667. The Queen's tomb is built in the same style as that of her husband, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh. The platform over which it stands is 170 feet square, while the height of the pinnacle of the central dome is 100 feet. There is a

wide verandah with seven arches on each side and a small minaret on each corner enclosing the mortuary chamber with certain verses from the Qur'ān, the *Nād-i 'Alī*, the Shī'ite *durūd* and the date of the Queen's death, all arranged in rows and inscribed on black basalt.The mortuary chamber has no opening except the entrance, while the wall above the verandah has five closed arches on each side.[393]

The mosque attached to the Dowager Queen's mausoleum in the north is a very grand structure, and there are certain peculiarities about it which are noticeable. It was constructed in 1077/1667 simultaneously with Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam's mausoleum and is an evidence of the taste of her son, the Sulṭān. The beautiful inscription in chaste and proportionate letterings in *thulth* and *tauqī'* styles on the *miḥrāb*, containing some Qur'ānic verses, is by Taqīyu'd-dīn Muḥammad Swāleh al-Baḥrānī who was also the calligraphist of the *miḥrāb* of Hīra Masjid. The prayer hall is divided into three aisles and is entered by five arches. "The roof is vaulted, consisting of fifteen sunk-in domes, the orbs of which are lost in the thickness of the roof". The façade is flanked by two tall minarets each "crowned by a pot of Hindu pattern resting on lotus leaves" and adorned with two false balconies. It is further embellished by a beautiful parapet wall with a miniature minaret projected from each pillar supporting the arches and three openings with trellises in stucco between every two small minarets. A very curious feature of the foliage decoration on the arches is the representation of two squirrels worked in stucco seen going up the bunches of grapes on both sides of the second of the five arches from the right facing the worshippers. It is well known that such a representation in a mosque is an anathema in Islam, and it is curious how this escaped the notice of the religious leaders who must have supervised the inscription of the Qur'ānic verses in the *miḥrāb*.[394]

The last monument to be described is the mausoleum of 'Abdu'l-lāh himself which may be said to embody the artistic concepts of the monarch. No doubt the style is similar to the style of the tombs of his father and his mother, but the con-

ception is far grander, and the mausoleum is built on a much larger area. While the platform on which Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh's tomb has been constructed is 176′ 6″ each way and that of his mother 170′ each way, the platform on which 'Abdu'l-lāh's mausoleum has been constructed is 237 feet square. The scheme of construction—the seven arches of the verandah each way, the five closed arches of a smaller structure on the top and stucco ornaments over the arches, the small minarets over the pillars supporting the lower arches, and the grand dome—is more or less the same as in the case of his mother's mausolèum,[305] but naturally everything is larger in size so as to make it proportionate to the area covered. Remains of the multicoloured tile work are still visible here and there. The inscriptions containing verses of the Qur'ān, the Shī'ite *durūd* and *Nād-i 'Alī* are in naskh characters, but the name of the calligraphist is not mentioned. 'Abdu'l-lāh's mausoleum is one of those few where one can reach the actual grave in the crypt. The epitaph on the false grave gives the date of 'Abdu'l-lāh's birth, 28-10-1023/21-11-1614, the date of his accession, 14-5-1035/1-2-1626 and the date of his death 3-1-1083/21-4-1672.[306]

Appendix to Section 5 (iv)

There are four interesting letters by Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and a general power of attorney executed by him (where he is called Nawāb Mīrza Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad) in *Makātīb, op. cit.*, *'Arā'iẓwa Ittiḥādnāmajāt, op. cit.*, which throw some light on his affiliations to Iran and his migration to Arabia :—

(1) Petition addressed to Shāh 'Abbas II (1641 to 1666) in which he lists briefly his ancestral movable and immovable property in Iran. He also refers to his migration to "the Land of Baṭ-ḥa" meaning Arabia, and says that his whole property in Iran had been sequestrated by others in his absence. He therefore begs His Majesty that after due investigation his property be restored. (2) Letter to "Nawab Wālā Khalīfa-i Sulṭān"

mentioning that he had granted power of attorney to Syed Muḥammad Baḥrānī (the poet who formed part of the literary circle of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad at Haidarabad). He says that he had received the news of the death of his uncle who had left considerable property, both personal and endowed, in Iran, and that he had submitted his case to His Majesty the Shah who had agreed that Syed Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī (or Baḥraini) may take over the property on his behalf. He therefore requests the addressee to see that his property in the town of Shīrāz, in the province of Khurāsān and other provinces of the Empire be handed over to him in the name of his sons who were living at Mecca. (3) To Muḥammad Bĕg I'timādu'd-Dowlah, Prime Minister of the Shah of Iran. Here Niẓamu'd-dīn Aḥmad first congratulates him on his elevation to the Premiership. He then informs him of the appointment of Syed Muḥammad as his *vakīl,* who was charged, among other things, with the management of Madrasah Manṣūrīyah. He requests him to give the *vakīl* help and full consideration. (4) Letter to Mīrza Muḥammad Mahdī, "Ṣadr" of Iran, informing him of the death of his uncle and telling him that Syed Muḥammad had been appointed his representative with the consent of His Majesty.

Apart from these letters we have the complete document containing وکالت نامہ full power of attorney signed by "Nawāb" Mīrza Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, where he is described as one of the grandees اکابر و اعاظم of Haidarabad. In this power of attorney he appoints Syed Muḥammad Bahrānī to take charge of all his property and endowments in 'Irāq-i 'Ajam, the province of Khurāsān, the State of Adharbaījān and other parts of the Persian Empire, which had been granted to him by the Sulṭāns of old and rulers of the past.

These documents are interesting in their own right as well as for the connection which Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad wanted to keep with Persia but to which he could not return. As has been noted, his mortal remains lie buried in a half-completed tomb opposite the grand tomb of his father-in-law, 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, in the royal necropolis outside Golkonda Fort.

NOTES

1. See ch. V, paragraph 1.

2. *Hadiqa*, p. 9.

3. There were three other sons and one daughter. The daughter Khadījā Sulṭānā was married to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shah of Bijapur (1627-56), one son, Ibrāhīm Mīrza, died in the second year of 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign, while two sons by one Khurshīd Bībī survived; *Ḥadīqā*, 25, 200-201. Thèvenot says that 'Abdu'l-lāh was not the eldest but the second son, and was "the son of a Brahman lady, who had other princes also by her late husband". The elder brother "was imprisoned and later poisoned". Apart from the fact that Thèvenot and other European travellers of the period were ill-informed regarding the events at the court, we have the testimony of *Hadīqā*, 200, where it is related how well the King treated his brothers even when one of them was inordinately rude to him. *M.L.*, 391, says that 'Abdu'l-lāh had an elder brother, Muḥammad Khudā Bandah, and Sulṭān Muḥammad had appointed him his heir and successor; but 'Abdu'l-lāh's mother brought round the other group composed of Gharībs (or āfāqīs), Turks and some ḥabashīs and put 'Abdu'l-lāh on the throne.

Khadīja Sulṭāna's marriage to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shah, Ṣafar 1047/ June 1637; *Basātin*, 295. Khadīja Sulṭānā was evidently 'Abdu'l-lāh's elder sister as he uses most respectful epithets of address in his letter to her; e.g., letter No. 19, *Makātīb*, Anjuman Taraqqī Urdu Library, Karachi, 7/27; Salar Jung Library, Adab, Nathr Fārsī, 295. *Relations of Golkonda*, p. 10 says that 'Abdu'l-lah had three other wives besides the princes of Bijapur.

4. *Ḥadīqa*, 31, 32; evidently not merely the Mughal Emperor but also his Viceroy in the Deccan had his envoy at the Quṭb Shāhī Court. Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, 1580-1627.

5. *Ḥadīqā*, 81-83. Muḥammad ibn Khātūn, one of the most renowned peshwās of the Quṭb Shāhī monarchy, came to Haidarabad from Iran in 1009/1591-2. He led the embassy to Iran in 1024/1615. He was appointed *Wakīl* and *Pēshwa* on 9.10.1043/29th March, 1634. He was steeped in knowledge and, different to all pèshwas, his name is always prefixed by the honorific title, *'Allāmah*. It is related that it was only after conversations and discussions with the learned that he began his official routine, while on every Tuesday, the official holiday, he spent most of his time in the company of the learned. In 1059/1649 he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but he was not destined to reach Mecca and died at Mukha on the south Arabian coast; *Ḥadā'iq*, Salar Jung, MSS. tarikh Farsi, 213, fol.

194 b-201 b; Qādir Khān Bidri, *Tarikh Quṭb Shahi*, Salar Jung, MSS., tarikh Farsi, 116.

6. *Makātīb*, fol. 39(a). The Shah was perhaps 'Abbas II who ruled Iran from 1641 to 1666.

7. *Munsha'āt Ṭāhir Wahīd*, quoted by Najīb Ashraf Nadawī in *Ruqqa'at 'Ālamgir*, pp. 276-77.

8. *Lāhōrī*, 248, 249; *Kambō*, 215. *Bīṛ*, headquarters of a district in Maharashtra State, 18°59′ N., 75°46′ E.

9. *Lahori*, I, 339.

10. *Ibid.*, I, 374.

The capture of Qandhar by the Mughals proved to be a bad omen for Shah Jahan, for only a few days after this Shah Jahan's beloved Empress, "the Lady of the Taj", breathed her last on 17.11.1040/7th June, 1631, and Shah Jahan left Burhanpur with her mortal remains on 24.9.1041/4th April, 1632, reaching Agra on 1.12.1041/9th June, 1632.

11. *Kambo*, 436, 447, 483; *Lāhorī*, I, 496.

12. The Manṣūrgaṛh Campaign, *Kambo*, 396; *Lahori*, I, 332.

13. According to *Kambō*, 396, Manṣūrgaṛh was a fort constructed by Manṣūr, "a slave of Quṭbu'l-Mulk". There are slight variations between *Lāhōrī*, I, 332, and *Kambō*, 396, e.g. with regard to the number of foot-soldiers guarding the fort, but they are not very important. Both agree that resistance was meagre, which might have been on account of either the pusillanimity of the garrison or the better equipment and morale of the invaders.

14. *Lāhōrī*, II, 129-33.

15. Full text of this decisive "Deed of Submission"; *Lāhōrī* II, 177-81. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, I, 36, is wrong when he says that the Quṭb Shāhī monarch became "a vassal of the Mughal Empire" in April, 1636.

16. *Lāhōrī* II, 204-205. The treaty is dated 3-12-1096/19th April, 1637.

17. *Ibid.*, II, 209-10. *Ratti* equals 8 barley-corns.

18. *Ibid.*, II, 201-11. 'Abdu'l-lāh actually went to the Jāmi' Masjid of Haidarabad to see that the change in the *Khuṭbah* was actually made; *M.L.*, 393.

19. 'Abdu'l-lāh's *'Arzdāsht*, *ibid.*, 212-15.

20. *Lāhōrī*, II, 211-15. The four provinces constituting the Viceroyalty

of the Deccan were (i) Khāndesh, (ii) Berār, (iii) Daulatābād, (iv) Tilangānā, which was the name given to the territory lying south of Berār from the line of Paingangā to the northern and north-eastern frontier of the Quṭb Shāhi kingdom which stretched up to the river Mānjira to the north-west of Haidarabad. *Sarkar,* I, 43, *Lāhōrī,* I, 205.

21. *'Arā'iz wa Ittiḥād Nāmajāt Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh,* MSS., Anjuman Tarraqī Urdu, Karachi, *Makātīb,* 14.

22. *Basātīn,* 273. See *Further Sources,* I, 337-38.
Ikēri, Shimoga district, Mysore State, 14°7′ N., 76°57′ E.
Sīra, Ṭumkūr district, Mysore State; 13°45′ N., 76°57′ E.

23. Venkaṭa III died in October 1642, and as he had no legitimate children he was succeeded by his nephew Srīranga III, the last scion of the fourth dynasty of Vijayanagar.

24. *Further Sources,* I, 353, quoting Macleod, *De Oost-Indische, Compagnie,* pp. 180-190. Appointment of 'Muḥammad Mu'min; *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī,* MSS. Aṣafiyah, Insha-i Fārsī 86, fol. 74(a); Muḥammad Kāẓim *'Ālamgir Nāmā,* I, 440.

There is little doubt that the campaigns in Western and Eastern Karnātak by Bijapur and Golkonda were undertaken at the instance of the Mughal Emperor. The Gandīkōṭa *Kaifiyat,* translated in part by Dr. Venkataramanayya in his article on "Mir Jumla's Conquest of Karnataka from Telugu Sources", *Dr. Ghulām Yazdāni Commemoration Volume,* pp. 221-2, is explicit that "Mīr Jumlā, a wazīr of the Padshah, came to the south on behalf of 'Ālamgīr Pādshāh". Dr. Venkataramnayya says (p. 223) that there is a "palpable mistake" in this statement, for Mīr Jumlā did not come on behalf of 'Ālamgīr but as a "servant of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh". But one feels that while Mīr Jumlā was "a wazīr of the Pādshāh", he was acting under the order of the Mughal Emperor. There is a clear differentiation between "Pādshāh" and "'Ālamgīr Pādshāh". Under the Deed of Submission, the foreign affairs of the kingdom had practically come under the control of the Mughal Emperor, and, as the Gandīkōṭa *Kaifiyat* says, the campaign was undertaken at his instance. This is further corroborated by a copper-plate grant in which a certain incident is referred to in the time of the occupation of the region by "the Nawabu of Golkonda on behalf of the pachchayi" or the Emperor; *A.R.E.,* 1920-21, no. 10, referred to in *Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume,* p. 225. See no. 68 below, and 'Abdu'l-lah's letter to the Shah of Iran, *Makātīb,* letter 1, extracts in n. 39 below. Of course the Emperor at the time the campaign was initiated was Shah Jahan not 'Ālamgir.

25. *Bernier,* 17; *Thèvenot,* 144, says that he owned 20 maunds of diamonds.

26. *Tavernier,* pp. 200-32.

27. Muḥammad Sa'īd was born about 1591. Various dates are ascribed to his arrival in the Deccan, and range from the later period of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh's reign (*Tavernier,* Ball's edition, 165) to 1630 (Sarkar, *Aurangzeb,* I, 193). *Ḥadiqā,* 215, says that Mīr Muḥammad Sa'īd was appointed Sarkhēl in *R.Y.* 14 or 1048/1638-39. Tavernier and other European travellers are not very reliable regarding their historical perspective or events at the Court. Thus *Bernier,* 18, says that Muḥammad Sa'īd was intimate with the King's mother (Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam) and this was one of the causes of the growing estrangement between the King and himself. This is incomprehensible as the venerable lady was born in 1001/1592-93 and must have been past 60 when the rift between Mīr Jumlā and the Sulṭān took place. Muḥammad Sa'īd also must have been over fifty when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Quṭb Shāhī army of Karnāṭak. See Jagadish N. Sarkar, *Life of Mir Jumla,* p. 2, n. 2.

28. Sarkar: *Aurangzeb,* I, dilates on this aspect a good deal. Secret negotiations with Prince Aurangzeb, *ibid.,* 221. See also 'Ināyat Khān : *Shahjahan-Nāmā, E. and D.,* VII, 108 ff. The dates given here are according to 'Ināyat Khān's version.

29. Gribble : *History of the Deccan,* I, 173, where the translation of Mīr Jumlā's letter as given in *Bernier,* I, 38-39, is quoted. This is followed by the curious episode of Aurangzeb visiting Haidarabad dressed as an Ambassador with the purpose of "seizing" 'Abdu'l-lāh, and the ruse' leaking out. There is no doubt that Aurangzeb carried on secret negotiations with Mīr Jumlā, but his coming to Haidarabad incognito is improbable and is not corroborated by other authorities.

30. *Bernier,* p. 18.

31. *'Ināyat Khān,* 108, Imprisonment at Kovilkonḍa, *Ādāb-i 'Alamgīrī,* fol. 75a, where Aurangzeb informs Shah Jahan of Amīn's imprisonment in that fort.

32. *'Inayat Khan,* III, *Khafi Khan* says that 'Abdu'l-lah retired to Golkonda when he heard that the Prince had reached Medchal, while Sarkar *Aurangzeb,* I, 229 says that he fled to the citadel on 22nd January, 1656.

There is a discrepancy of one year between the dates given by Ināyat Khān on the one hand, and Muḥammad Wāris (*Shah Jahan Nāmā*) and Muhammad Swāleḥ Kambō (*'Amal-i Swāleḥ*) on the other. The episode of the invasion of Golkonda and the occupation of Haidarabad is placed

by 'Ināyat Khān in 29 R.Y., while the other two chroniclers have placed them in 30 R.Y. See *E. and D.*, VII, 109, n. 1. I have kept the dates but applied them to 30 R.Y., i.e. 1066/1655-56.

32a. *'Ināyat Khan*, 112.

33. The motive; *'Ināyat Khān*, 112. The royal palace at Haidarabad pillaged; *Aurangzeb, op. cit.*, 232, quoting, *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, fol. 110(a). According to Sarkar, Aurangzeb reached Golkonda on 6th February, 1656, but 'Ināyat Khān is clear that he was already there on 10-4-1066/28 January, 1656.

34. *M.L.*, 397.

35. *'Ināyat Khān*, 115.

36. Thus *'Ināyat Khān*, 116. This was another insult to the royal house of Golkonda that the venerable queen should be brought merely to Shā'istā Khān's camp in the first instance.

37. *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*. This valuable manuscript has been quoted profusely by Najīb Ashraf Nadawī in his excellent (though partisan) book, *Tirāqqa'āt-i 'Ālamgīr*, A'zamgarh, n.d. The manuscript contains 39 letters from Aurangzeb to "Quṭbu'l-Mulk".

38. Full text in Girdhārīlāl Aḥqar's *Tārīkh-i Ẓafarah*, 31. See also Tavernier, p. 137 and *Manucci*, I, 235. The bride was given the rather premature title of *Pādshāh Bībī* after her marriage; see Grant Duff, *History of the Marathas*, I, 209. Date and detail in *'Ināyat Khān*, 117. Khāfī Khān, 400, says that the amount of the dowry was 14 lakh rupees. The title, "Pādshāh Bībī" did not prove to be auspicious to the Princess, as her husband was imprisoned for life by his father for siding with Shujā' in 1660 during the War of Succession; he died in prison in 1087/1677. It was rather unbecoming that after having transferred Rāmgīr as a part of the Princess's dowry 'Abdu'l-lah should want it back in his petitions to Dārā Shikōh, who was still in power; see, for instance letter to Dārā, *'Arā'iẓ*, letter No. 5, fol. 14 (b). Evidently he could not budge from Aurangzeb's orders when he was on the spot, but surreptitiously approached Dārā against Aurangzeb's verdict.

'Abdu'l-lāh's "misdeeds" are enumerated by Khāfī Khān p. 401. Apart from Mīr Jumlā's affair he was squarely blamed for helping " 'Adil Khān" of Bijapur when his capital was invested by imperial forces, and for according asylum to Shivaji after his escape, under the delusion that he would hand over the forts conquered from " 'Ādil Khān " and "Niẓāmu'l-Mulk" to 'Abdu'l-lāh.

39. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, *Mīr Jumlā*, p. 80. There is a graphic description of the complicity of Muḥammad Sa'īd with Aurangzeb in the pathetic letter 'Abdu'l-lāh wrote to Shah 'Abbās II of Iran (1641-66), immediately after the "treaty" between himself and the Mughals. It is the first letter in *Makātīb, op. cit.* It is a long letter describing the stages which led to the annihilation of the freedom of the Quṭb Shāhī State by the Mughals. The letter begins with the religious ties (of Shī'ism) which bound Irān and the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty. It then continues :

"When Muḥammad Sa'īd's son was imprisoned for his imprudence, Sulṭān Khurram (Shah Jahan) set aside all previous treaties and understandings and sent 30,000 horse under Prince Aurangzeb to the Deccan in order to 'liberate' Mīr Jumlā and his family. While Aurangzeb marched from the north (*sic*) Muhammad Sa'īd, who was in league with him, marched from Karnatak with 6,000 horse and 70,000 foot soldiers. It so happened that just then the units of my army were distributed in different parts of the State, the two (invading) armies joined hands in the vicinity of the city of Haidarabad where my army could be counted to more than four or five thousand horse. There was thus no alternative except to shut myself up in the fort of Muḥammadnagar also called Golkonda. Aurangzeb's army was consequently able to occupy Haidarabad which had not experienced foreign rule for 170 years. The battles which ensued lasted more than three months. The fort was besieged and the defenders hard pressed while there was absolutely no hope of any external help. Money to the tune of thousands, lakhs and crores, jewels, gold and silver utensils, highly valuable china, priceless manuscripts collected for generations, which could not be carried to the Fort, have been looted. It was only after a tribute of 20 lakhs of *hons* had been paid that I was relieved. Sulṭān Aurangzeb left Golkonda accompanied by Muḥammad Sa'īd with all the money, jewellery, diamonds, rubies and all the rest of the moveables which he had acquired through sheer embezzlement and treachery . . .

In the end I beg your Imperial Majesty to open a front at Qandhār against the Mughals who had conquered Karnatak with the help of the traitor, Mīr Jumlā Muḥammad Sa'īd, and played havoc in the city of Haidarabad".

The whole letter is pathetically worded and 'Abdu'l-lāh's tone is apologetic right through. There are some inaccuracies, such as the statement about the advance of the joint forces of Prince Aurangzeb and Muḥammad Sa'īd on Golkonda, but they have been made in order to enhance Muḥammad Sa'īd's guilt. Two important points are worth noting, namely (i) that Karnatak was conquered at the instance of Aurangzeb ; (ii) that 'Abdu'l-lāh instigated Shāh 'Abbās II to open a second front at Qandhār.

40. *Makātīb, op. cit.*, p. 81. Muḥammad Sa'īd left Haidarabad on April

16, and when he and his son reached Indūr (present Niẓāmābād) Muḥammad Bēg handed over to him Shah Jahan's farman conferring on him the Mughal title of Mu'aẓẓam Khān.

41. We have a number of interesting letters from Aurangzeb to his father as well as his brothers written before and during the War of Succession, and while Shah Jahan was confined in a corner of Agra Fort. They throw a flood of light on the inner politics of the period. They are included mainly in *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīri*. Aṣafiyah MSS., Inshā, 87. They have been utilised profusely by Najīb Ashraf Nadawī in *Muqaddama Ruqqa'āt-i 'Ālamgir*, pp. 334-406, and those covering the period ending in the War of Succession, partly copied in *Ruqqa'āt-i 'Ālamgīr*, Vol. I. There are also a number of letters included in general chronicles as well as in some other collections which have been so utilised.

42. *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīri*, letters 56(b), 59(b) etc., referred to in Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, I, 246 ff.

Siddhout or Siddhavāṭam, headquarters of a taluqa in the Cuddapah district, Andhra Pradesh, 14°29′ N., 78°59′ E.

For the part of the Mughals in initiating the Karnaṭak campaign see n. 24 above.

43. *Ibid.*, 89(b); Sarkar I, 245-6. *Udayagiri*, not Udgir, as in Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, *Mir Jumla*, 106.

44. *Ādāb*, letters, fol., 160(a-b), 89(b)-90(b) etc., utilised in *Mir Jumla*, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

45. *Makātīb*, *op. cit.*, fols., 9(a)-27(a). The humility of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh *vis à vis* Dārā Shikoh could not be more pronounced than in these letters. The petition for the restoration of Rāmgīr and Karnatak was obviously a counter-move to Aurangzeb's action in the Deccan, as it was his pressure which made 'Abdu'l-lāh cede the important district of Rāmgīr as a marriage portion of his daughter; and it was Aurangzeb's pressure again which led to the virtual annexation of Karnatak to the Mughal Empire. These letters show the double dealing on the part of 'Abdu'l-lāh as well as his lack of foresight. When the change at the imperial capital suddenly came after Samūgarh he had to cross over to Aurangzeb's side with great loss to his self-respect and independence.

46. *Makātīb*, *op. cit.*, 33(b), 36(b). It was characteristic of 'Abdu'l-lāh to have rolled over completely with nonchalance. In the case of the Mughal campaign against Bijapur I have followed the dates as given in *Basātīn*, 365; they are at variance with Sarkar: *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 262, 276, and with *Mir Jumla*, 12, by a few days.

47. Jai Singh to Aurangzeb, end of August 1665, *Haft Anjuman*, 72(a)

quoted in Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, IV, 106.

48. *Sarkar, op. cit.*, 114.

49. *Basātīn*, pp. 412-13, *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb, E and D.*, VII, 278, gives the number of Quṭb Shāhī forces as 6,000 horse and 25,000 footsoldiers.

50. *'Ālamgirnāmā*, 1019. For a general defence of Jai Singh and the lack of help by the Emperor see Jagadish N. Sarkar, "New Light on Mirza Rajah Jai Singh's policy in Bijapur", *J.I.H.*, December, 1965, pp. 748-61. Professor Sarkar has relied entirely on *Haft Anjuman* "which contains secret despatches to his auspicious master whom he loyally served till his death".

51. See *Basātīn*, 191, 362; *Ḥadīqā*, 133 ff., *Lahori*, I, 359; Moreland, *Relations of Golkonda*, p. 10.

52. Faiẓi Sarhindī : *Akbarnāmah, E. and D.*, VI, 131.

53. *Basātīn*, 302.

54. *Lahori*, I, 411.

55. *Kambo*, II, 148-50; *Lahori*, II, 126-27.

56. The negotiations as well as the *farmans* and "agreements" are interspersed in *Lahori*, II, 130-204. It is significant that there was no possibility of the two Sulṭānates joining hands in any venture except at the instance of and with the consent of the Emperor.

57. Venkaṭa III, 1630-42, Śrīranga III, 1642-1681. Neither Venkaṭa nor Śrīranga ruled their small States effectively upto the end. Venkaṭa III, "retired to the mountainous tracts in the Chittoor district, where he so journed in a helpless condition for some time and died on 10 October, A.D. 1642", while as to Śrīranga, "though he continued to rule probably till A.D. 1681, the information pertaining to the last years of his rule is meagre, and no definite conclusions are possible in the present state of our knowledge" —*Further Sources*, I, 347 and 369 respectively.

58. *Further Sources*, I, 343; *Basātīn*, 345-46.

59. The word "Karnaṭak" as used for the country of Mīr Jumlā's advance southwards is a misnomer as, for the most part, it covered the southern part of the present Āndhra Pradēsh and the northern part of the region where Tamil was spoken. The reason why the name Karnaṭak was given to the region was purely historical. Originally Kannada or the language of Karnaṭak was spoken in a large part of the old Vijayanagar Empire, but after the fall of the capital in 1565 the Empire gradually receded into the Telugu and the Tamil regions. Still the name "Karnatak" stuck to the receding kingdom, even when it had to forgo practically all the territory where Kannada was spoken.

For Muḥammad Sa'id's campaigns see below.

60. The *'Ahd Nāmā;* Jagadish Narayan Sarkar : *Mir Jumla,* 15-16 ; app. A, p. 298. The date is derived from *Golconda Letters,* 5(a)-7(a) where a reference to Shah Jahan's *shikār* near Kabul is read along with *Lahori,* II, 500-1 and 509, mentioning that Shah Jahan left Lahore for Kabul on 18.2.1056/26 March, 1646.

61. *Mīr Jumla, op. cit.,* 17, referring to Ẓuhūrī's *Muḥammad Nāmā,* MSS. Kapurthala State Library, 276-85, which, Jagadish Sarkar says, is "indispensable for Mīr Jumla's campaigns in Karnatak".

62. *Mir Jumlā* 18, relying upon *Muḥammad Nāmā,* 362-79; *Golconda Letters* 5(a)-7(a), 25(a)-(b), 151(b)-153(9).

63. *Makātīb, op. cit.,* 73(b), 74(b). For the history of Jinjī especially its conquest by Bijapur see Srinivasachari, *History of Gingee and its Rulers,* 153-182, which has a lucid account of the operations among the Nāyaks of the various parts of the Vijayanagar rump. See *Basātīn,* 317-321, 328 ; also Vriddhagirisan : *The Nayaks of Tanjore,* 330 ff.

64. *Makātīb,* 75(b), 76(a).

65. *Basātīn,* 346.

66. *Mir Jumla,* 27-29 ; *Makātīb,* 73(a), 75(b). The date of the capture of Gaṇḍīkōṭa as mentioned by Tavernier is disputed and discussed in *Mir Jumla,* Appendix B. It had been agreed before 3.11.1058/9 November, 1648 (the date on which the Bijapur Commander, Muṣṭafā Khān died) that Muṣṭafā should be kept in occupation of Jinjī while Mīr Jumlā should keep his hold on Gaṇḍīkōṭa ; Basātīn, 327.

67. *Mir Jumla,* 30-31, based on *Muḥammad Nāmā,* 406-15, and Foster: *English Factories in India,* IX, 99, 111. Bājī Rāo Ghōrpāḍē of Mudhōl was a scion of the Ghōrpāḍē family who had cordial relations with the Bahmanīs and after them with the 'Ādil Shāhīs. See Apte: *Mudhol Sansthānchya Ghōrpāḍē Gharānchya Itihās;* for their relations with the 'Ādil Shāhīs, see specially ch. 4, pp. 93-164. The Persian 'Ādil Shāhī farmān in favour of Bājī Rāo Ghōrpāḍē is reproduced in extenso on p. 37 of the appendix, followed by its Marathi and English translations. See also Sherwani : *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmani Wazir,* Appendix V, pp. 242-44. *Kokkanūr,* in the Raichur district, Mysore State, 15°27′ N., 70° E.

68. Macleod : *De Oost-Indische Compagnie* (ii) pp. 180-90, referred to in *Further Sources,* I, 353. See also n. 24 above.

69. Bernier has some interesting observations regarding the reasons why Golkonda was spared for such a long time. According to him the reasons were : (1) The Mughals were busy elsewhere ; (2) they preferred to penetrate the Deccan step by step ; (3) the Kings of Golkonda were wise enough to help the Kings of Bijapur secretly against the Mughals. Bernier also

avers that there was no fortress between Daulatābad and Golkonda which was strong enough to resist the Mughals. Bernier : *Travels in the Mogul Empire,* Oxford, 1914, p. 192.

70. *Further Sources,* I, 368, where the rest of Sriranga's life history is traced to 1681, but it is stated that "information pertaining to the last years of his rule is meagre".

71. Date of Muḥammad Sa'īd's appointment as Sarkhēl ; *Ḥadīqā,* 190. The superiority of foot-carriers of official mail through *dāk chowkīs* is thus described by Tavernier (*Travels in India,* Calcutta, 224) : "As a matter of fact foot messengers are faster than horsemen, for, at the end of every two leagues, when the runner reaches the stage hut, he throws his letters in the hut, but they are immediately picked up and carried by another fast runner to the next stage". *Ḥadīqā,* 295-302.

72. Strength of the Quṭb Shāhī army, Macleod, *op. cit.,* (ii) 167, 177. *English Factories, 1642-45,* pp. 44-5. For the capture of Nellore see *Ḥadīqā,* 302-3.

Nellore ; headquarters of a district in Andhra Pradesh ; 140°27′ N., 80°2′ E.

73. *Ḥadīqā,* 303-4. *Further Sources,* I, 347, referring to Macleod, *op. cit.,* 176-67, and *English Factories, 1642-5,* pp. 44-5. *Ḍumrūlū* or Ḍunḍalūrū, perhaps *Gaṇḍalūrū,* Rājampeṭ taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14°16′ N., 79°7′ E. *Śrīharīkōṭa,* island lying length-wise astride the Pulicat lake, Nellore district, Andhra Pradesh.

74. *Ḥadīqā,* 306.

75. *Ibid., Nakbat,* perhaps *Nagulapad,* in Atmākūr taluqa, Nellore district.

76. *Rampūr,* no doubt Rapūr, headquarters of a taluqa, Nellore district ; 14°12′ N., 79°36′ E.

77. *Ḥadīqā,* 307-10. *Kūlūr or* Kūlūrū in the Atmākūr taluqa, Nellore district ; 16°29′ N., 79°22′ E.

78. *Udayagirī,* wrongly named *"Udgīr",* as usual, in *Ḥadīqā,* 314-16.

79. It is this title by which Muḥammad Sa'īd is generally known in the history of South India. The title is generic and pertains to the highest administrative office in the land, and there have been many others who bore this title ; but Muḥammad Sa'īd may be called Mīr Jumlā *par excellence.* The fallacy has permeated South Indian History to the extent that the learned author of the *Life of Mir Jumla* has given him this title before he even came to the Deccan (Ch.I) and continues it even after he had left Quṭb Shāhī service (Ch. IV ff). Of course he was not "Mīr Jumlā" before this conquest of Udayagirī in June 1643 and ceased to hold that

office on his crossing over to the Mughal camp in March 1655 when he was granted the title of Mu'azzam Khān.

80. *English Factories*, VIII, 24-6; *Hague Transcripts*, Series 1, referred to in *Mir Jumla*, 15, *Yazdani Commemoration Volume*, *op. cit.*, p. 224, where the conquest of Siddhout is described as in the *Kaifiyat* of Cittavelli, *L.R.* 22; pp. 223-26.

81. Macleod, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 180; *English Factories*, *1642-5*, pp. 115-116, referred to in *Further Sources*, I, 351.

82. Macleod, *op. cit.*, 394, 400; *English Factories* 1646-50, pp. 25.6, referred to in *Further Sources*, p. 357.

83. *Duvvūrū*, in Prodattur taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14°50′ N., 78°39′ E.

Chennūrū, in the Cuddapah taluqua, 14°34′ N., 78°48′ E.

Badvēl, headquarters of a taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14°45′ N., 79°4′ E.

Porumamilla, in the Badvēl taluqa; 15°1′ N., 78°40′ E.

Kamalāpuram, headquarters of a taluqa, Cuddapah district 14°36′ N., 78°40′ E.

It was about this time that the "Agreement" of Ṣafar 1050/March-April, 1646, was signed partitioning Sri Ranga's assets between Bijapur and Tilang; see above, under "Bijapur".

Further Sources, I, 357, refers to Mīr Jumla's progress in the Cuddapah district to document No. 240 in Vol. III, but the actual description happens to be in document No. 241 on p. 303, namely the *Kaifiyat* of Cittaveli. *L.R.* 22, pp. 223-26.

The Chiefs of Māṭlī, now a small village on the Mandavi river in the Rāyāchōṭī taluqa, Cuddapah district (14°6′ N., 78°49′ E.), exercised considerable power and assumed the title of Raja or Raju about the middle of the 17th century. They extended their authority over the three taluqas of Budvēl, Siddhout and Rajampēṭ. The Chief who had to bow before Mīr Jumla was Kumara Ananta. The Māṭlīs now onwards became the feudatories of Golkonda and after the fall of the Sulṭānate they continued to have the same status under the Mughals. See Brackenbury: *Cuddapah District Gazetteer*, 1915, pp. 38, 39; Sivasankaranarayana: *Cuddapah District Gazetteer*, 1967, pp. 95 ff. See also Venkataramnayya: *History of Cuddapah District Gazetteer*, (typescript) pp. 142-45; *Further Sources*, I, 357 Venkataramnayya: "Mir Jumla's conquest of Karnataka", *Yazdani Commemoration Volume*, p. 224, where the *Kaifiyat* of Chittiveli is translated nearly *in extenso*. The relations of Mīr Jumlā with Madras and Fort St. George are described in detail by Srinivasachari in his *History of Madras*, pp. 53-55.

84. *Mir Jumla*, 16, 17, based on Thèvenot, 102; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VI, Introduction, 24; *English Factories, 1646-50*, 70; *Golconda Letters*, 150(b)-151(b), 69(b)-70(a).

Tirupati, Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh; 13°38′ N., 79°24′ E.

Chandragiri; headquarters of a taluqa, Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh; 13°35′ N., 79°24′ E.

Pulicat, Chinglepaṭ district, Madras State; 13°25′ N., 80°21′ E.

San Thome or *St. Thomas' Mount*, about 5 miles, south of Fort St. George, Madras, now a suburb of Madras city, 13° N., 80°14′ E.

Chinglepaṭ, headquarters of a district, Madras Province, 12°41′ N., 80°1′ E.

For the farthest limits of the Quṭb Shahi dominions in general and its southern boundaries in particular see Sherwani: "Reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shah, Economic Aspects, II", *J.I.H.* December 1964, map opposite p. 680.

There is an interesting inscription in a mosque at Poonamallee, a suburb of Madras, dated 20 Shawwal 1063/3.9.1653 in which Muḥammad Sa'īd is named as "Nawab Jumlatu'l-Mulk" and the architect is named Rustam ibn Dhulfiqar Astrābadi. See the article "Poonamallee ka Qutb Shahi Katbah", *Tarikh*, June 1940, p. 1.

85. The name has evidently been distorted to "Tappa Tap" in Chamber's letter dated 24-5-1661; *English Factories, 1661-4*, p. 40.

86. *Nēknām Khān's* original name was Riẓā-Qulī Bēg. His father, Bahman, was in the service of Shah 'Abbās Ṣafawī but he got into the Shah's displeasure and was executed in 1004/1595-6. Riẓā-Qulī wended his way secretly to India and took service with the Mughal commander Mahābat Khān. On Mahābat Khān's death in 1045/1535-6 Rizā-Qulī came to Haidarabad and was appointed on the staff of Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumlā. He was constantly working with him till his defection in 1066/1656. Riẓā-Qulī thereupon retired. On seeing that Karnatak was slipping from the Quṭb Shāhī grasp, those in authority advised the Sulṭan that it would be better to entrust the reconquest of the country to Riẓā-Qulī as he knew all about the region. He was thereupon made the Commander-in-Chief in that region and given full powers of appointment and dismissal by the King. Later, when he had brought the chiefs and zamindars under the aegis of the Quṭb Shāhī sceptre the King bestowed on him the title of Nēknām Khān. He was a man of benevolent disposition and opened out his purse strings to help the indigent and the needy. He also patronised the learned, the *savants* and the poets. *Ḥadā'iq*, fol., 201(b)-204(b). See n. 98 below.

87. *English Factories, 1661-4*, p. 40. The controversy about the customs has been fully discussed in Section 2, below.

88. *Tiuvallūr*, Chinglepaṭ district, Madras Province ; 13°9′ N., 79°57′ E. See Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, 58; *English Factories, 1661-4*, p. 147.

89. Winter's letter to Oxendon at Surat, dated 2-4-1663; *English Factories, 1661-4*, p. 147.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 368.

91. *English Factories, 1665-7*, p. 118.

92. *Ibid.*, 109, 239-41.

93. *Ibid.*, 234.

94. *Ibid.*, 242-3.

95. *Manikpaṭṭan*, on the southern tip of Lake Chilka in Orissa.

96. Srinivasachari, *op. cit.*, 66.

97. Document in Love, *Vestiges of old Madras*, I, 344-45.

"*Chennapaṭam* or *Srirangapaṭṭanam* was the town growing up round the fort, while the older and the already existing village of *Madraspaṭnam* was a separate but approximate contiguous, village to the North".—Srinivasachari, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

98. Nēknām Khān's grave is distinguished by his tombstone on which is inscribed the Sulṭān's farmān *in toto*. The farmān is dated 12-6-1084, i.e. the second year of Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign, and is virtually the grant of the village of Mangalwāram, renamed Ḥasanābād, for the upkeep of the tomb and distribution of alms for the repose of the soul of the deceased. It is also unique as the posthumous titles of "Ghufrān Panāh" and "Maghfirat Panāh" were accorded to him, an honour which is usually bestowed on a deceased monarch. The inscription on the tombstone is copied verbatim and translated into English in *Landmarks*, 176-78. The date of his death, 10-12-1082, is inscribed on the tombstone and corresponds to 29 March 1672, not "12th May 1672 (1083)" as in A. M. Siddiqui's *History of Golcunda*, p. 181; Nēknām Khān died a little over three weeks before, not after, 'Abdu'l-lāh's death.

99. For military organisation and equipment under Ibrāhim Quṭb Shāh see Ch. III, Appendix 1.

100. Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, O. U. Press, 1914, p. 218.

101. *Thèvenot*, 140. Thèvenot is not correct that the troopers were necessarily "Mogul or Persian," for we find quite a large number of the highest officers who were Hindus. "In the campaign against Bijapur in 1652, he (Mīr Jumlā) brought into action a large army, consisting of Moghals, Afghans, Pathans and Rajputs"; *Mīr Jumlā*, 41, 42.

102. *Tavernier*, 127, 128.

103. *Bernier*, 17.

104. *Ḥadīqā*, 120.

105. *Ibid.*, 232.

106. *Ibid.*, 190, 244. Methwold says (*Relations*, 11) that Konḍāpallī had "great ponds of water", scores of fruit and other trees and large rice fields at the top, while 12,000 soldiers guarded the fortifications which were both natural and artificial.

107. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, 198-200.

108. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, *Mir Jumla*, p. 42, quoting *English Factories in India, 1651-54.*

109. *English Factories, 1661-64*, p. 175.

110. Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, I, p. 370.

110a. *Muqasa* or *Mukāsā*: "A village or land assigned to an individual either rent free or at low quit-rent on condition of service, or a village *khās* held by the State, the revenue being paid to the Government direct"; Gune, *The Judicial System of the Marathas*, p. xxiv. Nawab 'Azīz Jung defines *Mukāsā* as the grant of a part of a village as a *jagir* the rental of the whole of the village being collected from the rest by the State direct; *A'ẓamu'l-'Atiyāt*, p. 41. It differed from *Jagir* in that it was not a part of the village which was responsible for the rental but the *jāgīrdār* who held the whole village.

111. See P. M. Joshi: "Coins Current in the Kingdom of Golconda", *J.N.S.*, June 1943, p. 85. Since then much new light has been thrown on the numismatics of the Quṭb Shāhī State and some new coins have been discovered.

112. *Fer.*, I, 537, 538, referred to by Dr. Joshi, above, p. 85, n. 2, and 3; *Thèvenot*, p. 136. Thèvenot quite wrongly says that the 'pecha' was coined 'at Bhagnagar" although there was never such a mint in existence. Quṭb Shāhī coins were minted at Golkonda before the capital was shifted to Haidarabad by Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh when, evidently the mint was also shifted to the new capital. The last known coin stuck at Golkonda in the earlier phase of that mint is dated 992/1584, and the first known coin at Haidarabad was struck in 1012/1603. We have no evidence of any mint in the legendary "Bhāgnagar". See Ch. IV, Appendix above.

113. We have contemporary notices of the coins current during the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, among other publications, in Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal;* Moreland, *Relations of Golconda*, containing the Relations of Methwold, Schoerer and an anonymous writer; Tavernier, *Travels in India;* Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire.* Foster's voluminous series, *The English*

Factories in India has now become a classic, and it throws a flood of light on events in the Deccan which is not met with elsewhere.

114. Practically the whole list of these foreign coins will be found in Dr. Joshi's article, *op. cit.* Of course the value of these foreign coins fluctuated according to the price of their metallic contents.

115. It is interesting to note that the Dutch at Pulicaṭ coined both copper and silver. Dr. Joshi has reproduced in his article, the complete page containing the drawings of "Golconda Money" appearing in the 1678 edition of Tavernier's *Travels,* and has also described the inscriptions on the coins appearing on that plate, on pp. 88-89. He has not attempted to read the inscription on the Dutch rupee, obverse and reverse, of Pulicaṭ, reproduced opposite p. 85. It has, in fact, the usual seal of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr, which reads :

Obverse: Sicca zad dar jahān chu badr-i munīr, Shah Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr
Reverse: Sanh julūs maimanat mānūs, Ẓuriba 080

On the reverse the Persian hemistich is superimposed by the initials of the crest of the Dutch East India Company, V(ereenigde) O(stindische) C(ompagnie). The reason why it is difficult to read the Persian inscription is that it is also engraved in the European style, i.e., from left to right and the copyist who prepared the wooden block has copied it very crudely at that; so the inscription can be read only with the help of a mirror! Different to the usual inscription of the year of mintage, which is written in the Arabic numerals, it is here inscribed in the European figures as (1) 080, and this corresponds to 1669-70, that is two years before 'Abdu'l-lāh's death and more than twenty years after the occupation of Pulicat by Mīr Jumlā in 1646.

Dr. Joshi is not correct when he says that the *maḥmūdī* was a Persian coin; it was in fact a coin which was struck in Gujarat but had found its way to Quṭb Shāhī dominions, where 14,000 *maḥmūdīs* were equal in value to 5,985 Mughal rupees; see Moreland, *India from Akbar to Aurangzeb,* p. 55, and Foster, *English Factories, 1622-23,* p. 86. Also see A. Master, Note on Gujarat Mahmudi, *J.A.S.B., Num. Sup.*, No. 24, for 1914, pp. 462-468, where maḥmūdī is equated with 12 pence, while a rupee is equated with 27 pence. A kōrī, which was evidently another name for maḥmūdī, fluctuated from 10.8 pence to 13 pence. The writer refers to the *Mirat-i Aḥmadi* which says that the maḥmūdīs were struck at Nawānagar as late as 1170/1756 in the name of Sulṭan Muẓaffar, although Gujarat has changed hands several times since his reign. In 1756 maḥmūdīs weighed 4½ māshas.

Among some fine specimens of Quṭb Shāhī coins in the cabinet of Hormuz Kāus of Haidarabad are four specimens of the Pulicat fanams with

Obverse: Sultan 'Abdu'l-lāh.

Reverse: oP/c

The letter P on the reverse, which stands for Pulicaṭ, is correctly struck in three specimens, while it is struck with the head of P turned to the left in one.

See also *Relations*, 93.

116. See *Tavernier*, Memoir of the Author; *Bernier*, Introduction xix-xxi; *Thèvenot*, Introduction, xvii.

117. These three have been included in Moreland, *Relations of Golconda*, *op. cit.*

118. *Ibid.*, 52, 54, 55.

119. *Ibid.*, 13.

120. *Ibid.*, 85.

121. Foster, *English Factories, 1665-67*, p. 253. Governor Gyfford's memorandum regarding currency says that 128 ounces of gold were coined into 1161 pagodas instead of 1162 pagodas which the weight of the metal warranted. This works out to a little more than 9.077 seigniorage per pagoda or about 8% of the metal. On page 319 a letter from Madepollam dated December 1, 1667 expressly states that the fanam "was only a denomination but no coin"!

122. *English Factories, 1665-67*, 255.

123. *Thèvenot*, 136.

124. *Moreland, op. cit.*, 93.

125. *Foster, 1665-67, op. cit.*, 255.

126. For the *Inqiyād Nāmā* or Deed of Submission see *Lahori*, I, 145, and Section 1, above. The new coins were placed before Shah Jahan on 20-8-1045/19-1-1636. On 1-2-1046/25-6-1636 the Sulṭān agreed to insert the formula prescribed by the Emperor *in toto* on his rupees; *ibid.*, 177. Specimens of these coins are found in a number of museums and collections; for these see Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum*, Lahore, 1914, p. 200; Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Introduction, xlviii, pp. 111-112. The legend is as follows :

Obv. The Islamic Creed (sunni version)

Ẓurība Kalkunda

Rev. Shihābu'd-dīn Shah Jahan Bādshāh Ghāzī

Ṣāḥibqirān-i thānī

The Imperial title and formula was continued in the reign of 'Alamgīr, for which see Whitehead, *op. cit.*, 217-219; Brown, *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum*, Lucknow, II, 250. Shah Jahan's Golkonda

rupee has been discussed at length by Hodivala in his article, "The Golkonda rupee of Shah Jahan", *J.A.S.B., New* Series, Vol. XII, 1917, *Num. Sup.*, pp. 136-138, as well as by C. J. Brown, "Some Remarks on Mr. Hodivala's article on certain Mughal Coins", *J.A.S.B.*, New Series, Vol. XIV, 1918, *Num. Sup.*, pp. 264-266.

The cabinet of Hormuz Kāus has a number of coins struck at Golkonda with the Emperor's name and title. It has one coin of Shah Jahan similar to the one cited above, as well as a number of rupees of 'Ālamgīr. Shah Jahan's rupee has no date, but all 'Ālamgīr's coins struck at Golkonda have dates inscribed on them. See also Jackson, "Dominions, Emblems and Coins of South Indian Dynasties, *B.N.J.*, IX, 1913, pp. 82 and 83.

127. *Thèvenot*, 25. Forty dams to a rupee; *Lahori, op. cit.*, I, 205. Moreland, in his appendix to *Relations*, p. 91, says that as copper was expensive it was heavily alloyed, and smaller coins were of lead.

128. For the coins of 'Abdu'l-lāh's predecessors see Ch. III. Sec. 4; Ch. IV, Sec. 1; Ch. V, Sec. 1 above. Also see Hormuz Kāus, *op. cit.*, 'Abdu'l-Walī Khān, *op. cit.* I am afraid the coins ascribed to the second and third rulers of the dynasty in the last publication do not seem to be genuine, but this naturally does not concern 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign. Some specimens of the fifth variety of copper coins are found in the British Museum, and I am much obliged to the Keeper of the Department of Coins and Metals of the Museum for kindly sending me casts of the same. Seven specimens of the same are also found in the Koninklijk Kabinet van Munten, the Hague, Holland, and I am likewise obliged to the Curator for having sent me rubbings.

129. Hormus Kaus, *op. cit.*, 'Abdu'l-Walī Khān *op. cit.* Apart from the characteristics Kh-t-m it is interesting to note that the epithet "Bādshāh" is used on 'Abdu'l-lāh's coins, as up to then it was the title which was regarded more or less the monopoly of the Mughal Emperor (with the possible exception of the grant of the title of *Pādshāh* by Shah Jahan to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shah in 1651). The other peculiarity about these coins is the revival of the name Muḥammadnagar, which had been given to Golkonda by the progenitor of the dynasty Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk and had then fallen into desuetude, as the coins of Muḥammad-Qulī amply demonstrate.

130. *Hind. Ghūmchī*, the partly red, coral-like seed found in pods of a shrub in the jungle near Haidarabad.

131. *Tavernier*, 336; *Thèvenot*, 136. Rattīs were used to weigh precious metals and jewels till very recently when the old weights were replaced by the metric weights; the table was: 8 rattīs, 1 māsha; 12 māshas, 1 tōlā; 5 tōlās, 1 chhatāk; 16 chhatāks, 1 seer; 40 seers, 1 *man*.

132. Moreland, *Relations,* Appendix, 89; *Tavernier,* 311.

133. Moreland, *Relations,* 52, 55; Foster, *English Factories, 1661-64,* 113. It might be noted that till the introduction of the metric system the *man* of certain articles like sugar and grapes weighed only 12 seers or, roughly 24 lb.

134. Moreland, *Relations,* 52, 55, 84.

135. Methwold, in Moreland, *Relations,* 8, says that 4 *kos* equalled 9 miles.

136. Tavernier, *Travels;* 320-21. *Raoulkoṇḍa,* now Ramalikoṭṭa, 18 miles west of Banganapallē Karnūl district, Andhra Pradesh, 15°35′ N., 78°2′ E.

137. Tavernier, *op. cit.,* 328; on page 330 he says that there were as many as 6,000 persons at work at these mines, "the men to dig, the women and children to carry the earth". *Kollūr,* in the Santanapallī taluqa of Guṇṭūr district, Andhra Pradesh, now a small village of no importance.

138. *Moreland, op. cit.,* 30, 31.

139. *Tavernier,* 328-32.

140. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb,* I, 218.

141. Bernier, *Travels,* memorandum by the Editor, at the end. It was the same Gulāb Singh who sided with the British in the grim struggle of the Sikhs against the British in the 1840's and who was allowed to purchase Kashmir for a crore of rupees and set up the Dogra dynasty there.

142. *Tavernier,* 355, 358. The price of diamonds fluctuated in the European markets, but except for brief periods the profits were large. Thus in 1661-2 the Dutch Company sold diamonds at a profit of 166½ per cent. With the cornering of the diamonds by the English Company the price increased to a high level at the base. See Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromondel,* 173.

143. Moreland, *Relations,* 7.

144. *Tavernier,* 199-235.

145. "Textile Industry and Trade of the Kingdom of Golkonda" by P. M. Joshi, *Transactions of the Fifth (Hyderabad) Session of the Indian History Congress, 1941,* pp. 609-17, in which the author has surveyed the whole field from the coming of the Europeans to the end of the Quṭb Shāhī State. See also J. Irwin: "Indian Textile Trade in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of Indian Textile History,* nos. 1-4.

146. *Thèvenot,* 148.

147. Moreland, *Relations*, 80. Tapan Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 272, says that *percalla* or *percalle* was a sort of white cambric, usually 8 yards long and 1 yard broad.

148. *Tavernier*, 301-302.

149. *Dutch Diaries*, 1630-34, in the *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, 1928, p. 185. See Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 158-9.

150. *Thèvenot*, 111, 146.

151. *Moreland*, 63, 80. It is not correct that Indalwāi stands for Indore of the *A'in-i Akbari*, as S. N. Sen, editor of Thèvenot's memoirs says in a note on p. 321; it is, in fact, a small railway station 22 m. from Niẓāmābād in Andhra Pradesh.

152. Foster, *English Factories, 1661-64*, p. 99.

153. *Thèvenot*, 145.

154. Moreland, *Relations*, pp. 7, 8. Two crops of rice are mentioned by Thèvenot as well on p. 145.

155. Moreland, *Relations*, 68.

156. Lahore indigo, Foster, *English Factories, 1665-67*, p. 68, which says: "No indigo should be supplied in future unless it can be obtained at not more than 3 shillings a pound from Lahore and one shilling and six pence from Sarkhēj." But Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 164, says that although the demand for Coromondel indigo had suffered a decline in the forties and fifties, a revival of demand in the Netherlands took place in the sixties, and "the Tegenapaṭam variety yielded a gross profit of 234% in 1667-68".

157. *Thèvenot*, 145. While fruit gardening in the Quṭb Shāhī state has been mentioned by many foreign travellers, and while Haidarabad was a "City of Gardens" there has been a dearth of home-grown fruit in the capital. The Quṭb Shāhīs developed a very large luscious kind of grapes called *'Inab-i Shāhī* or "royal grapes", but it practically disappeared on the elimination of the dynasty, and it was only very recently that its cultivation has been revived.

158. *Tavernier*, 122.

159. *Bernier*, 203-4. Broadcloth was a costly woollen cloth with a very large breadth, and was imported from abroad.

160. *Tavernier*, 307; Foster, *English Factories, 1661-64*, p. 169.

161. *M.L.*, 406.

162. Foster, *English Factories, 1665-67*, pp. 249, 253-54; market price of Saltpetre, *ibid.*, p. 6.

163. Bernier, Letter to Colbert, *Travels*, 204.

164. Moreland, *Relations* 62, 63. It is interesting to note the prices of market commodities at the Aurangabad market towards the close of the reign of Shah Jahan, mentioned in *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, quoted by Sarkar in his *History of Aurangzeb*, I, 194:

Wheat and pulses—2½ maunds a rupee.

Jowar and bajra—3½ maunds a rupee.

Molasses—½ a maund a rupee.

Yellow oil (ghee)—4 seers a rupee.

Hadīqā, I, 326, mentions the great famine of 1040/1630, when rice which used to be sold at 12 maunds a hon, was sold at the enhanced price of only 7 maunds per hon which works out to about 60 seers per rupee.

165. Moreland, *Relations*, 8, 34.

166. *Tavernier*, 312. For Maḥmūdis, see note 115 above.

167. *English Factories, 1661-64*, p. 387.

168. *English Factories, 1665-67*, p. 255.

169. *Ibid.*, p. 328.

170. *Thèvenot*, IV. Thèvenot says that the custom duties were not so high but the search was strict.

171. Moreland, *Relations*, 52, 55, 64. Berchem was the Dutch director of coastal factories from 1612 to 1613.

172. Jagadish N. Sarkar, *Mir Jumlā*, 51. For the Golden Farman, see Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 70; Foster, *English Factories, 1634-35*, p. 14.

173. Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, 34, 35; *J.B.H.S.*, 1928, excerpts from the *Dutch Diaries* of 1631-34, p. 188.

174. Jagadish N. Sarkar, *The English in Madras and Mir Jumla*, *J.I.H.* August, 1941, pp. 144 ff.; Foster, *English Companies, 1651-54*, pp. 234-36.

175. *English Companies, 1661-64*, pp. 176, 180; Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, I, 343.

176. *English Companies, 1661-64;* quotation from p. 180.

177. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

178. *English Factories, 1665-67*, p. 118.

179. *Ibid.*, 132-133.

180. *J.B.H.S.*, 1928, pp. 190, 191. For Shah Bandar or the chief port officer see Ch. V., section 3.

Sarsanat is the distortion of *Sar Ṣan'at* who seems to have been the director of Industries in the port towns. As an instance of the previous

treatment of the Dutch at the hands of the Quṭb Shāhī officers see *English Factories, 1622-23*, p. 316, quoting *Hague Transcripts*, series (i) Vol. VI, No. 216. The situation seems to have been considerably improved.

181. Compared to the English the Dutch were in an advantageous position as they had a permanent envoy at Haidarabad while the English had no such an envoy and so had to send a special representative for each transaction. It seems that the system of transferring half the share of a certain head of revenue was a pointer to the later Marathas who demanded a fourth of all the taxes collected in the Mughal territories of South India.

182. Farming of taxes was the rule even in most European countries during the period under review. In France, the leader of all that was best in the seventeenth century Europe, it was the capitalist who was the highest bidder for the provincial land-taxes, and "he in turn farmed out the right to raise small sums to subordinate vassals of his own. . . . Each farmer and subfarmer wrung as he could out of the unfortunate peasantry, and was protected by a government which had already received all that was due of the tax".—Wakeman, *Ascendancy of France*, p. 19. Of course such a comparison does not mitigate the abuse of the system, and there was a vast contrast between the wealth of the court and big grandees and the people in general. The low cost of foodstuffs, however, must have eased the life of the people.

183. Moreland, *Relations*, pp. 79-81.

184. *Ibid.*, 10, 77.

185. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 71; mastiffs, Foster, *English Factories, 1668-69, p.* 54.

186. Foster, *English Factories, 1661-64*, p. 54.

187. *Tavernier*, 125, 128.

188. Moreland, *Anonymous Relations*, p. 81. For the early development of the Jāgīrdārī system in medieval Deccan see Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān the Great Bahmani Wazīr*, pp. 159-160; Sherwani, the *Bahmanis of the Deccan, an Objective Study*, pp. 322 ff.

189. Moreland, *Relations*, 27.

190. Foster, *English Factories, 1668-69*, p. 127. What a contrast there was between the plain living of the English factors and the life led by a grandee like Mīr Jumlā who is said to have had twenty maunds of diamonds in his treasury, *Thevenot*, 144. Even the governors of Masulipaṭam and Niẓāmpaṭam went about with their entourage of horsemen and umbrella bearers.

191. See Ch. V, sect. 3, above.

192. See sect. 2, above.

193. See Ch. V, sect. 1, above.

194. "The Great Vessel," *Tavernier*, p. 197.

195. *English Factories, 1668-69*, p. 279. The displacement of some of the East India Company's ships plying on the high seas was as follows : *The Antelope*, 400 tons; *John and Martha*, 300 tons; *The Crown*, 250 tons; *Castle Frigate*, 240 tons; *Morning Star*, 200 tons. Whatever the tonnage of the ships belonging to the Quṭb Shāhī State, it is sad to note that it was the Dutch who were now piloting and even guarding them on the high seas.

196. *English Factories, 1661-64*, p. 234.

197. *Ibid.*, 1666-68, p. 242.

198. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-245. The tail piece says that "this business hath cost the company nearly 1,000 pagodas" by way of presents to the Governor, the Shah Bandar and others. It appears in the same context that every year the English had to present a *pīshkash* of 600 to 800 pagodas to the governor of Masulipaṭam; *ibid.*, p. 254.

199. *Thēvenot*, Introduction, xviii, xix.

200. *English Factories, 1665-67*, p. 255. See section 2, under the heading *Other Manufactures*.

201. Tavernier undertook this journey in 1645; *Tavernier*, p. 119.

202. *Ibid.*, p. 121. *Indalwāi;* Niẓāmābād district; 18°33′ N., 78°14′ E. *Regivali;* there is no such place in the Survey of India sheet, 2" to a mile, no. 56/J/N.W. or 56/0/S.W., and it is quite possible that Kalvarel is meant. But then Thèvenot says that Kalvarel was the last Mughal outpost in the locality. Possibly Kalvarel passed into Mughal hands during the 13 years between Tavernier's visit in 1653 and Thèvenot's visit in 1666. "The little river" would be one of the rivulets which flow in the locality.

203. *Ibid.*, p. 339. For "Raoulkoṇḍa" see n. 136.

204. *Thèvenot*, pp. 130, 148.

Srīkākūlam, headquarters of the northernmost district of Andhra Pradesh; 18°17′ N., 83°57′ E.

205. *Ibid.*, p. 147. *Manucci*, III, 241, says that a small river which fell into the sea near Merkanam, 64 miles from Madras, formed the boundary between the 'Ādil Shāhī and the Quṭb Shāhī dominions.

206. *Ibid.*, 108, 110. Calvar, mod. Kalvaral, in the Niẓāmābād district, Andhra Pradesh; 18°27′ N., 78°6′ E. Thèvenot says that Indūr, modern Niẓāmābād, 18°40′ N., 78°6′ E., belonged to a raja who owned allegiance

to the Mughals but "is maintained by the king of Golkonda although he always sided with the strongest"; *ibid.*, p. 108.

207. *Ibid.*, p. 150. For Sajjāpūr see n. 212 below. *Parlākimēdi,* now in Orissa State; 18°47′ N., 77°40′ E.

208. For Mir Jumla's advance into eastern Karnaṭak see above, section 1.

209. For the conquest of Bastar see Ch. V, Section 1.

210. Banganapallē, in the Karnūl district; 15°19′ N., 78°17′ E.

211. *Thèvenot,* 112, 131, 329; *Tavernier,* 119, 120. Thèvenot was greatly impressed by the verdant hue of the fields when he crossed into Quṭb Shāhī dominions. He says: "There are few or no countries which delight themselves with their verdure more than the fields of this kingdom because of the rice and corn that is to be seen everywhere, and many lovely Reservatories that are to be found in it"; *Thèvenot,* p. 130.

This road coincided more or less with the modern main road between Haidarabad and Niẓāmābād as well as the metre guage railway track between these two cities. *Kālvārel* (Thèvenot's Calvar and perhaps Tavernier's Regivali), Niẓāmābād district, *Chinnā Mallāreḍḍi,* a small village in Niẓāmābād district; 18°18′ N., 78°20′ E. *Biknūr* (Thèvenot's Buquenour), on the railway line from Niẓāmābād to Haidarabad; 18°11′ N., 78°24′ E. *Vallōr,* (Thèvenot's Mallevar), a small hamlet on the main road, Medak district; 18° N. 78°27′ E. *Jidpalli* (Thèvenot's Degolpali), a small village on the main road, Mēdak district, about a mile from Manōharābād railway station; 18°44′ N., 78°26′ E. *Maulā kā Pahāṛ* or *Maula 'Ali* (Tavernier's Mirel Molakipet), for which see Bilgrami, *Landmarks of the Deccan,* pp. 12-17, an eminence 2,046 feet high, about 3 miles from the railway station of that name on the Sikandarābād-Qāẓīpeṭ line and about 8 miles from Haidarabad ; 17°27′ N., 78°37′ E. Mahwa and wild palm trees; *Thèvenot,* pp. 130-131.

212. *Thèvenot,* p. 150.

Sajjāpūr (Thèvenot's Senjavourd) about 3 miles west of Kōhīr, Mēdak district; 17°36′ N., 77°41′ E. Panchnigal (Thèvenot's Pengioul), a small hamlet midway between Mōminpēt and Kōhīr, Haidarabad district; 17°33′ N., 78°50′ E. *Mōminpēt* (Thèvenot's Moumin), Haidarabad district; 17°31′ N., 78°54′ E. *Enikatala,* (Thèvenot's Yenquetala), about 3½ miles from Mōminpēt, Mēdak district; 17°30′ N., 78°56′ E. *Yacout-Kepensch,* "six Cosses from Yenquetala" (Thèvenot, 150) is not traceable in the Survey of India Map. 56/K/S.W.; but Dr. Sen says on p. 335 n. 4 that the name is found in Orme's map; Robert Orme, *Historical Fragments of the Moghul Empire,* London, 1806. It is quite possible that this rather longish name refers to a small village, *Yellakoṇḍa,* for this village lies on the direct

line between Kōhīr and Saudarguḍam and is situated about 17°23′ N., 78° 02′ E. *Denec* is also untraceable in the Survey of India map. 56/K/S.W. where it ought to be; Dr. Sen says on p. 335, n. 1, that this place is also found in Orme's map. It is quite possible that Orme entered certain names in his map without taking the trouble to find out what they really meant.

It may be observed that for measuring the distance between different places Thèvenot has used "cosses". He is wrong in his calculations, as his "cosses" correspond with the statute miles and sometimes even less. Tavernier says on p. 37, Calcutta edition, that the *cos* is "about four of our common leagues, and a *coste* is one league". Now a league is about 3,456 statute miles, and Tavernier's calculation of a *cos* does not seem to be correct. Mīr Mu'min says in his *Risālā-i Miqdārīyah* (for which see Ch. V, sect. 2, under "Persian Literature") that a mile was of 4,000 yards, a yard being equal to just one cubit. Thus, in terms of modern calculation a mile would be equal to 2,000 yards, i.e., a little over a modern statute mile. Tavernier uses three words as a measure of length, viz., *cos, gos* and *coste.*, which latter he says was equal to three leagues. To the knowledge of the present writer there is no such measure as *Coste* current in India. Probably Coste is equated with Gos, the length of which, 4 leagues, corresponds to a certain extent with the *gau* which equated with six miles; see *Tavernier*, Oxford edition, II, 72.

213. *Tavernier*, 143, 144.

214. *Thèvenot*, 146. Discovery of Kūlūr mines; *Tavernier*, 328.

215. *Ibid.*, 146-47 ; 334, notes 1 to 11. *Almāsguḍā*, about three miles south of Surūrnagar, a suburb of Haidarabad; 17°18′ N., 78°32′ E. I do not agree with the late Dr. Sen (*Thèvenot*, p. 334 n. 1) that Elmas-Quipentche should be identified with Ambarpēt Kalān when there is definitely an Almāsguḍā in the neighbourhood. In the same way Thèvenot's Tchellapalli should not be identified with Chalkapallī (*Thèvenot*, p. 334 n. 11) but with Cherūvapallī which is on the present main road from Haidrabad to Nalgoṇḍa; 17°06′ N., 79°14′ E. *Panagal* (Thèvenot's Penguel), 2½ miles (not 4 miles as in Thèvenot's Amanguel); 17°03′ N., 79°34′ E. *Thèvenot's* Surchel-Quipenche, which was not traceable by Dr. Sen (*Thèvenot*, n. 11 at page 334) is clearly *Sirikipeta* on the Mūsī river; 17°04′ N., 79°36′ E. *Gurglūr* (*Thèvenot's* Gougelou); 17°05′ N., 79°46′ E. *Anantagirī* (Thèvenot's Anandaguir); 17°03′ N., 79°59′ E. *Penuganchiprolu* (Thèvenot's Penguenchpoul); 18°54′ N., 80°15′ E. *Pendyala* (Thèvenot's Pentela) on the Munūrū, a few miles before it falls into the Krishna; 16°42′ N., 80°19′ E. *Vayyūrū* (Thèvenot's Ovirr), Krishna district; 16°22′ N., 80°15′ E. Nidūmūlū (Thèvenot's Nilmol); Krishna district; 16°15′ N.

81°02′ E. *Guḍḍūrū* (Thèvenot's Gurupet); Krishna district; 16°13′ N., 81°05′ E.

216. *Tavernier*, 140. On p. 230 Tavernier is quite clear that "Tenara" or "Atenara" was founded and by "the present king's mother", and so it can only be Ḥayātnagar. For Ḥayātnagar, see also ch. VI sec. 5.

217. *Thèvenot*, 146.

218. Tracing of the road: *Tavernier*, Calcutta edition, 141-42. For Sulṭān Nagar see ch. V sect. 2 under "Architecture". The late Dr. Yazdani identified Tenara with Surūrnagar (cited by Cooke, *Tavernier*, I, pp. 139 fn. 3 and referred to by the late Dr. Sen in *Thèvenot*, p. 334, n. 3); but there is hardly any affinity between the two names. Surūrnagar is on the main road to Suriyapeṭ and Vijayawāḍa; 17°22′ N., 78°32′ E. *Ḥayātnagar*, about two miles from Sulṭān Nagar; 17°19′ N., 78°37′ E. *Pantangi* (Tavernier's Patengi) Nalgonda district; 17°15′ N., 78°57′ E. *Nagalpad* (Tavernier's Negelpar), now a hamlet on the Mūsī; 17° N., 79°37′ E. Cooke, in his edition of Tavernier, says that alternate name of Kūlūr, viz., Gāni, really stood for *Kān-i-Kūlūr* or the "Mine of Kulur" and was not an alternate name of the locality at all. *Paṭamaṭa* (Tavernier's Petmat), Krishna district; 16°35′ N., 80°12′ E. *Nidumanūrū* (Tavernier's Nilimor); I do not agree with Cooke, *Tavernier*, Oxford edition, II, 72, that it corresponds to Pamarrū; Krishna district; 16°31′ N., 80°43′ E. It might be noted that the Quṭb Shāhī road from Vijayawāda to Masulipaṭam follows the present highway between these two cities.

219. *Tavernier*, Calcutta edition pp. 226-231. Tavernier travelled from Masulipaṭam to Gaṇḍīkōṭa *via* Madras, and from Gaṇḍīkōṭa to Haidarabad, but I have preferred to trace these roads from Haidarabad outward as it was the capital of Tilang-Andhra from which these roads to all parts of the State radiated. Thus I have had to reverse the order of the towns and villages which formed the stages en route. It has been quite an effort to identify the very distorted names as found in Tavernier, and it is heartening that I have succeeded to some extent. As regards Thèvenot my debt of gratitude is due to my late friend Dr. S. N. Sen whose profuse notes on *The Indian Travels of Thèvenot and Careri* have been helpful, while William Cooke's notes on Tavernier's *Travels*, Oxford, 1925, have also shown a way out of the difficulty. In certain matters I have ventured to differ from them, and in almost every case I have tried to spot the longitude and latitude of various localities, some of them very insignificant today, with the help of the *Survey of India Sheets*, scale one inch to two miles and one inch to a mile.

On p. 230 of the Calcutta edition Tavernier recalls how all the rupees which a traveller had in his possession while crossing the Krishna

on the way to the capital, had to be assayed. The reason for this must have been that the country south of the river had just been brought under control, and there was a danger of counterfeit coins being smuggled into the old Quṭb Shāhī territory.

Stages on the road: (1) *Peridera;* Cooke, I, 235, identifies this with Parāida; but even this I have not been to find in the Survey of India Sheets. (2) *Holcaras;* Cooke says on the same page that it corresponded with Orme's Huaticor, but even this could not be located. (3) *Dēvarkoṇḍa;* (Tavernier's Dabirpenta), headquarters of a taluqa in Nalgoṇḍa district, and a town of great strategical importance; 16°41′ N., 17°55′ E. Cooke has not been able to identify it. (4) *Macherla,* in the Gurujale taluqa of Guṇṭūr district; 16°28′ N., 75°26′ E. (5) *Tripurānthakam;* (Tavernier's Tripante), 7 miles N. E. of Dupad, Markāpūr taluqa of Karnūl district 15°58′ N., 79°29′ E. (6) *Dupad;* (Tavernier's Doupar), in the Markāpūr taluqa, Karnūl district, 15°55′ N., 79°23′ E. (7) *Venumalakōṭa;* (Tavernier's Eminipata) about a mile west of Markāpūr town, Karnūl district; 15°45′ N., 79°15′ E. (8) *Kumbum;* headquarters of a taluqa in Karnūl district; 15°35′ N., 79°15′ E.

220. (1) *Gudimiṭṭa;* (Tavernier's Goremeda), Cuvaluvuru taluqa, Karnūl district; 15°25′ N., 79°05′ E. (2) *Sancherla;* (Tavernier's Santasela) Kumbum taluqa, Karnūl district 15°12′ N., 79° E. (3) *Paraimamilla* (Tavernier's Morimol), also in Kumbum taluqa, Karnūl district. (4) *Kōltapalli;* (Tavernier's Catepalli), Prodattūr taluqa, Cuddapah district, 14°50′ N., 78°48′ E. (5) *Gaṇḍikōṭa,* now a village in Jumalamuḍugū taluqa of Cuddapah district, with a fort overlooking a deep gorge made by the river Pennar in the "rugged cliffs of bedded sandstone" (Brackenbury, *Cuddapah District Gazatteer,* 1915, p. 191); Tavernier calls it "one of the strongest cities in the kingdom of Carnatica".

221. (1) *Goriganūru;* (Tavernier's Gogeron) on the north bank of the Pennar, Jumalamuḍugū taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14°34′ N., 78°25′ E. (2) *Gollapalli,* Cuddapah taluqa and district; 14°33′ N., 78°43′ E. (3) *Vonṭīmiṭṭa;* (Tavernier's Outemeda), Siddhāvaṭṭam taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14°24′ N., 79°02′ E. (4) *Uttukūrū;* (Tavernier's Ondecour), two miles from Rājampeṭ, headquarters of Pullumpēt taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14°10′ N., 79°11′ E. (5) *Anatarājupeṭṭa;* (Tavernier's Ragiapet), in the Rājampēṭ taluqa, Cuddapah district; 14° N., 75°20′ E. "Ragiapet" cannot be Rājampeṭ as it is too near Uttukūrū, and it is hardly likely that it should form a stage within two miles of the last. (6) *Gazulamendiam;* (Tavernier's Gazel), 3 miles E. of Renīguṇṭa Railway Station, Chinglepat District; 13°36′ N., 79°31′ E. (7) *Narāyanavanam* (Tavernier's Naraveron), 3 miles S.S.E. of Puṭūr Railway Station, a well-planned village with hills on three sides; 13°26′ N., 75°35′ E. (8) *Uttukoṭṭāi* (Tavernier's Oudecot),

on the north bank of the Aruni river, Ponnēri taluqa, Chinglepat district, Madras State; 13°20′ N., 79°54′ E. (9) *Chōlavaram;* (Tavernier's Serravaron). Chinglepat district, 13°14′ N., 80°9′ E. (10) *Madras.* Tavernier took exactly ten days to travel from Madras to Gaṇḍīkōṭa.

222. *Tavernier,* Calcutta edition, pp. 205-206; Thèvenot, 148 for Pulicaṭ. Tavernier reached Madras from Vijayavada in 13 days. Stages: (1) *Kākani* (Tavernier's Kah Kali) 5 miles from Guṇṭūr; (2) *Koṇḍavīḍu* (Tavernier's Kondvir), a fort of very great importance in the 17th century, Narasarāopēt taluqa, Guṇṭūr district; 16°16′ N., 80°16′ E. For a description of the fortifications see Mackenzie, *Manual of the Krishna District,* Madras, 1883, pp. 190-92. (3) *Koppūram* (Tavernier's Copenour), Narasarāopet taluqa, Guṇṭūr district; 16°05′ N., 80′ E. (4) *Addankī* (Thèvenot's Addanguige), Ongole taluqa, Guṇṭūr district. (5) *Nennarupādu* (Thèvenot's Nosdrapur) Kuṇḍukūr taluka, Nellore district; 15°28′ N., 79°50′ E. The large river mentioned by Thèvenot, is not Mūsī, as in Crooke's n. 1 on p. 213, but the Gundlakamma. (6) *Kūndukur.* (7) *Dākīpalli* (Thèvenot's Dakije); Kovūrru taluqa, Nellore district. (8) *Guṇḍāvarum* (Tavernier's Gaderon), Kovūrrū taluqa, Nellore district; 14°36′ N., 79°59′. (9) *Sarvapalli* (Tavernier's Serapole), Nellore taluqa and district 14°13′ N., 79°55′ E. (10) *Puderū* (Tavernier's Ponter), six miles S.E. of Nayudupeṭa railway station, Polūr taluqa, Chittūr district. (11) *Sonnapaguṭṭa* (Tavernier's Sonaptgund); Cooke, *Tavernier,* I, 214, says that this place is in the Ponnērī taluqa, Chingleput district, Madras State, 3 miles from Elāvūr railway station; but it is not traceable in the related *Survey of India sheet* 66/C/3. There is, however, a village, *Sūnāvarum* 3 miles due east of Elāvūr railway station, 13°28′ N., 80°09′ E., which probably answers to the location. (12) *Pulicat.* (13) *Madras.* (14) *San Thome.*

223. *Thèvenot,* pp. 148, 335 n. 20-22; 379 n. 14. *Palakollu* (Thèvenot's Palicole), Krishna district; 16°31′ N., 81°46′ E. *Drakshāvaram* or *Draksharāma* (Thèvenot's Dacheron); Rāmachandrapuram taluqa, East Godavari district, 16°46′ N., 82°03′ E. *Godavari District Gazetteer,* 250-52, referred to by Dr. Sen in his Introduction, says that there are still some Dutch tombs in the village. *Bimlīpaṭam,* Visākhapaṭnam district; 17°53′ N., 83°03′ E.

224. *Tavernier,* Calcutta edition, 339; Oxford edition, II, 72. The first stage after Golkonda, as mentioned by Tavernier, is "Canapour", which Cooke II, 72 identifies as "Konadur", a name which is not found in *Survey of India map* 56/K/Sw, where is ought to have been. There is a village called Kundrug in the Maḥbūbnagar district; 17°06′ N., 78°03′ E., but it neither sounds like "Canapour" nor with "Konadur". On the other hand there is definitely a *Khānāpūr* in the Haidarabad district about 20 miles SWW of Golkonda, 15°17′ N., 78°04′ E., which

answers to Tavernier's "Canapour", and I feel that this village is meant. *Burgul* (Tavernier's Parquel), Maḥbūbnagar district; 16°58′ N., 78°13′ E. *Jaṭpōl* (Tavernier's Setapour) about 7 miles north of the bend of the Krishna; 16°02′ N., 78°13′ E. Cooke in *Tavernier*, II, 72, says that Setapour is really Saidupur, but I have not been able to locate this town which is supposed to be 2 "gos" or about 8 miles from the river, while Jaṭpōl answers well both to the sound of Tavernier's "Setapour" and to the distance from the river. If Tavernier's "Alpour" is identified as *'Alampūr* in the Maḥbūbnagar district (15°54′ N., 78°11′ E.) then he must have passed this town *before* he reached Karnūl, not after Karnūl, as he says in his Travels. There is no other town of a similar name between Karnūl and Ramallakōṭa. *Ramallakoṭa* (Tavernier's Raoulkonda), now headquarters of a taluqa in the Karnūl district; 15°35′ N., 78°2′ E.

225. *Tavernier*, 33, 34. Representation of two oxen and 12 oxen yoked to single wagons; *Thèvenot*, illustration opp. p. 76. It is said that the wagon containing the huge monoliths supporting the arches of the Mecca Masjid at Haidarabad and its *miḥrāb* were carried from the quarry at Shamsābād, about 10 miles from Haidarabad, in a wagon driven by seven hundred pairs of oxen; see Ch. IV, Sec. 2, above.

226. *Tavernier*, p. 35.

227. See Dr. Sen's Introduction to *Thèvenot*, pp. xlii, xliii, lviii, quoting Mendelslo, *Travels*, p. 22 and Blochmann, *Ain*, I, p. 149. Dr. Sen quotes Peter Mundy on p. lx (*Travels*, II, 45) that sometimes caravans consisted of as many as 250 or 300 wagons and carts.

228. There is a fine and true-to-reality description of a palanquin in *Thèvenot*, p. 76.

229. There is a divergence between the rates of wages mentioned by Tavernier and those mentioned by Thèvenot, for *Tavernier*, p. 35, says that the amount charged was Rs. 4 p.m., while *Thèvenot*, p. 76 puts it down as "nine or ten livres".

230. *Tavernier*, 36.

231. *Ibid.*, 225. Tavernier relates that when the horsemen were leaving he offered some money "to buy them tobacco and betel" but they refused to accept the offer.

232. For the construction of this bridge and its description see Ch. III, sec. 4, under the heading "Architecture".

233. *Tavernier*, p. 226.

234. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

235. *Basātin* a complete history of medieval Bijapur, with an epilogue bringing down the narrative to 1233/1824. Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, King

of Bijapur, 1627-56. For *Siyāsat Nāma* see Sherwani, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration*, seventh edition, 1963, pp. 119 ff. Nizāmu'l-Mulk Ṭūsī lived during 1017-91. Malik Shāh Saljūqī ruled during 1074-92.

236. "Dastūru'l-'Amal"; *Basātin*, pp. 348-61.

237. *Basātin*, 353. The details of the fare provided for the needy make an interesting reading. Muslim traveller staying in the Jāmi' Masjid of the capital were provided with cooked food, while the indigent and the needy among the Hindus were allowed 1½ seers of wheat flour, half a seer of *dāl* and quarter of a seer of pure ghee per day!

238. *Ḥadīqā*, 182.

239. *Ibid.*, 185.

240. *Ibid.*, 229-256.

241. *Thèvenot*, p. 143.

242. Mulla Taqīya'i Shīrāzī was a "*majlisī*" even in the late King's reign; *Hadīqā*, 213.

243. *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 48. Wazīr-i 'Ainu'l-Mulk is said to have had "precedence over all other Ministers"; *ibid.*, 234.

244. The names of the *majlisis* are interspersed in *Ḥadīqā*, especially between pp. 110 and 124. They are sometimes named "Majlisiyān-i 'Uẓẓām" or the Great Councillors; *Ḥadīqā*, 219. It appears that the King foresaw the danger to which the city of Haidarabad was exposed in the face of the continuous march of the Mughals southwards; that is why he ordered mansions to be constructed in the old city of Golkonda; *Ḥadīqā*, 257.

245. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

246. Shah Muḥammad's guilt; *Ibid.*, 78, Ibn-i Khātūn, Pēshwa ; *ibid.*, 149. "Mu'āmilāt-i Ḥijāb" or Foreign Affairs, *ibid.*, 165.

247. *Ḥadīqā*, 151. Ibn-i Khātūn's administration was marked by high standards and that he exercised his powers of appointment with great discretion. He took care to appoint persons of ability to the membership of the Privy Council as well as to civil and military services; *ibid.*, 66.

248. For a discussion of the exact date of Mir Mu'min's death see Zor, *Hayāt Mīr Mu'min*, pp. 175-79.

249. *Hadīqā*, p. 34.

250. For the early life and accomplishments of Muḥammad Sa'īd see J. N. Sarkar, *Mir Jumla*, See also *Hadīqā*, 190 ff. *Sipah Salār* or Commander-in-chief; *ibid.*, 308.

251. For *Wazīrs* in early Bahmani period see *Burhan*, p. 16. But the nomenclature is not found in 'Iṣāmi's *Futūhu's-Salatīn*, for which see

Bahmanis p. 71 n. 17. S.A.Q. Husaini's *Bahman Shah* has the term *"wazir"* in the index, but the nomenclature is different in the body of the book. The Bahmanī Ministers were in fact called by other names; see Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, pp. 51-78. *Wazirs* in the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, Ch. III Sect. 4, above; *Q.S.*, p. 142.

252. Their Eminence the twelve Ministers, *Hadiqa*, 227. 'Ainu'l-Mulk, *ibid.*, 71. Mulla Uwais's investiture as a Minister, *ibid.*, 221. Yūlchī Beg, *ibid.*, 224. 'Ali Akbar 'Ainu'l-Mulk had his jāgīr near Nandgaon, *ibid.*, 243.

253. *Dabīr* or *Munshiu'l-Mumālik; Hadiqa*, 80. L'timād Rao, *Dabīr-i Farāmīn-i Hindawī"; ibid.*, 235. Mulla Uwais replaced by Mīrza Taqī Nīshāpurī, *ibid.*, 261. Dabīr included in the category of "Great men", "who is Lord Chief Justice", Foster, *English Factories*, 1665-67, 228. It may be noted that Ibn-i Khātūn occupied the post of *Dabīr* before he became *Pēshwa* on 22-4-1629; *H.A.*, I, 312. Ghulām 'Alī Nīshāpurī was raised to the "high and eminent post" of *Dabīr; Hadiqa*, 221.

254. *Majmū'ahdār* or Accountant General; *H.A.*, 303.

255. *Hadiqa*, 76.

256. *Ibid.*, 34.

257. In northern India nowadays the *Kōtwāl* is a comparatively junior police officer with limited jurisdiction, generally of the rank of an Inspector, but in Hyderabad even now the *Kōtwāl* ranks high in the police hierarchy and equates with the Commissioner of Police in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

In Medieval India the *Kōtwāl* had some kind of judicial functions to perform; see M. B. Ahmad, *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, pp. 165-66. Practically all the data available regarding the Kotwāls of Mughal India have been analysed by R. P. Pandey in his paper on "Administration of Justice through Kotwal during the Moghul Period", *Indian Journal of Political Science*, July-September-December, 1964, pp. 152-157. In any case it is rather doubtful if the *Kōtwāl* exercised any extensive civil jurisdiction, especially when there must have been a *Quẓi* in every large city.

258. *Thèvenot*, 135.

259. *Hadiqa*, 255.

260. "Chief Revenue Officer"; *English Factories, 1665-67*, p. 242. Sides with the English, *ibid;* with the Dutch, *English Factories, 1668-69*, p. 288. Names of Sarkhēls; *Hadiqa*, 102, 123, 168 etc.

261. *J.B.H.S.*, I (2), p. 190: "Extracts from the Dutch Diaries of the Castle of Batavia, 1637".

262. *English Factories, 1665-67*, p. 224.

263. *Ibid.*, 1661-64, pp. 171, 268.

264. For the Bahmani *Ṭaraf* see *Bahmanis*, op. cit., pp. 80, 22 ff. Only once do we find the terms *Ṭaraf* and *Ṭarafdār* in connection with Qutb Shāhī dominions, and that in a comparatively modern book which is uncritical and at times none too reliable, namely *H.A.*, I, 356, where it is related that Muḥammad Sa'id Ardistānī became the *Ṭarafdār* of the Karnatak. It is a matter of history that he was the *Mir Jumla* of the kingdom and Commander-in-chief of the territory. Also see Gulzārīlāl Aḥqar, *"Tarikh-i Ẓafarah*, 1927; pp. 173ff.

Simt stands for a district in the European records. Moreland, *Relations*, "Anonymous Relations", 81, calls the head of the *Simt* a "Supervisor".

265. *Moreland*, 78.

266. "Ḥawāladār"; *English Factories, 1668-69*, p. 139.

267. The Dutch complained of the "enormous avarice of the "governor" Muḥammad Swāleh and the "presents he had to be given for administrative action" (*J.B.H.S.*, 1928, p. 190). When they complained to the King he issued a *farmān* ordering the *Sarsimt* and the *Shāh Bandar* to prove their case, while at the same time the Dutch were accused of introducing new custom duties without royal permission. Evidently the Dutch were experts in the art of passing money not merely to Quṭb Shāhī officials but also to the Rāya of Vijayanagar, for we find that they gave rich "presents" to him for acquiring more favours; *J.B.H.S.*, II (1), p. 153.

268. Moreland, *Relations*, p.81.

269. *English Factories, 1665-65*, p.253.

270. *Tavernier*, 327. Tavernier appends this account with the rather apt sentence, "This I relate to show the justice of the country".

271. *English Factories, 1661-64*, p.269.

272. *Ibid.*, 1665-67, pp. 242ff.

273. Tavernier, 327.

274. *Ibid.*, 223-24.

275. *J.B.H.S.*, III, p. 247. *English Factories, 1665-67*, p. 118. Nēknām Khān was held in such great esteem by the King that when he died in 1672, just twenty three days prior to 'Abdu'l-lāh's death, he was buried with great éclat on a platform outside the royal tombs ot Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and Prince Muḥammad Amīn; See *Landmarks*, pp. 175 ff.

276. For a discussion of this pattern see Ch. III, App. 2, above.

277. It is interesting to note that another grade, that of *faristādā* (which seems a literal translation of the Anglo-French word, "envoy") cropped up

in the Mughal Empire; see *Ruqqa'āt-i 'Ālamgīr, op. cit.*, I, 292, where prince Auragzēb contrasts the "*ḥājib*" with the "*faristādā*".

278. *J.B.H.S.*, II (2), II, No. 2, "Extracts from the Dutch Diaries of Batavia", pp. 261-63; *English Factories, 1661-64*, p. 146.

279. *English Factories, ibid.*, 293; *J.B.H.S.*, 1928, p. 190.

280. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

281. *English Factories, 1661-64*, p. 268.

282. *English Factories, 1665-67*, p. 109.

283. *English Factories, 1661-64*, p. 303. The King of Siam had given permission to the Dutch to trade in certain ports in 1600, and a Siamese Embassy was actually sent to Holland in 1609. But soon monetary greed got complete control over the Dutch and war ensued. It was King Phra Narai (1657-88) who sent this Embassy to 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh.

284. *Hadiqa*, pp. 222, 282. I regret I have not been able to locate Bāgh-i Nabī, but it must have been on the north-western outskirts of the city.

285. *Hadiqa*, pp. 118, 178, "Deed of Submission", Lahori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, 145. This *Inqiyād Nāma*, turned the Quṭb Shāhī Kingdom into a feudatory state of the Mughal Empire.

286. *Bernier*, 195.

287. *Hadiqa*, 182.

288. *Ibid.*, 230.

289. Lahori, *op. cit.*, pp. 209, 211, 423 etc. See also *Makātib-i Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, op. cit.*, 312.

290. The word "Moros" or "Moors" is a generic name given to the races, a vast majority being Muslim, which conquered the Iberian Peninsula and ruled it wholly or in part, from 711 to 1492. For this see Sherwani, *Muslim Colonies in France, Northern Italy and Switzerland*, 2nd edition, pp. 189-90. Neither the dynasty nor the aristocracy which ruled medieval Tilang-Andhra belonged to any of these races. The gentiles, corrupted into "gentoos", was the generic name given to non-Jews and non-Christians in the Bible, but in the present context it evidently means non-Muslims, and rhymes rather well with "Hindoos".

291. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, 231. For *Dāru'sh-Shifā*, constructed in 1595, see Ch. IV, Sec. 2; *Landmarks*, 25-26; D.V. Subba Reddy, *op. cit.*

292. Not merely the rulers but also jagirdars and zemindars had salarīed physicians who were not supposed to charge any fees from the generality. This is similar to the Health Insurance Scheme of England at the present day. Even as late as the middle of the present century the well-known

Sharīfian family of Delhi *ḥakims* (of which Ḥakīm Ajmal Khān was the last great scion) never charged any fee within the limits of the city of Delhi because the family had hereditary jāgīrs granted by the Mughal Emperors for the purpose.

293. *Thèvenot*, 232.

294. *Ibid.*, 135; Tavernier, 128; Moreland, *Relations*, 13, 17.

295. Moreland, *op. cit.*, 75.

296. See Chapter 3, sec. 1.

297. Moreland, *op. cit.*, 76.

298. See Haidar Hasan Mirza, "Qutbshahi Tahzib-o-Tamaddun", *Sabras*, Haidarabad, January, 1961, pp. 5-6.

299. Moreland, *op. cit.*

300. Haidar Hasan Mirza, *op. cit.*

301. Moreland, *op. cit.*, 13-16.

302. *Ibid.*, 12, 75.

303. *Ibid.*, 54.

304. *Hadiqa*, 49-57; *Thèvenot*, 148-49.

305. The *langar* procession is described in detail by Amiru'-lah *Ṣaulat-i 'Uthmāniyā*, 103-9, and by Nasiru'd-din Hashimi in his *Dakhni Kalchar*, 343-8. The description in both these books pertains to the developed picture of the *langar* during the Asafjahi rule. Husaini 'Alam is supposed to be a copy of Imam Ḥusain's standard made from a sword which is said to have belonged to Imam Ja'far Sadiq. It was housed in a special building erected during the reign of Sulṭan Muḥammad Quṭb Shah. The *langar* procession was taken to Ḥusaini 'Alam on the fifth of Muharram.

306. *Hadiqa*, 58 ff.

307. *Ibid.*, 40 ff., where the celebrations are described in great detail without reserve.

308. See footnote 289 above.

309. For Muḥammad Ibn Khāṭūn see Ch. V Sec. 1; Ch. VI, Sect. 4; *Hada'iq* fol. 194 b, ff.; Qādir Khān Bidrī: *Tārīkh Quṭb Shāhī*, MS. Salar Jung, Tarikh Fārsī, 116, fol. 220 a ff. Date of his appointment as Peshwa, *Hadiqa*, p. 78.

310. *Zor, Dāstan Adab Haidarābād*, 29; *Tarikh Quṭb Shāhī*, *op. cit.*

311. *Hadiqa, op. cit.*, 151, *Hada'iq, op. cit.*, fol. 201 b.

312. *Burhān-i-Qāti'*, 2 Vols., Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1887.

313. *Hadiqa*, edited by Syed 'Alī Asghar Bilgrāmī; the second edition

published by the Idārā Adabiyāt-i-Urdu, Haidarabad, 1961. The book covers nearly 19, not 16 years as in Storey's *Persian Literature, a bio-bibliographical Dictionary*, II, 747.

314. *Inshā-i-Ḥājī 'Abdu'l-'Alī Ṭāliqānī;* MS. Salar Jung, Adab, Nathr Farsi, 15. *Makātib, op. cit.* A counterpart of some of these letters are epistles of Aurangzeb first as the Viceroy of the Deccan and then as Emperor, collected by Qābil Khān on 10.9.1102/29.5.1690 and entitled *Adāb-i 'Alamgīrī, op. cit.* These letters have been edited, with a learned Introduction, by Professor Najīb Ashraf Nadawī, as *Ruqqa'āt-i 'Ālamgīr* in two volumes; the first was published many years ago by Dāru'l-Muṣannifīn, A'ẓamgaṛh, while the editor himself told me that the second volume was being sent to the Press.

315. Thus in *Dāstan-i Adab Ḥaidarabad, op. cit.*, pp. 29-30. The manuscript was in the possession of the late 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān Malkāpurī, but was lost along with many other precious manuscripts in the floods of the Mūsī.

316. MSS., Salar Jung, *Mawā'iẓ-o Khuṭub*, 16.

317. MSS. Salar Jung, *Tasawwuf*, 19.

318. MSS. Salar Jung, *'Urūz-o-Qāfiyā*, 1.

319. Two copies in Salar Jung, *Tibb*, 12 & 13.

320. MSS. Salar Jung, *Tibb*, 52, 53.

321. *Hadiqa*, p. 151.

322. *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 228-29. See also Ch. III, Sect. 4, Ch. IV, Sec. 3, above.

323. Rama Raju, *Moharram Folk Songs in Telugu*, p. 1.

324. *Ibid.*, pp. 3 and 4.

325. The treatment of the story and its moulding according to the pattern in vogue is similar to the Urdu *marthiyas* at the hands of the great Urdu dirge writers, Anīs and Dabīr and their followers, where, except for the names of the heroes and their enemies, the whole atmosphere depicted is purely Indian of the Lucknow variety.

Muḥarram folk songs in Telugu have been collected by Tomati Donappa in his article entitled "Moharram Gitikalu", *Bharati*, Madras, September, 1941, pp. 40-54.

326. Venkata Rao, *Dakshina Desiāndhra Vangamayamu* (*The Southern School in Telugu Literature*), Madras University, Madras, 1960, pp. 162-64.

327. For these poets and writers see Sheshayya, *Andhra Kavita Tarangini*, Kapilēswarapuram, 2nd edition, 1958, Vol. XII, p. 256.

328. *Chandrika Parinayamu* has been published with an extensive commentary by V. Sadasiva Sastri, Rajahmundrī, 1928.

329. For bilingual farmans of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh see *Tadhkira-i Nawādir Aiwān-i-Urdu*, p. 78 No. 19 dated 23-5-1050/31-8-1640. The farman on p. 77, No. 15, dated 29-11-1684 (not 1683)/25-2-1674 does not belong to 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign as he died on 3-1-1083/21-4-1672. Also see *Farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sulṭans* edited by Yusuf Husain Khan, p. 37.

330. For this see Ch. III f.n. 168.

331. For Muḥammad Qulī's Dakhni poetry see Ch. IV, Sec. 3.

332. *Sabras*, with an exhaustive Introduction by Maulvī 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq Aurangabad, 1932. Recently Professor Jāwīd Vashist has published "Sabras" in a condensed form as *Qissa-i Ḥusn-o Dil* with a learned Introduction, published in Delhi in 1965. It is significant that in spite of the command of the Shī'ah Sulṭān, the author begins the book with the praise of the Prophet as well as the four Khalīfas, no doubt with a tilt in favour of the fourth Khalīfa, Haẓrat 'Alī.

333. A. Q. Sarwari; "Dakan men Urdu Adab ka Irtiqa", *Mujalla-i 'Uthmānīya, Dakhnī Adab Number*, p. 74. Zore, in *'Aligarh Tārīkh Adab-i Urdu*, Vol. I, p. 398.

334. This may be compared to the Morality Plays of the English Middle Ages, where the personae were "allegorised qualities, "such as the Seven Deadly Sins, Holiness, Penitence, Vice, and Every Man, all coming on the stage and playing their parts. It may interest the readers to know that Wajhī was buried in the cemetery named after Haẓrat Barhana Shah in Haidarabad. The date of his death is variously given as 1070/1660 and "between 1077/1656, and 1081/1671." Zore, in *'Aligarh Tārikh Adab-i-Urdu, op. cit.*, p. 380.

335. Ghawwāṣī's two Mathnawis, namely *Saifu'l-Mulūk wa Badī'u'l Jamāl* and *Ṭūṭī Nāma* have been edited by Sa'ādat 'Alī Raẓavī, and published at Haidarabad in 1357 H. The quotation is from Raẓavī's Introduction to *Ṭūṭī Nāma*, p. 6. For *Ghawwāṣi* in general, see Zore, in *'Aligarh Tārikh, op. cit.*, pp. 385-95. The manuscript in which Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh's name has been mentioned is pointed out by Muḥammad bin 'Umar, editor of the printed edition of *Kulliyāt-i Ghawwāṣī*, Haidarabad, 1959, p. 18.

336. This work has been published in 1965 with a learned Introduction by the Editor, Ghulām 'Umar Khān, as a part of the Annual, *Qadīm Urdū*, Osmania University Department of Urdu, under the general editorship of Dr. Mas'ūd Ḥusain Khān, Head of the Department.

337. *Chandayan* has been mentioned by Badāyūnī in his *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh*, op. cit., see Ghulam 'Umar Khan's Introduction, p. 62.

338. *Kulliyāt-i, Ghawwāṣī* Introduction, p. 17.

339. *Phūl-Ban* has been edited by 'Abdu'l-Qādir Sarwarī and printed in Haidarabad in 1357 H. Ibn Nishāṭī says that he began to write this mathnawi of 1700 lines in Rajab 1066/April-May 1656 and completed it in Ramaẓān of the same year/July-August. Thus it took him about three months' time to write out this exquisite poem.

340. Zore, *Urdu Shāhpāre*, I, 1929, p. 108.

341. Clothes, p. 49 of the printed edition; musical instrument, p. 107; arms and armour, pp. 132, 133. On p. 55 of the Introduction the Editor says that Ibn Nishāṭī likewise enumerated the dishes which adorned the *Dastarkhwān* of the people; but there is no such mention in the book. When I referred the matter to the learned Editor, who was then the Head of the Department of Urdu and Persian at the University of Kashmir, he wrote back on 7-5-1966 that he was wrong and the list of dishes is not mentioned in the book.

342. For this *mathnawi* see *Urdu Shahpārē* p. 111; Naṣīru'd-dīn Hāshimī *State Central Library (Kutub Khānā Āṣafīyah) kē Urdu Makhṭūṭāt* II, 99. The *mathnawī* ends in saying that it was compiled in 1081/1670-71; but somehow Akbaru'd-din Siddīqī, in his article "Dakhnī Mathnawiyān", *Mujalla-i 'Uthmāniyā, Dakhni Adab Number*, p. 92, says that it was compiled two years later. It must be confessed that there is a difference in Dr. Zore's reading of the date line and that of Hāshimī, but both have indicated 1081.

343. Khushnūd's *Hasht Bihisht, Tadhkirae Urdu Makhṭūṭāt, Idara Adabiyat Urdu*, I, p. 264; *Chakkī Namah, ibid.*, p. 64.

344. The *Kulliyāt*, up to the letter ث (th) has been edited by professor Syed Muḥammad and published in 1959. On my personal enquiry from the Professor in September, 1966 whether any further portions of 'Abdu'l-lāh's poetry have been discovered, he replied in the negative. Unfortunately the Introduction by the learned Professor contains practically no critical appraisal of the work and is limited to a sketchy historical enunciation of the broad facts of the reign. Even Dr. Zore has taken a non-critical notice of the poetry of the King in *'Aligaṛh Tārikh, op. cit.*, pp. 395-96. On the other hand Naṣīru'd-din Hāshimī's *Dakhni (Qadīm Urdu) ke chand taḥqīqī maẓāmin*, Delhi, 1953, has quite a good description of his works on pp. 105-133.

345. *Kulliyāt*, poem No. 57.

346. For the *Madrasah*, see Sherwani, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the great Bahmani Wazir*, pp. 143-46; *Bahmanis*, pp. 299-300.

347. This book has been edited by the late Dr. 'Abdu'l-Haq and Prof. Yūsuf Kōkan and published in Madras in 1953. There is a manuscript of the book of the date 20-10-872/24-4-1468 in the State Central Library, Haidarabad, MSS. Aṣafīyah, Falsafa, 66; the manuscript is contemporary with the author.

348. See Sherwani, *Bahmanis*, pp. 212-222. The manuscript is in the State Central Library, Haidarabad and numbered Aṣafīyah, Naḥw-i 'Arabī, 50, and extends to 458 folios, i.e., 936 pages.

349. For the origin of the dynasty see Ch. I, sect. 1.

350. The prince died on 14-4-1596. For the text and translation of the poem see Ch. IV, Sec. 3; *E.I.M.* 1915-16, p. 30 and Pl. VIII.

351. I am indebted to Dr. 'Abdu'l-Mu'īd Khān's book, *Arabian Poets of Golconda*, for some of the details regarding the "Court" of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and his son Syed 'Alī who ultimately went over to the Mughal Court and was granted the title of "Khān" by Aurangzeb.

352. For *Hadiya Quṭb Shāhi* see Zubaid Ahmad, *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, p. 33; Maẓ haru'd-dīn Ahmad, *Tafsiru'l-Qur'ān* MS., Salar Jung, Tafsīr Imāmīyah 'Arabi, 6. *Majmū'ah Rasā'il*, by the same author, has been wrongly placed under "Ḥadīth Imāmīyah, 93," although the essays included deal with many aspects of Muslim learning. For *al-Muntakhab* see Zubaid Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

353. *Sulwatu'l-Gharīb wa Uswatu'l-Adīb;* MS. Salar Jung, Tārikh 'Arabī, 4. This manuscript was completed on 22-11-1082/11-3-1672, i.e. during 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign. *Sulāfatu'l 'Asr fi Maḥasin Shu'ara bi kulli Miṣr;* MSS. Salar Jung, Tarājim 'Arabī, 50. The book was printed at Cairo in 1324 H. Both these books have been noted in fair detail in such works as 'Abbās b. 'Ali el-Makkī's *Nuzhatu'l Jalis*, Cairo, 1293 H., I, 209, which contains a biographical sketch of Syed 'Ali; Ghulām 'Alī Azad : *Subḥatu'l-Marjān fi āthār Hindustān*, pp. 85-87, where he is called Syed 'Ali, s/o Syed Aḥmad, s/o Syed Ma'ṣūm al-Dashtaki al-Shīrāzi. It recounts the story of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad being called to the Deccan by Mīr Jumla for his marriage to one of his daughters; but then it was the Sulṭān who chose him as his son-in-law, and that was the reason for the conflict between Mīr Jumlā and the Sulṭān. The story is naturally repeated in the author's *Sarw-i-Azād*, p. 287. Azad also counters the story of Syed 'Alī's escape from prison and says that Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh was ordered by Aurangzeb to send Syed 'Alī, and he was sent along with the members of his family with honour.

354. *Arabian Poets, op. cit.*, p. 31.

355. *Subḥatu'l-Marjān*, 85; *Sulwatu'l-Gharīb*, 40; *Nuzhatu'l-Jalis*, I, 209 ff. Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad seems to have come to Haidarabad on the

express summons of the king. This is evident from a letter of Sharīf Ibnu'l-Muḥsīn of Mecca addressed to the Sulṭān, copied in *Sulwatu'l-Gharīb,* and translated in *Arabian Poets, op. cit.,* p. 40. He arrived in Haidarabad in 1055/1645-6. 'Abdu'l-lāh had no male issue, and Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad was regarded as the likely heir to the throne as he had married 'Abdu'l-lāh's eldest daughter. But court intrigue as well as, perhaps, an Arab-Persian conflict of ideas, resulted in the accession of the king's third son-in-law, Abu'l-Ḥasan, in April 1672 followed by Nizāmu'd-din Aḥmad's incarceration. Niẓāmu'd-dīn died on 26-2-1085/22-5-1674 according to the inscription on his sarcophagus. His unfinished tomb, nearly opposite the grand tomb of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh in the royal necropolis at Golkonda is prominent by its dilapidated condition. See *Landmarks,* pp. 180-81. It is significant that the other inscriptions on the grave point to his conversion to Shī'ism, or else it pictures the predilections of the agency which had the sarcophagus constructed.

356. *Arabian Poets, op. cit.,* p. 48.

357. *Ibid.,* pp. 88-89.

358. Date of birth, Āzād Bilgrāmi, *Sarw-i-Āzād,* p. 288. Date of arrival at Haidarabad, Zubaid Aḥmad, *op. cit ,* p. 158. The quotation is from *Arabian Poets,* p. 78.

359. *Diwān,* MSS. Aṣafīyah, Dīwān 'Arabī, p. 144.

360. *Arabian Poets,* 105. I have ventured to make some slight variations in the translation without any change in the sense.

361. Syed 'Alī was appointed a *manṣabdār* of 1500 and given responsible charges by Aurangzeb, first at Burhānpūr and then at Aurangābād; *Sarw-i Āzād,* p. 289.

362. See Ch. IV, Sect. 1, n. 97.

363. For these two groups, see Ch. I, sect. 3, fn. 133.

364. For the paintings in the British Museum see Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum,* II, Add. 5, 264, Add. 22, 282, Add. 15, 526, and Supplement, No. 411. The negatives of a number of these portraits are preserved in the Department of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh; see *R.H.A.D.,* 1920-21 at p. 38.

365. See Goetz, *Indian and Persiah Miniature Painting, Rijksprentenkabinet, op. cit.,* pp. 40 ff.; also a general discussion on the origin of these paintings in his "Notes on a Collection of Historical Portraits from Golconda", *Indian Arts and Letters, op. cit.,* pp. 10 ff. These pictures form a part of an album in the Prentenkabinet. In a letter to the present writer dated 18-11-1956 Dr. Goetz says that this album as well as "another of which fragments have come to the Louvre (see D.

Ivan Stchoukin, *Les Miniatures Indiennes au Musée du Louvre,* Paris, 1929) and the Berlin Government Library, were probably acquired by Laurens Pit, Dutch Ambassador to Sultan Abul Hasan Tana Shah and later were in the collection of Nicholas Witsen".

366. Stella Kramrisch: *op. cit.,* p. 160; Pl. XVI-XIX, enlargements of the portrait of Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumlā, opposite p. 162, and Neknām Khān, opposite p. 164. The painting which formed part of the collection of the late Sir Akbar Hydari is now housed in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

367. *Ibid.,* p. 167, Miss Kramrisch cites Strzygowski, *Asiatische Miniaturmalerei,* Pl. 16, fig. 45 for the painting at Vienna, and Martin, *Miniature Paintings of Persia, India and Turkey,* Pl. 20, for the painting at Leningrad. She says that in the Vienna group the *Jāmā* fastened to the left would indicate Muslim members of the retinue, while those with the *Jāmā* tucked to the right would indicate Hindus; but the *Jāmā* of the Muslim Mīr Jumlā in the Bombay processional group is definitely tucked to the right. See Jagdish Mittal, "Deccani Painting: Golkonda and Hyderabad Schools", *"Dr. Ghulām Yazdāni Commemoration Volume,* 1966, p. 128.

368. H. Goetz, "An early Mughal Portrait of Sultan Abdullah of Golconda", *Baroda State Museum Bulletin,* Vol. III, pl. I, Dr. Goetz's reading of the Telugu inscription, "Kutumishya Padusha" is not quite correct, for it is clearly "Kutubushya Padusha". The purpose of sending an envoy, in this case 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf, was not to *negotiate* a treaty but *to present an ultimatum*; this was followed by perhaps the most abject document in the whole of the Quṭb Shāhī history, the *Inqiyād Namah* or the Deed of Submission of 25-6-1636.

369. It was Jagdish Mittal who brought these remarkable portraits light; see Mittal, *op. cit.,* p. 127. For *Shāhi* or Mughal *Qalam,* see Sherwani, "Medieval Indian Painting", *Indica,* Bombay, September, 1966, at pp. 114-118; for *Dakhni Qalam, ibid.,* pp. 120-123 also Sherwani, *Cultural Trends in Medieval India,* 44ff, 58ff.

370. For a reference to Bādshāhī 'Āshūrkhānā see Ch. sec. 4. Also see *Landmarks,* p. 22; Satguru Parshad, *op. cit.,* 10-14.

371. For Sulṭān Nagar, see Ch. V, sec. 2, above.

372. For Ḥayāt Nagar see Section 3, above, where it is identified with "Tenara" and "Atenara" of Tavernier and Thèvenot. For the grand ceremony at Ḥayāt Nagar, see *Hadiqa,* pp. 122-24. The measurement of various parts of the Quṭb Shāhī remains at Ḥayāt Nagar as well as of the Kos-minars, is the result of the personal observations of the author himself. *Landmarks,* pp, 55 ff. contains some mis-statements which should be cleared. *Sarāi Mān Ṣāḥibā* is not the name given to the rooms within the

large quadrangle surrounding the mosque, as on p. 56, for the *sarāi* is located *outside* the quadrangle but adjacent to it on the southern and eastern side. *Tavernier*, Oxford edition, Vol. I, p. 235, is clear that "it has many rooms for the accommodation of travellers opening out on a grand square *in front of the House*". It is therefore clear that it is not the rooms round the quadrangle *in front of the House* but that there was another quadrangle enclosing the rooms attached to the *sarāi*, some of which still exist, in front of the royal palace, the mound of which is seen a short distance to the south of these dilapidated rooms. Again, the *Landmarks* has it on p. 56 that there are "several hundred double rooms of massive masonry round the quadrangle", while actually there are only 145. *Hadiqa*, pp. 123, 124, calls the town Ḥayātābād and says that it is like a part of paradise itself. It was founded in the first year of the Sulṭān's rule "in the best of styles", and populated by all categories of the people, merchants, handicraftsmen and other. It has "numerous houses and lofty buildings", many groves and gardens, large streets and squares, and a Dād Maḥal or Palace of Equity. Evidently it took six years to complete the project, and it was only on 24.7.1041/2.2.1632 that the Court moved to the new city to celebrate the puberty of the young Sulṭān. 'Abdu'l-lāh also stopped at Ḥayāt Nagar while on his progress to the sea-coast in 1639 when he stayed there for three days. See *Hadiqa*, pp. 333-36.

373. Shaikhpet mosque; *E.I.M.*, 1935-36 pp. 21-22; *R.H.A.D.*, 1936-37, pp. 2-3; Satguru Parshad, *op. cit.*, 118. Satguru Parshad is not correct that the platform on which the mosque stands is octagonal; it is in fact oblong; the date given is also incorrect, for 1043 H. does not correspond to 1636, but to 1633-34.

374. *E.I.M.*, 1917-18, p. 48; *Landmarks*, p. 53.

375. The identity of Kulthūm Bēgum: It is rather strange that in spite of there being an epitaph on the sarcophagus of the lady (for which see E.I.M., 1916-17, pp. 34-35 and pl. X b) her parentage is still doubtful. Yazdani has read the inscription as "son of Kulthūm, . . . daughter of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh", while Bilgrami, *op. cit.*, 145, interprets it as "Kulthum, daughter of the son of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh", averring that Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh had no daughter and that Kulthūm must have been his grand-daughter, and "the father of this child was the son of his favourite wife Khurshīd Bībī". He relies on *Hadiqa* according to which Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh had only one daughter and she was given in marriage to Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur . . .; consequently this grave cannot be of his grand-daughter, by his so-called daughter Kulthūm" (*Landmarks*, p. 145, n. 1). Certain important facts have to be taken into consideration —

(1) Although words are sometimes put in the wrong place in certain

inscriptions for the sake of calligraphic beauty (as in case of poetry) the name Kulsūm (Kulthūm) comes only third in the inscription after half the smaller tablet has been filled.

(2) The surmise that Kulthūm was the daughter of a son of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh by his favourite wife Khurshīd Bībī is a big guess.

(3) The epithet *Khallada'l-lāh* need not mean the death of the person for whom it is used, as Dr. Yazdani says, but only that 'God may keep him for ever', the root Kh-l-d meaning "to keep for ever".

(4) The year 1037 may well be the date of the incision of the inscription rather than the year of the death (which might have occurred before the date of her father's own demise), especially when no actual date of her death is mentioned, as is the case of most other epitaphs.

I have, therefore, the feeling that Kulthūm was the daughter of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh and the step-sister of 'Abdu'l-lāh.

Bilgrami and Willmot: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 585, wrongly call Kulthūm Begum daughter of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.

376. *Tōli Masjid: R.A.H.D.* 1916-17, pp. 3 and 4, Five photographs of the mosque, Pl. II, *E.I.M.* 1917-18, p. 49; *Landmarks*, 65, Satguru Pershad, *op. cit.*, p. 66. It is said that when Mūsā Khān was superintending the construction of Mecca Masjid he was allowed a commission of one *tōli* or *damṛi* which equalled one-fourth of a pice, per rupee; he built this mosque entirely out of that commission. For *damṛi* see *Fīrozu'l-Lughāt*, I, 788.

377. Kamrakh is a sour fruit the botanic name of which is *Averrhoa Carambola*. The same style is repeated in the minarets of Mian Mishk's mosque at 'Atāpūr; see Satgurū Parshād, *op. cit.*, p. 115. Mīrānjī Khudā numā died on 11.5.107/21.1.1660, according to *Gulzār-i Aṣafiyah*.

378. Satguru Parshad, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

379. Girdharilal Ahqar, *op. cit.*, 27-28. The Lingampallī Gardens were laid out during the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, but were evidently improved by 'Abdu'l-lāh. The gardens were presented by the Nizām Afẓalu'd-daula to his brother-in-law, Sir Khurshīd Jāh, and he erected a palace for himself at the northern-most part of the area, about two furlongs from the remains of the dry tank, which is now used as a huge lavatory for the inhabitants of the huts which abound!

380. See Girdharilal Ahqar, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29. Syed Muẓaffar was one of the main actors in the drama which brought Abu'l-Ḥasan to the throne on 'Abdu'l-lāh's death.

381. See Z. A. Desai, "Quṭb Shahi Inscriptions from Andhra State", *E.I.A.P.S.*, 1953-54, pp. 29-31.

382. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

383. These observations are mainly the author's own. To his mind it is not correct to say that Pēmāmatī and Tārāmatī were 'Abdu'l-lāh's concubines, as in *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, p. 36, and *Landmarks*, p. 153. Both are buried in regular Muslim graves in the royal necropolis and their tombs have "shapely" domes. The sarcophagus of Pemāmatī is inscribed with two verses of the Qur'ān, the Shī'ite *durūd* and a chronogram indicating 1073/1662 as the year of her death; it reads بود از ازل جنّتی پیم متی "From all eternity Pēmmati was a flower of Paradise". As for Tārāmatī she was a builder of a mosque right in the centre of the apartments in the Fort which go by her name, and further, the pavilion above described is the very symbol of the Shī'ah sect of Islam. Neither of them could have been merely "temporary wives" of the Sulṭān, for in such a case they would not have been the permanent and perhaps exclusive occupants of the palaces which go by their names. For Pēmamatī's tomb see *E.M.I.*, 1915-16 p. 36, pl. XII (a); *Landmarks*, pp. 152-153. The two ladies seem to be Hindu converts to Islam and regularly married to the Sulṭān.

384. *E.M.I.*, 1913-14, pp. 49-50; pl. XX (a). It is rather interesting that while in this inscription 'Abdu'l-lāh is called "Nawwāb" he is called 'Sulṭān" in the two medallions. Dr. Yazdani was perhaps wrong in saying that the wall was "renovated in the reign of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh", for the most that can be said is that the renovation was commenced in that reign. 29th Sha'bān 1038 falls well within 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign who came to the throne on 14th Jamadi I, 1035. A very interesting thing about this inscription is that the date is given in *Shuhūr san*, 1029, as well as in Hijri, 29th Sha'ban 1038. It is one of the few instances in the history of Golkonda when *Shuhūr san* is mentioned and shows how much the court life of 'Abdu'l-lāh was influenced by Bijapur. For the *Shuhūr san* of Bijapur see Nazim, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 49, pp. 96-102, where, on p. 100 Shuhūr san 1029 corresponds to 1038 H.

385. *E.I.M.*, 1913-14, pp. 53-54. The cyclic year *Manmatha*, is mentioned on p. 54, and the corresponding Gregorian date on the same page, n. 2. But see Section 1, f.n. 32 a.

386. The other important monuments in Nayā Qil'ā are Mustafā Khān's mosque and Mullā Khiyālī's mosque; see Ch. III, sec. 4, "Architecture and Public Works". The observations made here are mainly based on the author's personal notes.

387. *E.I.M.*, 1913-14, pp. 55 and 57, pl. XVIII (a) and (b). Evidently the Gregorian date, "November 1602 A.D." is a misprint for 1640, as Rajab 1050, the date on the inscription regarding the construction of the shops, etc., corresponds to 7.10—5.11, 1640. Khairāt Khān died on 8.9.1066/18.6.1656, not in 1655, as in *Landmarks*, p. 60. His tomb is situated near Gowlipura Gate in Haiderabad.

388. See *E.I.M.*, 1913-14, pp. 58-59, pl. XIX (c) and XXII; *Landmarks*, pp. 169-71.

389. The location of 'Abdu'l-lāh's palaces has been made from personal observations of the author himself with the help of the excellent *Golconda Survey Map, Archaeological Buildings, 1" to 200 ft.*, published by H.E.H. the Nizam's Archaeological Department. It may be mentioned that many of the palaces described below were freed from debris long after the Plan was published.

390. For Makkī Darwāzā and Bālā Hiṣār Darwāzā see Ch. III, sec. 4.

391. The readings are all the author's own; in fact, to his knowledge these vast palaces have not been described elsewhere. The resonant sound is exactly similar to the sound produced by the clapping of hands exactly in the centre of the vestibule just inside the Bālā Ḥiṣār Darwāzā.

392. There is a close similarity in the architecture and decoration of the dilapidated mosque near the Silaḥ Khānā, Taramati's mosque right in the sanctum of 'Abdu'l-lāh's palace and Pēmamatī's mosque on the road to Osman Sāgar, for all the three are based on a superstructure of twelve arches. In the same way the similarity between the roof structure of Pēmamatī's mosque and Tārāmatī's mosque on the one hand and Ḥayāt Bakhshī Bēgam's two mosques, one at Ḥayāt Nagar and the other in the royal necropolis at Golkonda give us a possible clue to the period when Tārāmatī's mosque was constructed and the palaces renovated.

393. *E.I.M.*, 1915-16 p. 35; *Landmarks*, 168-69.

394. For this mosque see *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, pp. 35-36; *Landmarks*, pp. 166-68. The effigy of the two squirrels facing each other and munching grapes is not mentioned anywhere to the writer's knowledge, and was observed by him during one of his frequent rounds of the Fort and the necropolis.

395. See *E.I.M.*, 1915-16, p. 39. Dr. Yazdani calls this tomb "a replica of the tombs of his father and mother". But the area covered is much larger and so is the size of the ornamentation. Ground plan of the tomb, *R.A.H.D.*, 1917-18, pl. IV b; section of the same, *ibid.*, pl. v.

396. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40; Satguru Parshad, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-70. Dr. Yazdani says that there was some controversy regarding the date of the Sulṭān's death, but "it has now been corroborated by contemporary factory records". He cites the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1918*, pp. 95-96 for a discussion on the subject. Evidently the number of *E.I.M.* 1915-16 was completed after 1918.

It is strange that 'Abdu'l-lāh's grand mausoleum has been left outside the boundary wall of the royal necropolis constructed under order of Sir Salar Jung I (Prime Minister of Hyderabad from 1853-83); was this due to certain conditions in the Deed of Submission of 1636 to which 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh had to submit?

CHAPTER VII

THE END OF AN ERA

ABU'L HASAN QUTB SHAH

(21.4.1672——21.9.1687)

Abu'l-Ḥasan's Accession

Possibly no one was more surprised than Abu'l-Ḥasan, a recluse on the *Khānqāh* of Shāh Rājū just outside the Fatḥ Darwāzā of Haidarabad, that he should be almost dragged from his preceptor, brought to the royal palace, bathed and clothed in royal robes and married to the third daughter of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, who came to be called Bādshāh Bībī after the accession of her husband to the throne.

'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh had no male heir but was blessed with three daughters.[1] The eldest daughter surnamed *Baṛī Ṣāḥibnī* or the "Great Lady", was married to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭāu according to one of the conditions of the fateful treaty of 1656.[2] It was then decided that as the king had no male heirs, the throne of Tilang-Andhra should go to Muḥammad Sulṭān. But in the War of Mughal Succession which followed the imprisonment of Shah Jahan by Aurangzeb, Muḥammad Sulṭān was lured to take sides with Shah Jahan's second son Shah Shujā', was arrested and imprisoned with his wife, and died while in prison on 7-10-1088/23-11-1677.[3] The second daughter, Faṭimā Khānam, was married to Mīrza Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, son of Shaikh Ma'ṣūm of Mecca, who died in prison on 26-2-1085/22-5-1674. Faṭīma Khānam's unfinished tomb is next to her husband's in the royal necropolis of Golkonda, and her tombstone gives the date of her death as 20-10-1087/10-12-1676.[4]

The question of the marriage of the third daughter, who eventually became Bādshāh Bībī, was more complicated. Like Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, another adventurer, Syed Sulṭān Najafī,

came from Arabia, and like him became a favourite of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh who wanted to marry his third daughter to him. But a small quarrel between Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and Syed Sulṭān regarding the antecedents of the former led to a wide rift between the two, resulting in the threatened boycott of the approaching marriage by Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and his wife and even a threat that if the marriage were to take place he would go over to the Mughal Emperor's camp.[5] 'Abdu'l-lāh was greatly perturbed as all arrangements had been made for the marriage, and it was impossible for him to face such a big rift in his family. When all was ready and things were taking shape, the king, on the advice of some of the nobles and courtiers, called Abu'l-Ḥasan from his place of retirement at Shah Raju's *Khānqāh*. He was given a bath, clothed in marital robes and married to the third princess.[6]

When 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh was on his death-bed, there were only two possible candidates for the throne, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and Abu'l-Ḥasan. Niẓāmu'd-dīn had been the right hand man of the Sulṭān for many years, and was consulted by him practically in all matters of state. He was so sure of his succession that he began to disdain the power of the nobles, particularly of nobles of influence like Syed Muẓaffar and Mūsā Khān Khān-i Khānān, and became haughty and rude. On the other hand Abu'l-Ḥasan, who had been living the life of an ascetic[7] and who had no pretensions worth the name, was meek and good to those with whom he came in contact. As Syed Muẓāffar was not in the good books of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad he was naturally inclined towards Abu'l-Ḥasan, and when 'Abdu'l-lāh's last moments arrived Syed Muẓaffar rode post-haste to Shāh Rājū's *Khānqāh*, took Abu'l-Ḥasan to the palace, and as 'Abdu'l-lāh was breathing his last, proclaimed him king.[8]

Section I: *Cultural Aspects*

1. *Language and Literature*

Almost from the time of his fortuitous accession, Abu'l-Ḥasan

Quṭb Shāh began to try to lift the Quṭb Shāhī State from the quagmire in which it had been plunged during the long reign of his father-in-law, 'Abdu'l-lāh. As practically the whole of his reign was taken up by parries and counter-parries, both diplomatic and military, with his neighbours and with the Emperor Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr, there was not much of a literary output in any of the languages current in the Kingdom.

(i) *Persian*

Abu'l-Ḥasan came to the throne as the result of the fall of the Arab group at the court of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh which was led by his son-in-law, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad. But the victorious party with Syed Muẓaffar as its leader, had only a short life and had to give way soon to Madanna as the Mīr Jumlā of the Kingdom. Thus, although the official language continued to be Persian there was not much of an official patronage accorded to that language. We have, in fact, only one book of any consequence written at the command of the Sulṭān, namely *Ḥadā'iqu's- Salāṭīn* or the "Garden of Kings" by 'Alī bin Ṭaifūr Busṭāmī.[9] It appears from the colophon that the book was completed in 1092/1681, i.e., nine years after Abu'l-Ḥasan accession. It is divided into three *ḥadīqās* or "gardens" and although the sub-title, "fi Kalāmu'l-Khawāqīn", denotes that it is a work on the poetical compositions of Kings, still quite a large part of it is devoted to the lives and works of poets of other ranks. At the very commencement the author says that he was a humble pupil of Pēshwa Muḥammad ibn Khātūn[10] and that his information is based, among other books, on *Tārikh-i Bahmanīyah* and *Tārikh-i Quṭb Shāhīya;* but he does not mention the names of the author of these books. Evidently by *Tārikh-i Quṭb Shāhīya* he means *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* which was compiled by an anonymous author in 1616. We have no trace of any Persian book on the Bahmanīs except Ādhari's *Bahman Nāmā,* only stray line of which may be gleaned from Ferishta's *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī.*

The first *ḥadīqā* is taken up by Pīshdādī, Kiyānī and Ziyārī dynasties of Persia; the second deals among others with

the Ghōrīs and the Seljūqī rulers, and the Sulṭāns of Rūm, coming down to Timūr's progeny up to Jahangir. Here he quotes line from the compositions of Jahangir, Nūr Jahan and the Pēshwa Ibn Khātūn who was once sent as an envoy to the Mughal Court. He goes on to the rulers of Qarā Qūyunlū, the progenitors of the Quṭb Shāhī Kings, and through the Ṣafawīs to the Bahmanīs, specially mentioning two monarchs, Muḥammad Shah I (whom he wrongly calls Maḥmūd) and Fīrōz Shāh. Likewise, while dealing with the 'Ādil Shāhīs he particularly mentions Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. He then passes on to the "Kings of equitable disposition, the Quṭb Shāhīs, may God prolong their Shadow for ever and ever", specially mentioning the rule of "Sulṭān-Qulī known as Baṛā Malik", "Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh and Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh and Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, and quotes their poetical composition.[11]

Here he stops with royalty and comes down to the poems of certain eminent ministers, amīrs, and persons of authority, with short accounts of their lives. This is the subject of the third and last *ḥadīqa*. The *ḥadīqa* is full of valuable information, mostly derived from books but some from personal contacts, especially with contemporary persons of eminence. The author deals among others, with Nāṣir Khusro, Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Ṭūsī, Naṣīru'-d-dīn Ṭūsī, Shamsu'd-dīn Juwainī, Maḥmūd Gāwān, 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khān-i Khānān, Faiẓī, Abdu'l-Faẓl and many other wazīrs, litterateurs and poets of note. Coming to the Quṭb Shāhī State he gives a fairly good account of Mīrza Muḥammad Amīn Isfahānī, Mīr Jumlā of the time of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, Mīr Mu'min Astrābādī, his own preceptor, Muḥammad Ibn Khātūn, and Nēknām Khān. The reader is brought face to face with these and many other well-known personages by frequent quotations not merely from their verses but in some cases, from their letters which are sometimes penned in simple styles. He ends with prayers for the continued reign of Abu'l-Ḥasan, whom he calls "King of the world, just and of pure religion".

The manuscript consists of 201 folios or 402 pages in fairly close hand. The debt the author owes to " 'Allāmā Muḥammad

ibn Khātūn" is acknowledged when he is dealing with his life and before he quotes some of the lives of the Pēshwas.

As the sub-title of the book shows, it is primarily a kind of short encyclopaedia of some of the poets of the Persian language, and we should not expect to find much of politics connected with them. In some cases the author dismisses his *personae* in a page or even half a page, but in cases of those with a decidedly literary bent he has given many pages to their life histories and their poems. Thus he has six pages from Maḥmūd Gāwān, six for 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Khān-i Khānān, seventeen for Faiẓī, eight for Abu'l-Faẓl, nine for Muḥammad Amīn Isfahānī, fifteen for Mīr Mu'min, (surprisingly) only three for Ibn Khatūn and six for Nēknām Khān.

There does not seem to be any other book of note in Persian which was compiled at Golkonda-Haidarabad in Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign.[12]

(ii) *Telugu*

There are a number of outstanding features connected with the popularity of Telugu in the Kingdom during the reign of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh. Bi-lingual farmāns, in Persian and Telugu, continued to be issued and the king became a symbol of the composite culture of his dominions. In the same way as Persian became a cementing force between the Muslim and the Hindu élites, Telugu also stepped forward from its old Hindu arena to Muslim *litterateurs,* and we have at least one outstanding example of this direct influence. As has been noted above, the prime mover of the chain of events which led Abu'l-Ḥasan to the throne was Shāh Rājū, his preceptor. It was his son Shāh Kalīmu'l-lāh Ḥusainī, alias Akbar Shāh, who has left for us a striking book, *Srngāramanjarī.*[13] He was a friend of Abu'l-Ḥasan who had sat at his father's feet for many years, and the remarkable thing is that he wrote this book when he was hardly 30 years of age.[14]

The book, which is in Sanskrit is stated to be a translation of a Telugu book of that name by Akbar Shāh himself (Verses 16-17). The fact of the authorship is further corroborated by

the verse in which Akbar Shāh says that he himself (*svayam*) wrote it. It is, however rather quaint that the learned editor should cast a doubt on the authorship and say that "a legitimate doubt may be raised whether the Muslim saint Akbar Shāh wrote this work on love in Telugu and Sanskrit".[15] Unless there is a definite evidence that the Telugu book (which is non-existant today) was not written by Akbar Shāh we cannot say that it was not so written. Those were the days when non-Muslims vied with Muslims in the study of Persian, and Muslims vied with non-Muslims in the study of Dakhnī, Marathi and the proto-Hindi languages, and it is no wonder that *Srngāramanjarī* should be written by Akbar Shāh in Telugu and then translated, not necessarily by himself, into Sanskrit. The editor says that the "observance to Hindu divinities" in the first stanza in the Sanskrit version" is a pointer to that conclusion.[16]

Another doubt cast on the authorship of the work is that the treatment in most part is of profane love and the classification of women from the physical, psychological and sexual point of view, which would hardly be appropriate from the pen of a "saint". But as the general editor remarks, there have been Buddhist and Jaina saints who have been the authors of treatises on love.[17] Moreover, as the learned editor says, "the subject of the Nāyaka-Nāyikas theme had been made popular among Muslim patrons and authors by the introduction of a number of Hindi words dealing with it.[18] And, after all, Akbar Shāh was only treading in the footsteps of many a Persian poet, regarded as saints by the generality of the Muslims, whose poetry is replete with profane love. Thus, from the data we possess, *Srngāramanjarī* may be regarded as one of the most remarkable compositions of the reign of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shah.

The other great name in the output of Telugu during the reign is that of Madanna's nephew, Gopanna Kancherla who was later called "Bhadrāchala Rāmadāsu" or simply Ramdās. Gopanna was appointed *taḥsīldār* or revenue officer of Bhadrāchalam and was in sole charge of the collection of the revenue of the locality.[19] Instead of remitting the amount collected he quietly constructed a temple sacred to Shrī Rāma at his head-

quarters. On the discovery of this he was arrested, brought to Haidarabad and interned in Golkonda fort. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar says that "the story has it that a miraculous payment of the sum was made and a receipt obtained, by two men calling themselves Rama and Lakshmana, peons of the Bhadrāchalam circar, who came overnight, paid the balance demanded in cash, and obtained a receipt there and then of the Padishah himself".[20] This is a variation of the popular tradition that it was in a dream that Abu'l-Hasan received payment from Shrī Rāma and his brother and on awakening he found the money lying by his pillow. However that may be, Gopanna was thereupon released, and impressed by the miraculous payment, the Sulṭān endowed the revenues of Bhadrāchalam and two other villages as *agraharam* for the expenses of the newly constructed temple. The miracle has earned Gopanna the title of Rāmadās.[21]

Rāmadās is the author of 108 *saṭakas* or Implorations, called *Dasarathī Saṭakamū,* devotional lines in praise of Dasaratha's son Shrī Rāmachandra, of which the lines glorifying the person of Rāma and expressing supreme devotion to him are the most numerous. He glorifies him to the extent of considering him even the father of Brahma the Creator. He is the *naripūrṇa rupuḍu* the "complete perfection". To Rāmadās Shrī Rāma's achievements are indescribable. In certain lines he says that it is not worldly pleasures or wealth that he desires but only that his mind be cleansed of dirt.[22]

Rāmadās has composed a large number of *kirtanas* or songs in praise of the Divinity, and these are woven into the anonymous *Bhadrāchala Ramadāsa Charitra.* These *kirtanas* are very popular all over the Andhra region and are sung even to this day. These *Rāmadāsu Kirtanalū* were composed during his imprisonment in Golkonda fort and continued even after his liberation. He says that he sometimes hears Shri Rāma's voice, while at times he is not so rewarded, and he has to turn to Sītājī for intervention with her husband. It is his sincerity and intense devotion which have made his *kirtanas* so popular wherever Telugu language is spoken or understood.

There are very few other Telugu compositions of any outstanding merit, and the dates in which they were compiled are not at all certain. Bijjula Timma Reddī, author of the poem, *Anargha Rāghava,* is really an adaptation of a Sanskrit drama by Murāri Timma. He lived at 'Ālampūr (in the present Maḥbūbnagar district) and in all probability he flourished earlier in the seventeenth century. Gaṇapavarapu Venkaṭa Kavī hailed from the present West Godavari district but evidently migrated to Madurai where he became a courtier of the Nayak's brother, Muddalagari. His works, *Prabhandarāja Venkaṭeśwara Vijaya-vilāsamu* and *Sarvalakshana Śrīramu* are well-known.[33] There were other writers like Chintalappallī Chhāyapati, Koṭikalapuḍi Viraraghava Kavī of Gadwāl and some other Telugu writers and poets who lived in the Quṭb Shāhī dominions during the reign of the last Quṭb Shāh.

(iii) *Dakhnī or Proto-Urdu*

The reign of 'Abu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh ended with certain definite trends perceivable in Dakhni.[34] Abu'l Ḥasan's reign began with a buoyant note all round, and he was able to pick up the political trends which had been broken and virtually lost during his predecessor's reign. It seemed that the Quṭb Shāhī State was going to have another lease of life by the vigour and independent action which the new king was taking *vis à vis* the Mughals. We see its repercussions in the growth of Dakhnī. The tendency of borrowing primarily from Persian and secondarily from Arabic was somewhat checked, and the literature which was produced during Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign was "purer" than that produced during the latter part of 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign. But as the years passed by, and the state got more and more stuck in the political quagmire, the tone of Dakhnī literature also began to change, and we find that towards the end of the reign (and of Quṭb Shāhī history) there is a feeling of greater despondency and a greater inclination to compose *marthiyas* or dirges in honour of the martyrs of Karbala. This was consistent with an emphasis on Shī'ism as opposed to the Sunnism

of the Mughals, as also with the fast disappearing hope of a resuscitation of the State.

Whatever few lines of Abu'l Ḥasan we possess, they may be regarded as representative of the earlier nonchalant tendency. Evidently even when he was living the life of an ascetic at Shāh Rājū's *Khanqāh* he was as careless of consequences as in later life, and it was perhaps for that reason that his preceptor had given him the sobriquet of "Tānā Shah" which in those days of his life, would mean just the opposite of what he actually was, i.e. the king (he was not one), wilful, voluptuous and hyper-delicate.[25] This title has stuck to him in spite of the vigour and diplomatic talent he showed right through his life as the ruler of Tilang.

The few stanzas which can be traced to him show the same unreality to his actual environments. Thus :

اے سرو گلبدن توں ذرا تک چمن میں آ
جیوں گل شگفتہ ہو کو میری انجمن میں آ
کب تگ رہے گا جیوں لب تصویر بے سخن
اے شوخ خود پسند تو تک بھی سخن میں آ

تو چھہ لب کو کوئی شکر کتے ' کوئی شہد سوں بر تر کتے
کوئی خضر جاں پرور کتے' کوئی کچھہ کتے کوئی کچھہ کتے
کوئی جیو کی پیاری کتے ' کوئی سوں اچھن ناری کتے
نیاریاں میں کوئی ناری کتے' کوئی کچھہ کتے کوئی کچھہ کتے [26]

It is interesting to note that Shāh-Qulī Khān "Shāhī" who rose to be a courtier of the King, wrote ghazals in the same metre as the foregoing, and the following line which is sometimes also ascribed to Abu'l Ḥasan, is met with in Shāhī's ghazals as well:

ملنا تمن کا غیر سوں کوئی جھوٹ کوئی سچ کتے
کس کس کا منہ موندوں سجن کوئی کچھہ کتے کوئی کچھہ کتے

Shāhī disappears with the fall of Golkonda. He was one of the chief *marthiyā* writers of the period, and some of his poems and dirges are said to have found favour with the soldiers of the army of occupation who evidently learned them by heart.[27]

It is interesting to note that Shāh Rājū himself wrote poetry in Dakhnī. There is a *marṯhiyā* of 24 lines attributed to him in an "Old Anthology" (*Bayāz-i Qadīm*) which is not of a very high order but shows an effervescence of a sincere faith.[28] There is also an interesting composition, the *Suhāgan Nāmā* in which a *suhāgān* (or a woman whose husband is alive) is admonished in familiar though appealing lines, to lead a life of purity and to deal with her husband with courtesy and respect. The language of the poem is interesting as it is more archaic than the language of other contemporary works.[29] Another poet, Ṭaba'ī has to his credit the *maṯhnawī* called *Bahrām wa Gul-andām,* but the poet himself says that it was originally composed in 1080/1070-1 just before the death of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh. He evidently revised it and added a few lines to it after Abu'l-Ḥasan's accession, mentioning his elevation to the throne as well as the part played by Shāh Rājū in it. He says :

دکن کا کیا بادشہ بو الحسن کوں - بڑا تخت دے کر چھتر شاہ راجو

ترے عشق پر چرخ کہائے جو چڑھ کر - اترتا نہیں ہے اثر شاہ راجو

تم تیرے پڑیا ہوں امید لے کر - موئے بخت تیري نظر شاہ راجو

"The maṯhnawī is one of the finest composition in the Dakhnī language. Its flow and the variety of poetical nuances have made Ṭaba'ī steal a march on his three great predecessors, Wajhī, Ġhawwāṣī and Ibn-i Nishātī".[30]

Another poet who was closely related to Abu'l-Ḥasan's court was Ġhulām 'Alī who rendered Malak Muhammad Jā'isī's *Padmāvat* into Dakhnī in 1091/1680, possibly at the instance of the King himself. The rendering is not a mere translation and is marked not only by the comparative absence of purely Hindi words but also by the addition of quite a number of new lines, and the introductions of at least five lines in the praise of the Sulṭān. The maṯhnawī is one of the best in Dakhnī written during Abu'l Ḥasan's reign.[31]

Fā'iz's maṯhnawi, *Riẓwān Shāh wa Rūḥ-Afzā* may be regarded as one of the last secular stories written in Abu'l-Hasan's reign.

As the poet says at the end of his long composition of 2,500 lines, it was compiled in 1094/1683. It is a translation of a Persian tale by one Ni'matu'l-lāh, and Fā'iz says that he was the first to have rendered it into Dakhnī. The poet is modest enough not to make too much of his work. As the editor of the poem says in his Introduction, the vocabulary and the diction is nearer modern Urdu than earlier mathnawis, and is thus an important link in the development of the language. Fā'iz has used the pure dakhnī vehicle for the headlines of various episodes in the story (except in the sections devoted to the praise of God, the Prophet and his companions).[32] For instance three such headlines may be quoted:

یہ اور ہے ابتدائے قصہ

یہ اور ہے روح افزا بعد رحلت باپ کے تخت پر بیٹھی سو بیان

یہ اور ہے رضوان شاہ روح افزا کو خط دے کر فرخ پری نے روانہ کیا سو بیان

As Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign developed, Dakhnī literature firstly took the form of religious stories from early Islam with many episodes added on in order to make them more interesting to a lay reader and perhaps more literary. The result was that a large part of these stories were glossed over and became unrecognisable to a student of history. Such compositions are the *Qiṣṣa-i Abū Shaḥmā*, Ghawwāṣī's *Qiṣṣa-i Ḥusainī* and Muḥibb's *Mu'jiza-i Fāṭimā*. Muḥibb's *mathnawī* primarily deals with a miracle attributed to the Prophet's daughter, but the composition has a few lines in which the poet has tried to exculpate the Sulṭān of the charge of libertinism. The *mathnawī* was composed in 1677 when Abu'l-Ḥasan seemed secure on the throne.

He says:

کہ اے نامور قطب شاہ بو الحسن – عطا تجھہ کئے پیر ملک دکن

تر پیتے ستی راہ حق کا شراب – رندے کا ہے دل جل کے اک پر کباب

تو ہے عدل میں آج نوشیرواں – سکیں عدل تج سے سکل خسرواں[33]

Qiṣṣa-i Abu Shaḥmā is a metrical adaptation of a Persian prose work written during the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh. The translator's name is given as Amīn by practically all modern commentators, but now it has been more or less proved that the takhallus of the translator was "Aulīya", a name which appears in a number of verses of the *maṯhnawi*. The metrical translation was completed in 1090/1679. The story is that of the flogging of the Caliph's son at the command of his own father as he had transgressed some sexual and moral laws of Islam (under compulsion of circumstances), leading to his death. The Caliph dreamed a dream that his son's sins had been forgiven by God and that he had been granted repose in paradise.[34]

These quasi-sacred stories easily led to the marṯhiyas or dirges, a phenomenon which was in accord with the general tragic atmosphere of the Quṭb Shāhī Kingdom on the eve of its complete elimination. There is a *marṯhiya* attributed to Abu'l-Ḥasan himself in Mardān 'Alī Khan Mubtalā's anthology, *Gulshan-i 'Ishq* which has *'Ishqī* as *takhallus*[35] But as this *takhallus* is not repeated elsewhere it is doubtful whether the piece is by Abu'l-Ḥasan or some poet who has simply attributed it to him for the sake either of popularity of his composition or else to hide his *faux pas*.[36] There are dirge writers like Shāh-Qulī Khān "Shāhī", Shujā'u'd-dīn "Nurī", Rūḥi, Mubtalā, Mīrzā and others who compiled marṯhiyas on the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusain and his dear relations and companions on the field of Karbala, but which pulsate with the atmosphere of the depth in which the politics of the Kingdom had become engulfed. Thus Rūḥī sings:

آج غمناک ہیں چمن کے گل — بلکہ دل چاک ہیں سمن کے گل
غمزدہ، سینہ چاک، حیران ہیں — نرگس و لالہ یاسمن کے گل
جب سنے شہ کی چاک مجلس میں — جل بجھیں شمع انجمن کے گل[37]

A *maṯhnawi* which is more or less of the same *genre* is one by Sēwak called, *Jangnāma Muḥammad Ḥanīf* in which a battle

between Muḥammad Ḥanīf and Yazīd is described ending in the death of the former. "Sēwak" is a Hindi name (not necessarily that of a Hindu), and some doubt is cast as to whether the poet was a Hindu or a Muslim.[38] It must be remembered that this *maṯhnawi* is very much akin to the marṯhiyas which were compiled towards the end of Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign, and the name "Sēwak" need not imply that the poet was a Hindu. There was such a close relationship between the Hindus and Muslims in Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign that it was not at all strange for a Muslim to adopt "Sēwak" as his *taḵhalluṣ* much in the same way as scores of Hindu composers of Urdu poetry adopted Arabic and Persian names for their poetical compositions.

Closely allied to Sēwak's *Jangnāmā* is Ghulam 'Ali Khān Laṭīf's *Ẓafarnāmā*. Laṭīf was a Turkish amīr and was attached to the courts both of 'Abdu'l-lāh and Abu'l-Ḥasan. His composition extends to 158 folios and 5500 lines, and he says that it took him a year to complete. Laṭīf is one of those Dakhnī writers who are vain enough to drum about the superiority of their poems. He says that he considers himself to be superior even to Firdausī, for while there is much of concoction in the *Shāhnāmā*, his *Jangnāmā* deals with a subject sacred to the history of Islam, namely the war between Muḥammad Ḥanīf and Yazīd. But, actually, the *maṯhnawī* is not of a high standard, and there is practically not much of historical material contained in the book. The book is one of the last maṯhnawis of its kind written during Abu'l-Ḥasán's reign, and was compiled in 1095/1684.[39]

The fall of Golkonda in 1687 completely disintegrated the literary society of Golkonda-Haidarabad. Some poets went over to the Mughal Court, others to the neo-nobles who took up their residence in southern cities, while there were quite a number who remained in Haidarabad. Most of the latter who went on writing, moulded their poetry in nostalgic and tragic moulds. The centre of literary gravity shifted from Golkonda-Haidarabad to the new, though short-lived, capital of Mughal Deccan, Auṛangābād, which produced Walī the protagonist of the language which came to be called Urdu.

2. *Architecture*

In spite of the troublous times leading to the final dissolution of the Quṭb Shāhī State, Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign saw the construction of a number of edifices most of whom have been unfortunately wiped out. Perhaps the most resplendent and the most elaborate was the palace called Gōshā Maḥal, named so either because it was meant to be a walled palace for the "gōshā" or purdah ladies or because it was situated in a village called Gōshā.[40] The construction of the palace was commenced during 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign but was completed during the reign of 'Abu'l-Ḥasan in 1098 H., the year of the fall of Golkonda. The palace was actually on the northern side of a huge compound with a cistern 455 yards long, 410 yards broad and 4 yards deep with numerous jets and spouts throwing up the water which was brought through pipes and underground channels from Ḥusain Sāgar. It must have been a vast structure as it is said to have consisted of as many as 100 halls, and cost 3,40,000 hons which should be multiplied at least by ten for the present day cost of the structure and again by 3 to equate with rupees. There is a tradition that there was a subterranean passage leading to the Golkonda fort. The ravages of time have completely effaced the palace proper; the pipes and the subterranean water channels have been gutted and not a trace of water has been left in vast artificial tank.

The only part of the palace which has been left is the finely proportioned Guest House of the Quṭb Shāhī State called *Bārādarī*. It is situated at the north and of the great dry cistern and now houses the local Freemason's Lodge. It is partly a double storeyed buildings with large halls, massive pillars, beautiful marble jalis (some of these no doubt modern) and a symmetrical *chhajjā* which lends great dignity to the whole building. The road frontage has a double storeyed semi-octagonal bay in the middle with sides measuring 6′ 8″, 6′ 3″ and 6′ 8″, and with walls 73′ 9″ on each side, while the road-side length is 84′, making a *détour* of 40′ 8″ and again protruding to 28′. The frontage of the building is made up of two stately arches with marble

jalis, (again perhaps modern), and the masonic emblem worked in the middle, which looks rather incongruous. On the top is an inscription, "Barahdari Gosha Mahal" worked in marble. Unfortunately some very ugly modern structures have defaced the western side, and on enquiry it was found that this development was the work of the military forces when they were in occupation and later on by the present occupant. The *Bārahdarī* is one of the most magnificent civil monument of the Quṭb Shahi period in existence.[41]

Of Abu'l-Hasan's palaces which have been wiped off, was the Chār Maḥal on the banks of the Mūsī. The palace was true to its name. It was built on a square plan, each of the four angles of which was, in a way, protracted into a grove also of the square pattern full of water channels and jets. Like the Gōshā Maḥal there was a large cistern in the middle, 180 yards square and three yards in depth with myriad spouts and jets. The palace was completed in 1094/1683, but not a trace of it remains.[42]

What may be regarded as an exhibition of practically all the calligraphic patterns in vogue about the end of Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign, is the mosque and tomb of Miān Mishk or Malik Mishk situated facing the western end of the Purānā Pul. There as many as six black basalt tablets, large and small, spread over the gates, the mosque proper, and the mortuary chamber of the Malik. Three of these tablets are in the form of an arch, two containing seven slanting lines, and one, being oblong, containing nine lines in cursive script. The three large inscriptions are copies of Abu'l-Ḥasan's farmāns issued in various periods of the Malik's life. The first farmān, in *naskh* script, is dated Muharram, 1085/March-April, 1674, when the Malik was already the Sar lashkar of Karnatak forces. He is granted the income of certain shops and bazārs as the trustee for the feeding of the poor during the month of Muḥarram. Another black basalt inscription in cursive nasta'līq is dated 1089/1678 under which the royal officers of Musta'id Purā were informed that the revenues of the two villages were granted to "Malik Mishk", *Kilīddār* or

Key Bearer of the Sulṭān in trust for certain expenses in connection with the Muḥarram celebrations and the service of the mosque at 'Aṭāpūr. There is a copy of a third farman of the Sulṭān on the doorway of the mortuary chamber of Mian Mishk in the form of an arch, in which the Malik is permitted to endow the land purchased by him at 'Aṭāpūr for certain religious purposes. The first two farmans are in the hand of Ḥusain b. Taqī, while the name of the calligraphist does not appear in the third. There is a circular inscription on the eastern gateway with the Abu'l-Ḥasan's motto with a deviation, surrounded by the names of the twelve Shī'ite Imāms. The date of Miān Mishk's death is incised in the arched headstone as 9th Rabī' I, 1092/8.4.1680.[43]

The mortuary chamber of the Malik is surrounded by a narrow verandah which is distinguished by pillar and lintel style opening all round, the pillars being monolithic and uniformly moulded. The mosque itself is in the form of a double verandah, 27′ by 28′ 4″ and a *miḥrāb* 8 feet in depth. Both the exterior wall and the partition wall are pierced by three graceful arches each seven feet wide. There are the usual two minarets, one on each side of the verandah, and a large ablution tank 28 feet square, in the middle of a platform in front. The whole compound is surrounded by a wide verandah with arched openings, fifty in number. The verandahs on the eastern as well as on the southern side have rooms at the back meant for students, while the northern and partly the eastern side is bare. There is a fine *ḥammām* attached to the western side at the back of the mosque.[44]

At 'Aṭāpūr, which is mentioned in two of the three farmans in these inscriptions, is the house which Miān Mishk constructed as a kind of garden pavilion. The village lies about four miles from Purana Pul and is said to be a "suburb" of Golkonda. The "maḥal" gives us a glimpse of the pleasure or picnic resort of the average well-to-do gentlemen of the late Quṭb Shāhī period. The Mishk Maḥal, as it is called, is built in the middle of a vast area of about 10 acres surrounded by a high wall all round with two gateways one facing north and the other facing

south. The actual building is a double-storeyed structure, the lower storey consisting of a large hall with arched partitions and a staircase leading to the upper storey. The upper storey was perhaps meant for Mishk's zenānā as it is enclosed by a wall seven feet high, with another staircase leading to the open roof, also enclosed by a low wall, which was probably meant for rest and sleep in summer months. From one or two small platforms on this storey one gets a fine view of Golkonda fort and the Quṭb Shāhī tombs on one side and the city of Haidarabad on the other. The northern wall of the building measures 102′ 8″ while the western wall measures 56′. The frontage has a fine double-storeyed oriel window with well-proportioned arches, the conventional lotus frieze and chhajja of the approved Hindu pattern all round the structure. There is no doubt that the vast enclosure contained myriad water channels (remains of which are still visible) and fruit trees.[45]

About half a fúrlong to the south west, just outside the enclosure is the mosque which is mentioned in one of the *farmāns*. In Miān Mishk's mosque not a trace of plaster is left either inside or outside the mosque. Although the platform outside and even the steps leading into the mosque have disappeared, still in its utter bareness, it is one of the best proportioned mosques of the Quṭb Shāhī period. The plinth of the mosque is three feet in height, and with wild vegetation all round it is not easy to get to the interior. There are two tall, graceful, Quṭb Shāhī minarets on each side, septangular in shape, the sides of which are flat up to 6′ feet above the plinth level, but become suddenly rounded right up to the top. Although the change-over is abrupt it does not jar on one's vision. In the same way, as one enters the mosque proper one finds the pillar and lintel openings leading to arches forming the *miḥrāb* and the northern and southern sides of the mosque. The entrance to the mosque is through three-arched openings, but the frontage of the *miḥrāb* and the sides of the mosque are supported by pillar-and-lintel forms. The cornice of the wall is decorated by eleven small arches on each side and this is supported by a *chhajjā* of the traditional Hindu pattern. The advantage of the complete

pealing off of the mortar is that the construction of the wall and of the flat trabeate domes is visible and may well be a pointer of how the mason constructed the Quṭb Shāhī domes and walls. Although there is no cementing plaster left either in the roof or in the low domes the heavy stone slabs are still *in situ*, demonstrating the strength of the mortar binding them.

There is another mosque erected during Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign which is characteristic of the period, and that is the grand mosque at Mushīrābād, one of the suburbs of the capital. It has the usual number of arches, five, which is characteristic of some of the Quṭb Shāhī mosques. In the profusion of stucco decorations it may well be compared with the Khairiatābād mosque constructed in the time of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh in 1626, although it is larger in area and the two decorated and domed minarets are taller than those in Khairiatābād mosque. One of the peculiarities of the mosque are eight small turrets which adorn its façade. The tall minarets are strengthened by thick iron bars running lengthwise, a fact which was evidenced by the bending of one of the minarets which showed the iron bar and which kept the minaret from falling. It has now been straightened.[46]

Just outside the Fatḥ Darwāzā of the city (which is the south-western gate of the old Quṭb Shāhī Haidarabad) lies the tomb of Abu'l-Hasan's preceptor Shāh Raẓīyu'd-dīn Ḥusainī, alias Shāh Rājū II, which is "loftier and more impressive than any of the tombs of the Quṭb Shāhī Kings".[47] Shāh Rājū died in 1094/1684-85, and Abu'l-Ḥasan did not have the time to complete this grand edifice. Even now certain parts of it are incomplete, though the *kalasa* on the top and certain interior decorations and the wooden verandah were added on by the earlier Niẓāms. Although Shāh Rājū was descended from Ḥusain Shāh Walī and the Saint of Gulbarga, his tomb has been fashioned in the regular Shī'ah style with five closed arches forming the apparent second storey of the building. The beautiful semi-circular dome of fine proportions, jutting out of a row of small lotus petals and the whole on a lofty drum, makes it one of the finest in the whole range of the tombs of the period.

Most of Abu'l Ḥasan's reign was covered by the ministry of Mādanna and the military command of Akkanna, and it is no wonder that the period saw the erection of a number of Hindu temples and renovation of some of the existing ones. The old Dravidian rock temple right at the entrance of the compound of Bālā Ḥiṣār at Golkonda was renovated and embellished, while the old temple at Anantgiri, which had become dilapidated, was completely renovated and a circumvallation erected. It is noteworthy that, like the prevalent system in the case of large mosques of the period, the larger temples also had wide compounds with rooms and verandahs for the use of pilgrims and travellers. In the case of Anantgiri temple there is a large *gopuram* leading to a fine effigy of Vishnu, while there are quite a number of other shrines within and outside the compound. In the same way a temple sacred to Shiva was constructed near Maisaram, a southern suburb of Haidarabad, with a *sarāi* all round the vast compound.[48] The building operations of the Pēshwa Mādanna may well be compared in a small way with the building operations of his great predecessor in office, Mīr Mu'min, the virtual architect of Haidarabad city.

3. *Painting*

Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign may be regarded as the high water-mark of painting in the Deccan. As has been noted above, the two rather outstanding group portraits of the Quṭb Shāhī kings, one in Bibbothèque Nationale at Paris and the other in the Haidarabad State Museum must have been painted either during Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign or immediately after his fall[49]. The British Museum and the Rijksprentenkabinet of Amsterdam have quite a large number of the portraits of the ministers, courtiers and high officials of Abu'l-Ḥasan's government. The British Museum has the contemporary portraits of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, Syed Muẓaffar, Nēknām Khān, Shāh Rājū, Niẓāmu'd-din Aḥmad, Mūsā Khān, Mādanna and 'Abdu'r-Razzāq. In the same way the Amsterdam collection boasts of the portraits of these officials as well as of Shāh Mīrzā who was

appointed *Sarkhel* after Muẓaffar's fall, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm (later Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān), Sharzā Khān, 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, Muḥammad Amin, qil'ahdār of Golkonda· Khwājā 'Ābīd Qilīch Khān and his son Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān Fīrōz Jang (father of Aṣaf Jāh Niẓāmu'l-Mulk I)[50] The rather remarkable thing about the Amsterdam collection is the similar setting, background and border in all these paintings, showing that they were "painted to order" and executed by a group of painters before the fall of Golkonda in 1687.[51]

The change in the general bearing of the persons painted as well as their dress is in contrast with the portraits of earlier rulers in the ensembles at Paris and Haidarabad. Abu'l-Ḥasan's portrait may be cited as typical. The *angavastrum* has been replaced by a fur muffler, a half-sleeve coat is worn over the *jāma,* the sword hilt is held in the right hand in rather a clumsy fashion while the fattening body is out of all proportion to the cadaverous head and face. The head-dress is the Mughal turban, but it is far more embellished and scintillating than its Mughal prototype, and the head is surrounded by a halo. In the case of other portraits the *angavastram* is replaced by a flowered and bordered *chādar* or sheet worn regularly over the shoulders with one end thrown over. This dress is in vivid contrast to the simple and dignified dress of Khwājā 'Ābid Qilīch Khān and his son Fīrōz Jang.[52]

Whatever the proof of the authenticity of these portraits may be, there is one which is well nigh incontrovertible. Shāh Rājū's Amsterdam portrait, which shows him standing, closely corresponds with the portrait on horseback which is in possession of the *Sajjādā Nashīn* or his spiritual successor at Haidarabad. While the Haidarabad portrait is that of a middle-aged man; the Amsterdam portrait is that of an old man mellowed with age, but the features of the two are more or less alike. There is, however, a change in the dress; for, instead of a buttoned-up long coat under a loose *chādar,* as in the Haidarabad portrait, we have a dress similar to that worn by the Sulṭān, a half-sleeve jacket over the *jāma,* and a muffler showing itself between

the *chādar* and the *jāmā*. It is the characteristic head-dress which is common to the Haidarabad and the Amsterdam portraits, namely, a turban with regular folds and a *kulāh* jutting out of it. Quite naturally the black beard in the former has become gray and demonstrates a devoutness which is missing in the other portrait. The portrait of Shāh Rājū's son, Akbar Shāh, the author of *Srngāramanjari*, is characteristic for he is represented as a handsome young man with full beard "with the upper part of the chin either shaved or closely cropped" and very short moustaches. His dress is similar to the dress worn by the Sulṭān. He has, like him, a golden, Mughal aigretted turban, a rose in his right hand, wearing a costly half-sleeved *chughā* over what appears to be a large garment, very wide at the lower end but depicting a semblance of striped trousers and a pair of sole-less slippers.[53]

Not only this portrait but portraits of all the nobles and ministers in the British Museum and the Rijksprentenkabinet have live facial expressions unlike those of the king. Thus Nēknām Khān has an extremely emaciated look, a broad turban and a stick in his right hand, Mūsā Khān is evidently dressed in military uniform with a shield in his left hand and a long iron baton in his right hand. Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad has the very expressive face of a scholar, an empty right hand and a short stick in his left hand.[54] But the portraits of Mādanna and Akkanna belong to a class by themselves. The Amsterdam portraits of the two brothers have caste marks on their foreheads, peculiar turbans with an accent on the high peak (perhaps enveloping the large tuft of hair at the back which was a distinguishing mark of the Brahmans) and a closely cropped pate. While Mādanna has a muffler under his plain yellow bordered *chādar* worn over a full-sleeved coat, Akkanna's *chādar* is striped, and there is no muffler nor a long coat over the *jāmā*. It may be that the muffler was a mark of distinction and of nearness to the person of the king. Although Akkanna was older than his brother, the Prime Minister, the latter's face has lines caused if not by old age, at least by cares and anxieties of high office.

We have another set of the portraits of the two brothers engraved by a Dutch artist, now in the collection of the Archaeological Survey of India. Akkanna has a peculiar head-dress, something like an ancient Greek hat, and if it is a turban it is permanently bound or even moulded. It is quite possible that it was the head-dress of the Quṭb Shāhī Commander-in-chief. The dress he is wearing is more like a uniform than a civilian dress, with a waist-band, rather a tight *jāmā* and stylised *anga-vastram* on the shoulders. In the same way Mādanna's portrait has also some peculiar traits. He wears a sleeveless waistcoat with an open collar, very similar to a regulation European waistcoat of those days, showing the upper part of his *jāmā* underneath. His turban is also of the Mughal pattern but stylised. A sword is dangling in its scabbard on the left, and he is holding some papers in both his hands as if he were in the process of submitting them to the Sulṭān.[55]

There is one other portrait of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh which might be mentioned here. It is rather a unique portrait different to about a score of Abu'l-Ḥasan's existing ones, and the only one depicting him on horseback. The portrait of the horse, at best of a conventional variety, is of the animal running at top speed. The king is wearing a Mughal *sarpēch* with an aigrette, and has a bejewelled belt round his waist. He holds a falcon in his right hand and the reins of the horse in his left. A dagger is tucked in his belt, while a long sword hangs by his side. On the top of the picture is a Persian inscription, "Abu'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shāh".[56] The date attributed to the picture, "early eighteenth century", makes it posthumous to Abu'l-Ḥasan. As is well-known, a mere superscription of a name does not necessarily indicate that the portrait is that of the subject named.[57] Abu'l-Ḥasan's portrait is such that it might be of any Mughal courtier or nobleman, and the name "Abu'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shāh" added on in fairly recent years in order to make it fetch a good price.

4. *Kūchipūḍi Dance-Drama*

The Dance-Drama which is centered in a small town, Kūchi-

pūḍi, between Vijayawada and Masulipatam, has a special affiliation with Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, for it was he who made a perpetual grant of the village to the Brahman troupe which performed the dance-drama, and thus helped to continue the tradition.[58] The earliest time this dance-drama is definitely mentioned in a record is in the *Kaifiyat* of the village Machupallī when a party is said to have gone to Vijayanagar and performed before the Rāya there. It is related that while they were on the way they were maltreated by the ruler of Siddhout, one Sambata Guravarayu. When they reached Vijayanagar they introduced the episode in their drama and the Rāya was so enraged that he summoned the culprit and had him beheaded.[59]

The origins of the dance-drama goes much deeper in history. It is said that there was an orphan Siddappa who lived some time between 1350 and 1450. He was married when a mere child barely six months old. When he came of age he was asked by his father-in-law, whose house was situated on the other side of the great river, to come and enter into proper nuptial ceremonies. When the youthful Siddhappa was swimming across the river he was enveloped in a storm, and the thread of his life became so slender that he vowed that if he were saved he would devote his life to the cause of Śri Krishna, and would remain a *sannyāsī* all his life. The storm abated and his life was eventually saved. Reaching his father-in-law's house he was received by the family as an honoured guest. But then he was to keep his vow, and the story goes that while he saw Krishna's wife, Satyabhāma in his wife, his wife espied Krishna in the *sannyāsi* that was her husband. This Siddappa was the founder of the Satyabhāma or Bhāma cult which recognizes Śri Krishna as the only real *purusha* while all the others are his mere *gōpīs*. As Siddappa had already been initiated into the knowledge of the Vēdas, the Śāstras and the sacred hymns he composed song after song in praise and adulation of Śri Krishna, and himself danced to the tunes he had concocted. The ensemble began to be known as *Parijalam* or *Bhāma kalapam*. This was the beginning of the dances which came to be centered at Kūchipūḍi.[60]

With the fall of Vijayanagar and the removal of the capital of the truncated empire southwards, the wondering troupe moved to Melaṭṭur near Tanjavūr.[61] In the meantime a virtual artistic revolution had taken place. Up to now it was the *dēvadāsīs* who had monopolised temple dancing; but the *Bhāma Kalapam* was full of sensuous love, and it was not considered proper that women should come on the stage especially when the main theme was Krishna-Bhāma love. It thus came about that women were entirely excluded from the Kūchipūḍī dance-drama and boys were taught the roles not merely of men but also of girls and women. Although many more dance-dramas have been added to the repertoire, the *Panijatam* is the pivotal drama played by the artistes. There are, in fact, only three characters in the drama, viz., Śri Krishna, Satyabhāma and Mādhavī, all the three parts being played by boys or men.[62]

A word about the name, "Kūchipūḍi". The syllable "Kūchi" is an abbreviation of "Kusilava" which means a travelling troupe of artists. In all probability Kūsilavapur or Kūchilapuri was the original name, which changed into Kūchipūḍī in course of time.[63] The actors, who are adept in music, song and dance, act and dance on a temporary stage in a temporary shed while the audience sits on the ground and remains there absorbed in the performance till day-break. The curtains are all hand-operated, while the jewellery is made of coloured paper, tinsel and wood. The dancers dance and express the meaning of their dance by pantomime and *abhinaya,* and the words are spoken by musicians sitting by one side, accompanied by *mridangam,* the flute (and now, the harmonium). Among the many additions to the repertoire are the *Movvu Gōpāla padamulū* or the footwork introduced by Kshattarayya of Movvū during the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh.[64]

It was in 1678, during one of his comparatively quiet and unostentatious tours of the eastern region during Mādanna's ministry, that Abu-l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh stayed the night in his camp at Kūchipūḍi on the way from Vijayavada to Masulipaṭam. He was accompanied by his minister Mādanna. He heard the sound of music, and on enquiry found that some of the boy

artistes were performing the dance-drama in front of the local temple. He was greatly pleased and asked the troupe to visit his camp. When they arrived he was so fascinated that he gave away the whole village as an *agraham* or *in'ām* to the Brahman families who "consecrated their lives to the art".[65] It might interest the readers that when a quarrel arose between the members of these families in the time of Aṣaf Jāh II (1762-1802), such as Vedantam, Vempati, Harī, Bhāgavatula and others, they appealed to the Niẓām who appointed Mosalikanti Kāmōji Pantulu and Kamgralu Jogi Pantulu as his agents to affect a partition. This was duly done, and "these families are still living in the village today, enjoying the lands and devoting themselves to the dance art".[66]

Section 2: *Political Aspects*

Syed Muẓaffar, Mīr Jumlā

Syed Muẓaffar was the person who had brought Abu'l-Ḥasan to the throne, and it was natural that the new king reposed perfect confidence in him. He was made Mīr Jumlā of the Kingdom and out of regard to his past loyalties the king practically resigned all power in his favour. He appointed Mādanna Paṇḍit, entitled Sūrya Prakāsa Rāo,[67] as his personal Secretary, and with him by his side, felt safe in asserting his authority even against the King. It is related that immediately after his accession to the throne Abu'l-Ḥasan made an inventory of the state treasury, and found that it consisted of four distinct departments : (i) money to be spent according to the dictates of God; (ii) advance pay of the troops; (iii) money for the king's comforts and his luxuries; and (iv) reserves.[68] Differences between Syed Muẓaffar and the king arose when Abu'l-Ḥasan began to squander money right and left and "to distribute wealth to his flatterers and supporters". Syed Muẓaffar wanted to put a stop to this and stressed the need of strengthening the army. The rift widened day after day as Muẓaffar became puffed up with power and pride and Abu'l-Ḥasan saw his authority waning day after day. The king now wished to get

rid of Muẓaffar's virtual tutelage and looked round for the man who would help him.

It was Mādanna, the personal secretary of the Mīr Jumlā whom Abu'l-Ḥasan took into his confidence.[69] He came closer and closer to the king till Abu'l-Ḥasan confided to him his intention of removing Syed Muẓaffar from his path. At Mādanna's instance he began to depute the best of his servants (who were perhaps Muẓaffar's creatures), to the outlying districts of the kingdom, and when the field was ready he quietly asked Mīr Jumlā to vacate his office while promising him that his jāgīrs would not be touched.[70] He then appointed Mādanna as Mīr Jumlā without any danger of opposition.

Mādanna, Mīr Jumlā

(i) Mādanna's Home Policy.

Thus Mādanna, who is said to have started life as a shroff (*Ṣarrāf*, or money changer) at ten rupees a month, rose to be the prime minister of a vast kingdom extending from the outskirts of Gulbarga and Bidar in the west and Visākhapaṭanam in the northeast to San Thome south of Madras, by sheer dint of ability.[71] The first act of the new minister was to pay the *pēshkash* due to the Emperor. This entailed a farmān which indicated the position which Abu'l-Ḥasan occupied in the mind of Aurangzeb. The *pēshkash* was evidently accompanied by a "petition" informing the Emperor of the new King's accession to the throne. The farmān describes 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shah as "the late Quṭbu'l-Mulk", who had "placed the whole of his ancestral territory at the disposal of the Emperor" and had agreed that on his death "this would become a part of the Imperial Dominion". As the Emperor was "by nature kind and benevolent", he would now recognise Abu'l-Ḥasan as the ruler "provided he remained loyal and faithful to him", and should further swear on the Qur'ān that would never budge from the path of loyalty and would never help the enemies of the Empire. He was also admonished to send 40 lakhs as pēshkash year after year to the Imperial treasury at Daulatābād.

Abu'l-Ḥasan's reply (*ta'ahhud,* Agreement) is couched in the most abject terms in which the Emperor is addressed as "the Khalīfah of God, Shadow of Solomon, repository of the Mysteries of God" etc., but out of respect the name of the Emperor is not even mentioned. 'Abdu'l-lāh is referred to merely as Quṭbu'l-Mulk and himself as a disciple (of the Emperor). He promises that he would never deviate from obedience, and would not merely pay off the arrears of the *pēshkash* but also remit it regularly in future. He would consider "Shiva", the object of the wrath of the "Abode of the refuge of Islam", as his enemy and would not receive his envoys. In the end he says that he has sworn on the Qur'ān the contents of the Deed of Agreement and invoked God and the Prophet as his witnesses. The Deed is dated 18-2-1086/4-5-1674.[73]

Perhaps the first thing to which the new minister and the king paid their attention was the strengthening of the fortifications on the east coast. In spite of what Muḥammad Sāqī has to say (that Abu'l-Ḥasan never went beyond his capital)[73] we have ample evidence from English Factory Records that Abu'l-Ḥasan visited Vijayawāḍa in order to inspect the great fortress of Konḍāpallī lying 14 miles N.W., "to which they intended to move the treasuries in case of need". He actually purchased an Englishman's house at Maḍapollam for his own use when occasion arose.[74] There is also no doubt that the forts on the western frontier were also strengthened, otherwise the Quṭb Shāhī army could not have been able to face the Mughal army twice with such fortitude.[75]

It was perhaps in order to make his position, and may be the position of the kingdom, secure, that Mādanna contrived to man the government by his own kith and kin. He began by appointing his brother Akkanna minister in charge of the army, and later Quṭb Shāhī resident at Bijapur, from which post he was advanced to become the Governor of Karnatak. He occupied that position at least till 1682, the date when Podili Linganna, one of the nephews of the Prime Minister, became *ṭarāfdār* of Poonamalee, in which district Fort St. George lay. He forced the English at Madras to pay heed to his demands,

and the English had to appeal to the King himself against his orders.[76] Another nephew, Yanganna, was awarded the title of Rustam Rao and given high command in the army. A third nephew, Gōpanna, who is known in history as Rāmadās, was made the revenue officer of Bhadrāchalam.[77]

Not content with posting his near relations to some of the important offices of the kingdom, Mādanna also advanced certain disillusioned or ambitious officers of the state to high posts and titles, some for monetary gain. Thus Muḥammad Ibrāhīm was granted the title of Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān and made a *sarkhel* by the king on Mādanna's recommendation for a consideration of 1,10,000 hons.[78] It is a sad commentary on the new administration that even the English agent at the capital, Venkaṭapatī, himself a Brahman, makes a remark that the Golkonda officials, being Brahmans, put out their hands whenever something had to be done.[79]

If we study the published farmans of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, most of which deal with the period of Mādanna's ascendency, we would find the same line of conduct running through them.[80] They range from 22.4 1673, i.e. just after Mādanna's accession to power, to 22.7.1686, i.e. just before the fall of the minister. In most of these there is a clear tendency towards some kind of favour to the high Hindu officials and gentry, some of whom may well have been related to the minister. Most of the farmāns deal with the redress of grievances of one party against another. It is significant that with the passage of time they become bilingual, the Persian version being followed by the Telugu version which is mostly a faithful translation of the original Persian text. In the farman dated 15.1.1084/22.4.1673 the village Kailapur is granted to Chandū Chakras in perpetuity; in the farman of 29.11.1084/25.2.1674 it is notified that Rāmāj Jangam is the only authorised *thalkarnī* of pargana Macharla; in the farman dated 2.9.1085/20.11.1674, issued to *kārkuns, desāis* and *thalkarnīs* of Karanpuḍi which lay within the *muqāṣā of* "Rāja-i Aẓam Trimbakjī" but had been sequestrated by a third person Rāmlingayyā, it is ordered that it should be restored to the

Raja and the recalcitrant brought to the capital in chains. There is another farmān favouring the same "Raja-i A'ẓam" dated 17.1.1086/27.3.1675 regarding his rights of the produce in the same pargana. The farmān of 18.8.1092/23.7.1681 relating to Ḥasanābād near Koṇḍavīḍu is addressed to Rāmarāj Shankarayya, "ṭarafdār of Karnatak", and relates to the fixation of certain taxes and exemption from dues in respect of certain Hindu festivals. The officer to whom the farman is addressed is Mādhava Bhānjī the *majmū'adār*, and his name is preceded by a number of high sounding titles almost equal to the titles of the princes of the blood. There is another farmān also relating to the same Rāmarāj Shankarayya, dated 12.3.1095/18.2.1684 under which the proceeds of certain property on the banks of the Krishna, extending to one thousand acres, which had been endowed by him, should be spent on daily feeding, oil etc. on the occasion of the periodical festivals of Mālēshwaraswāmy. Like the preceding farman this is also addressed to Mādhava Bhānjī *majmū'adār* of the *simt* of Khammam.[81]

There are certain matters regarding these farmāns which are well worth noting. As has been related above, many of them are bi-lingual, all of them relate to lands belonging to certain highly placed Hindu officers or jagirdars, and although some of them are sealed with the seal of "Miān Mishk, the slave of king 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shah", they are also counter-sealed by Bansīdhar who evidently occupied a high place in the official hierarchy. There is another interesting feature of some of these farmans. As is well known, the Shuhūr-San was used in official documents of the 'Ādil Shāhīs of Bijapur; but evidently they came to be used in Quṭb Shāhī documents as well after the conquest of what was left of last dynasty of Vijayanagar and the concurrence of the frontiers of the two kingdoms in Karnatak.[82]

The farmans included in the *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly* deal entirely with a certain Ghōrpāḍe family.[83] Two of them relate to the reign of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, while the remaining emanate from Abu'l-Ḥasan's secretariat The latter are of importance as they mention some

definite historical facts. Thus the farmān of 23.3.1084/28.6.1673 is issued to Mukandji Ghōrpāḍe to the effect that as Miāṇ Mishk had taken over the charge of Karnatak from Mūsā Khān, his authority should be recognized. The farman of 12.8.1086/14.4.1675 is interesting as it is based on the petition of Nēkōjī and Mukandjī Ghōrpāḍe begging the Sulṭān to fight "the enemy" at Aloor Pālampēṭ which was threatened as the enemy was barely one *gao* or three mile from the fort. The last farmān in the series is dated 11.9.1097/22.7.1686 in which Nēkōjī, Mukandjī, Viṭhōjī, Gōlōjī, Tūkōjī and Yashwant Rao Ghōrpāḍe are all given the highest titles and it is related in the farman that they had petitioned His Majesty that whatever happened they would be wholly loyal to the Throne. They had been commended to the king not only by Venkaṭa Bagras, one of the high officials of the Quṭb Shāhī Karnatak but also by newswriters, for their loyalty and straightforwardness, doubtless in the face of the increasing tempo of the Mughal advance.[84]

It may also be noted that all these farmans bear the seal "Khutimā bi'l-Khair-i was'-Sa'ādah" ("Sealed" or "Ended" well and auspiciously), a motto which had been adopted by 'Abdu'l-lāh after the Deed of Submission of 1656 under which among other things, Aurangzeb's eldest son was married to 'Abdu'l-lāh's eldest daughter and declared heir to the Quṭb Shāhī throne.

(ii) *Relations with the English at Madras*

Nēknām Khān was succeeded as governor of Golkonda Karnatak by Mūsā Khān and then by Mardān Khān, who gave place to Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān and finally by Mādanna's brother Akkanna. When Akkanna was appointed *Sar-lashkar* or Chief of the Army Staff by the King about the end of 1682 he was replaced as Governor of Karnatak by his nephew, Podili Lingappa, the *ṭarafdār* of Poonamallee which covered Fort St. George.[85] Almost from the time Lingappa took over the charge of Poonamallee district he began to exert his authority *vis à vis* the English administration at Madras. The English were armed by a Qaul (Cowle" in English records), or "Undertaking", by Nēknām Khān that the town of Madras would

remain wholly rented for ever under the English at 1200 pagodas per annum "so long that the Sun and the Moon endureth", and he also allowed the English to exercise the powers of administration including justice and (military) command of the town.[86] Nēknām Khān's successor Mūsā Khān had handed over the village of Triplicane to the English who, for an annual rental of fifty pagodas or hons, sublet it to one of the most influential merchant of Madras, Kāsi Viranna ("Casa Verona" of the English records), and when he died in 1680 its lease had passed on to his partners Pedda Venkaṭādri and others. Kāsi Viranna evidently enjoyed the confidence not only of the English but also of the Quṭb Shāhī authorities at the capital, for he was exempted from paying half the customs duties right through the Quṭb Shāhī dominions. San Thome had also been farmed out to Kasi Viranna for 13,000 pagodas per annum.[87]

There was a clash between the pretentions of the English who relied on Nēknām Khān's Qaul and the stand of Lingappa who considered the English as being under his command as the representative of the Sultān. When he was promoted to the governorship of Karnatak he became even more adamant. As Fort St. George lay definitely within his jurisdiction he would not allow the English to deal directly with the Government at Haidarabad. We must remember that the English were always prone to offer monetary consideration for work done for them. Thus when Mūsā Khān succeeded Nēknām Khān the English sent presents worth 500 pagodas "in the shape of scarlet cloth, looking glasses" etc. to him, and smaller presents to his representatives, through Kāsī Viranna. In the same way, when the governor of Chingleput, Syed Fatḥ Miyān, was going to the capital, he was given presents worth 130 pagodas and requested to give a good account of the English to the Golkonda authorities.[88]

It appears that the indifferent, if not hostile, attitude of the English towards Podili Lingappa when he visited the settlement later as governor of Karnatak touched him to the quick, especially as it contrasted with his cordial treatment at the Dutch settlement of Pulicaṭ. He had scant respect for the English and said that they were a scornful people and Nēknām Khān was

foolish to let out Madras for a "paltry rent of 1200 pagodas per annum". He therefore averred that "Nēknām Khān's *Cowle* ended with him" and that he would go to the Sulṭān and ask him to put Chinnapatam in the charge of one of his own officers.[88]

The intransigence of Sir Streynsham Master, Governor of Madras, cost him a great amount of inconvenience and worry. In 1678 Lingappa quietly put an embargo on all paddy entering Madras except through Poonamallee where he could charge as much customs duties as he liked, and thus virtually shut off the commodity from the Madras market. That was when he was only the ṭarafdār of Poonamallee. On the other hand Streynsham Master applied direct to the Sulṭān for the lease of such important villages as San Thome, Egmore and Tiruvallyur. He informed Viraraghavyya who represented English interests at the Court that he was willing to "offer consideration" to Mādanna for this.[89] He thus ignored the channel of the ṭarafdār and tried to deal directly with the Government of Haidarabad. In 1682 Lingappa, who had now been promoted to the Governorship of Karnatak, went ahead with his schemes and stopped all goods, including even brick and mortar, to enter the area occupied by the English.

Frustrated by this economic onslaughts, Streynsham Master again attempted to override him and sent the *pēshkash* of 1200 hons to Ibrāhīm at Haidarabad. He even went further, and when he heard that the Sulṭān was to visit Masulipaṭam in the near future along with his Prime Minister Mādanna, he directed the Chief Factor at Madapollem to try and secure (i) a farmān from the Sulṭān giving the English at Madras the right to coin silver rupees and copper paise in the name of the Sulṭān which should have currency all over the Quṭb Shāhī dominions; (ii) another farmān exempting the English goods from paying toll as was the case at Masulipaṭam; (iii) a farmān under which Madapollem and Viracheronne or one of the two towns were to be rent-free or on a fixed unalterable rent; and (iv) a farmān granting Tiruvollyur, Egmore and San Thome to the English either rent-free or a moderate rent.

The whole scheme, however fell through as the Sulṭān did not proceed to Masulipaṭam owing to intense heat.[91]

There were many other incidents which caused a stalemate between the relations of the Governor of Karnatak and the Governor of Fort St. George. Lingappa again averred that as Fort St. George lay within his jurisdiction, first as the ṭarafdār of Poonamallee and more so as the Governor of Karnatak, it was he who should be the channel of communication between the English and the Quṭb Shāhī administration. From this arose other considerations such as the collection of rent, the trade with the adjoining areas, customs revenue and kindred matters, which were of great importance to Quṭb Shāhī economy.[92]

Streynsham Master was replaced by William Gyfford as Governor in June 1681, and with him the policy of Fort St. George became a little more pliable. The Madras Council resolved that 2000 pagodas be sent as a "peace offering" to Akkanna the *Sarlashkar* and 300 pagodas to Podili Lingappa, and Pedda Venkaṭādri was asked to see him for probing the basis of some kind of understanding.[93] Two months later, on the first of August, the governor was pleased to inform the council that "all differences with Lingappa had been concluded". The English agent at the capital informed the Council that Lingappa was a man to be reckoned with, and that Akkanna had ordered that communications to be sent to Fort St. George should go first to the Governor of Karnatak who would send suitable presents with *naubat* or ceremonial music to the fort.[94] The Madras Council was so much overawed that in 1685 Lingappa began to be addressed as His Excellency.

It appears that during the turmoil which ended in the downfall and murder of Mādanna and Akkanna, Lingappa was also dismissed, and shortly afterwards he died. The Council, which was then presided over by Elihu Yale, was truly happy on hearing of his demise and passed a resolution expressing their joy![95] The Council was perhaps justified in the expression of their feelings, for with Podili Lingappa ended the era of tribulations on their part. The fall of Golkonda in September 1687 coincided

with the steady rise in the authority on the part of the English at Madras.

(iii) *The Marathas*

Some of the most vivid events in the history of the Quṭb Shāhīs during the ministry of Mādanna are the relations of the Kingdom with the Marathas, firstly up to 1680 the year of Shivaji's death, and again from his death to the fall of Mādanna in 1686. It is not necessary at this stage to recount the consolidation of the Marathas under the Niẓām Shāhīs and the spurt the race took at the instance of Malik 'Ambar in his struggle for the independence of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, or what was left to it. This struggle threw up the personality of Shāhjī. It is related that Shāhjī's father Mālojī was childless for a long time, and it was only after he had prayed at the tomb of a Muslim Saint Shāh Sharīf that he was blessed not with one but two sons, one in 1594 and the other in 1597. The father, named the elder of his sons Shāhjī and the younger Sharīfjī. This Shāhjī was the father of the hero of the Maratha race, Shivājī.

Shāhji was born and lived in an almost revolutionary period, the period of the extinction of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and the avalanche of the Mughals from the north. Vijayanagar had virtually ceased to exist as an effective force, and although there were no signs of the end of the last two Bahmani succession States, Bijapur and Golkonda-Haidarabad, still it was a problem whether they would be able to face the northern onslaught successfully. Shāhjī played a fairly effective part in his attempt to save what had been left of the Niẓām Shāhī Kingdom and obtained Poona as a Niẓām Shāhī jagir in 1624, and was further made the Commandant of Chākan and Shivneri with the title of Raja. But when he espied that there was no future for the dynasty he went over to serve the Bijapur kingdom. Shah Jahan made him a manṣabdār of 5000, but he left Mughal service in 1632. It was in 1630, while he was stationed at fort of Shivneri that Shivaji was born to Jījābāi, and the room in which he is supposed to be born is one of the very few standing monuments

in the great fort.[96] But Shāhji changed sides as often as his ambition dictated it, and he created a number of 'Ādīl Shāhī jāgīrs for himself by the conquest of outposts in the far south, such as Ikkēri, Bangalore, Basavapaṭam and Vellore. He captured Tanjore in 1659, a town which later became the seat of his son Venkōjī by his second wife, Tūpabāi.[97]

It seems strange that Shivaji could accomplish so much within fifty-three years of his life. He was born in 1627 or 1630[98] and with his tact, fearlessness, intrepidity, nonchalance and unscrupulousness he organized the Maratha people such as none of his predecessors or his successors could do. In 1672, the year of Abu'l-Ḥasan's accession, he was already one of the most prominent figures in south India,[99] and it is no wonder that he began to think in terms of his own coronation as an independent king of the territories which he had inherited as his jāgīr or which he had himself brought under his control. The main stumbling block in the way of the ceremony was the origin of his family which was not known to be even of the Kshatriya stock, but this was overcome by the "discovery"[99(a)] of the geneology which connected him with the great House of Udaipur. He was crowned at Rāigaṛh as "Maharaja Shivaji Chatrapatī" on June 6, 1674 with great pomp, while the second ceremony was held a few weeks later on the death of his mother. Shivaji now became one of the three protagonists of the independence of the Deccan. But while Haidarabad was on the whole ready to help the faction-ridden Bijapur even when the Quṭb Shāhī State was in danger, Shivaji almost invariably looked for his own advantage. Even when Abu'l-Ḥasan helped him both morally and materially to occupy the lands south of the Tungabhadra he failed to restore any part of the conquered lands to Abu'l-Ḥasan in spite of his promise to do so.[100]

One of the first acts of the newly crowned king was to change the nomenclature of his ministers, the Ashta Pradhān, from Persian to Sanskrit, or rather Marathi. This the Peshwa became Mukhya Pradhān, *Mu'azzamdār* became the Pant Amātya, *Sarnaubat* became Sēnāpati and *Dabīr* became Somant.[101]

It was in 1676 that Shivaji began to plan "the most important

expedition of his life"—the campaign of 1677 which resulted in the complete control of the lands south of the Tungābhadra right up to Bangalore and Tanjore.[102] Shivaji's avowed object of the venture was the division of Shāhjī's heritage in the south between himself and his half-brother Venkōjī who was in the sole possession of the jāgīrs with his centre at Tanjore. But his ultimate object was the eradication of the influence of Bijapur from the area and to make Venkōjī his virtual subordinate.[103] He had, however, to cover his two flanks, the Mughal flank and the Haidarabad flank. It was not very difficult for him to offer obeisance to the Emperor through the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan, Khān-i Jahān, by the offer of a large amount as *pēshkash* and to pass a considerable amount of money to the Governor himself for kindness shown and work done. This covered the Mughal flank. The case of Haidarabad also proved to be easy. Shivaji had been to Golkonda almost immediately after Abu'l-Ḥasan's accession, as early as 1672. He had appeared at the gates of the city with a large Maratha force and wrested 20 lakh pagodas with which he had returned to Rāigaṛh.[104] But the venture of 1677 was far wider in its significance and new methods had to be found to cover the Quṭb Shāhī flank. Raguṇāth Narāyaṇ Hanumantē was the chief adviser of Venkōjī, but almost without any notice he defected and came direct to Haidarabad where he was received with open arms by the minister Mādanna.[105] "Madanna had a partiality for Sanskrit especially on the side of religion and philosophy" and he became the minister's honoured guest. When he had an audience of the Sulṭān he spoke to him in chaste Persian, a fact which drew the Sultān close to him. Even before Shivaji arrived at the Quṭb Shāhī capital, Hanumantē was able to persuade the minister to agree to an offensive and defensive alliance with Shivaji "and thus preserve . . . . the Hindu India of the south that was vanishing before their eyes".[106]

It was towards the end of 1677 that Shivaji arrived with great pomp at the Quṭb Shāhī capital, accompanied by thirty thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry. An interview with the Sulṭān had been previously arranged and it lasted

several hours. It resulted in a treaty between the two under which it was decided that Abu'l-Ḥasan would give him a subsidy of 3,000 hons per day so long as the campaign lasted; while on his part Shivaji promised to hand over to Abu'l-Ḥasan the parts of Karnatak which had not belonged to his father. The treaty included an article (probably secret) that it would in effect be an offensive and defensive alliance of the two powers against the Mughals.[107]

Doubly armed against the Mughals and with Bijapur in the doldrums, Shivaji now marched southwards after staying at Haidarabad for a whole month. He crossed into what is called South India at the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra in March 1677 and descended into Bijapur Karnatak by way of Cuddapah via the Damulcherry or Venkaṭarāmangiri pass marching by Madras in the first week of May. From there he went straight to the great fort of Jinjī which he occupied without firing a shot. From Jinjī he marched to Vellore which was surrendered after a siege which lasted four months. As Venkōjī was still recalcitrant Shivaji occupied Arnī, Kōlār and Sīra and laid waste the whole territory north of Tanjore.[108] He then proceeded northwards, occupied Bellary after a siege of 27 days, as well as the important fort of Kopbal in the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab.[109] He now appointed his half-brother Santōjī as the governor of Karnatak, forced Venkōjī to divide the hereditary jewels and the money he had between Shivaji and himself and to hold Tanjore not as a fiefholder of Bijapur but directly under Shivaji.

Shivaji had thus killed four birds with one stone. He had throttled Venkōjī's ambitions; had shut off the lands acquired by the 'Ādil Shāhīs out of the ruins of Vijayanagar; closed the gates of south India from the Mughals so long as the state of affairs created by him lasted; and, finally, by a strategem, he had not ceded an inch of the newly-acquired territory to the Quṭb Shāhīs. He had checkmated all his potential opponents with one move. Flushed with this quadruple victory he crossed the Krishna, laid waste the Mughal territory between the Bhīma

and the Godavari and pillaged the far off city of Jālna for three days.

It was not long before Shivaji died on April 3, 1680 at the comparatively early age of 53. But before he died he saw a number of defeats and disasters either to his own forces or of his ally, Golkonda-Haidarabad, at the hands of the Mughals and Bijapur. His son Sambhājī, who was by no means a favourite of the father, went over to Dilēr Khān the Mughal governor, a fact which must have been a shock to the father, especially when Dilēr proclaimed him Raja of the Marathas.[110] He was able to raid the Mughal territory up to the Narbada, but he was defeated at Jālna. And perhaps the greatest setback to his policy was the defeat of the Quṭb Shāhī army at the hands of the combined forces of the Mughals and Bijapur consequent on the second battle of Malkhēṛ which put an end to whatever authority was left with the Quṭb Shāhī Kingdom.[111]

Shivaji was succeeded by his son Sambhājī or Shambhūjī. Even in his father's lifetime he had been like a thorn in his flesh, and his crossing over to Dilēr Khān must have touched the father to the quick. On the other hand, when secure on the throne, he received the Emperor's rebellious son, Prince Akbar, with open arms and later proclaimed him Emperor. Sambhājī became so much involved in Mughal affairs at home that he could not follow up the policy of his father in supporting Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh against the Mughals, with the result that when the scales were turned Shivaji's friends Mādanna and Akkanna were dragged by the Golkonda populace and decapitated, while Sambhājī himself was put to a cruel death after the fall of Bijapur and Golkonda.

(iv) *The Mughals, and Bijapur*

The Quṭb Shāhī kingdom lay prostrate at the mercy of Shah Jahan after the fateful Deed of Submission of 1636, and what independent authority was left with the Sulṭān was virtually handed over to Aurangzeb by the *Ta'ahhud* or "Agreement" to which Abu'l-Ḥasan appended his signature on 4.5.1674. But

he felt that with the continued progress of Mughal arms in the Deccan it was necessary not merely to strengthen the fortifications of the kingdom and modernise its armed forces, but also to look round for allies. It was mainly this motive of self-preservation which made Abu'l-Ḥasan join hands with Shivaji in the vain hope of getting back at least some of his Karnatak territories, and to help the child king of Bijapur, Sikandar, who was not even five when he came to the throne on 13.8.1083/12.11.1672, seven months after the accession of Abu'l-Ḥasan. The policy of preparing the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom for a possible struggle with the Mughals and to resuscitate Bijapur, was actively promoted by Mādanna. Abu'l-Ḥasan himself was a changed man, and it is rather remarkable that one who had signed the *Ta'ahhud* within two years of his accession should be hobnobbing with Shivaji within another two years, and be giving active help to Bijapur soon after.

Bijapur was in an almost anarchic condition. With a child on the tottering throne there was no end of civil strife which came to be resolved in a struggle for power between 'Abdu'l-Karīm and Mas'ūd Khān, each followed by a number of other nobles. There were daily quarrels and even street squabbles between the adherents of different groups in the capital. In 1677 the boy Sikandar was so upset that he addressed an earnest appeal to Abu'l-Ḥasan to do something to allay this state of affairs. He also wrote to him that the two sister States had been like one body in the past and that unless Mas'ud Khān is made the chief executive officer there would be no possibility of any administrative or other reform in the State.[112] The Quṭb Shāhī government made an immediate response. Abu'l-Ḥasan asked both the leaders to come to Haidarabad, 'Abdu'l-Karīm from Bijapur and Mas'ud Khān from Adōni where he was living in great style. He told them that if they did not compose their quarrels there was a great danger of the state being swept away. When it was found that a sum of money to the tune of six lakh hons was needed for the payment of the salary of the army which was in 'Abdu'l-Karīm's charge, he imposed the following conditions before the grant could be made: (1)

'Abdu'l-Karīm should demobilise his personal forces; (2) The money, which was to be passed on to Mas'ud Khān, should be paid by him to 'Abdu'l-Karīm who should have nothing more to do with the army; (3) Mas'ūd Khān should be appointed Prime Minister of Bijapur and should in no case bow before Shivaji; (4) Akkanna should be received at the court as the permanent Quṭb Shāhī envoy. After the agreement had been signed by all parties, Abu'l-Ḥasan handed over his order for the payment of 6 lakh hons to Mas'ūd Khān who in turn passed it on to 'Abdu'l-Karīm.[113] The Sulṭān ordered three or four thousand of his cavalry to accompany the Bijapur officials as far as the Bijapur state border.

While at Gulbarga the two leaders met Dilēr Khān, the Mughal viceroy. It shows the pusillanimity both of Mas'ūd Khān and 'Abdu'l-Karīm that, almost before the ink of the agreement with Abu'l-Ḥasan was dry, they entered into another and wholly divergent agreement with Dilēr Khān that the new Prime Minister Mas'ūd Khān should be totally loyal to the Emperor and should not have even a semblance of relations with Shivaji. He was admonished not only to clear the State of highwaymen and marauders but also, with the help of Dilēr Khān's army, retake the 'Ādil Shāhī districts which had been wrongly occupied by Shivaji. He should also act according to the directions of the Mughal envoy to Bijapur, Malik Barkhurdār. Mas'ūd Khān entered Bijapur on 9.1.1089/21.2.1678.[114]

The net effect of the attempt to resolve the quarrels at the sister State by Abu'l-Ḥasan was no doubt negatived by Dilēr Khān; but the episode demonstrated that the government of Haidarabad had regained its former status and was strong enough to resolve party squabbles even outside its own borders. Bijapur became definitely a Mughal protectorate. Its nobles began to cross over to the Mughal camp and some of them were employed as high officials in outlying provinces of the Empire. The Emperor went out of his way to confer the title of King on Sikandar, and it was reported to him that his name was read in the Friday *Khuṭbā* at the capital, while it appeared on the gold and silver coins of the kingdom. Further, a *pēshkash* of 11

lakh hons was graciously accepted by the Emperor.[115] The new Prime Minister, Mas'ūd Khān sent the king's sister, Pādshāh Bībī, to Delhi in spite of her refusal, and she was there married to Prince A'ẓam on 12.7.1090/9.8.1679.[116]

It was partly to put a stop to Shivaji's depradations within Imperial territory and partly to eliminate the two-problem kingdoms of the Deccan that Aurangzeb left for the south never to return. He left Ajmēr on 5.9.1090/30.9.1679, reached Aurangābād on 3.3.1093/22.3.1682 and Ahmadnagar on 3.12.1094/13.11.1683.[117] While he was at Ahmadnagar, the Quṭb Shāhī envoy, Muḥammad Ja'far 'Ainu'l-Mulk was received by him when the presented his credentials. By that time Shivaji was dead and his successor Sambhājī dared to give asylum to Aurangzeb's fourth son Prince Akbar and even to proclaim him Emperor. To add fuel to the fire, Syed Muẓaffar's son Mīr Hāshim reported to the Emperor that Abu'l Hasan was secretly allying himself with Sambhāji and even advancing him large sums of money.[118]

Aurangzeb's arrival in the Deccan electrified the whole atmosphere. While Khān-i Jahān occupied Poona, and A'ẓam took Sholāpūr, Mu'aẓẓam captured Gōkak, Hublī and Dhārwāṛ,[119] although the campaigns in north and south Konkan proved a failure. Shivaji's scheme of a confederacy of the three Deccan powers had come to naught by his own action, and now Sambhājī was perhaps too much engaged in profligacy on the one hand and continued engagements with the Mughals on the other to effect any understanding with Bijapur or Golkonda. The result was that when time came and Imperial force attacked the two states one after the other, Sambhājī was not there to help them at all. On the other hand Bijapur was trying its best to come to some definite understanding with Haidarabad regarding the future policy to be pursued. On 8.8.1095/11.7.1684 Shāh Ḥaẓrat Qādirī was sent to Haidarabad for consultation and advice, and on his return he was ordered by Sikandar to go to Mas'ūd Khān at Adōni on 2.9.1095/3.8.1684. He returned a few days later with a message from Mas'ūd that the old ties with the Quṭb Shāhī monarchy should be maintained and even strengthened This greatly enraged Aurangzeb and he issued definite

orders to Abu'l-Ḥasan to desist from giving any help to Bijapur and to sever all connections with that State.[120] He was also informed that Abu'l-Ḥasan had dared to occupy the pargana of Rāmgīr (which had been ceded to Shah Jahan as a part of the dowry of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's daughter when she was married to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān in 1656) and Sēṛam, both of which were a part of the Mughal *sarkār* of Nanded.[121] Aurangzeb knew that Bijapur was like a shield to Golkonda-Haidarabad, and he made up his mind to eliminate it first. Bijapur was consequently invested by Prince A'ẓam on 22-7-1096/14-6-1685.[122]

Abu'l-Ḥasan was keen on helping Bijapur in the straits in which it had been put. He tried to send a large army to the 'Adil Shāhi capital, but the road was blocked by the Mughal general Bahrāmand Khān. He wanted to send another army, under the command of Mādanna's friend, Ibrāhīm Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān, but he rather foolishly communicated his intention to his envoys Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm and Muḥammad Ja'far 'Ainu'l-Mulk, perhaps not knowing that every communication to them from Haidarabad was censored under the order of the Emperor. The Sulṭān's letter was, if anything, too explicit. It said that he had respected the Emperor as his elder till then; but as His Majesty had taken advantage of Sikandar's youth and had besieged Bijapur, he could not sit complacently. It would therefore be quite correct if Rājā Sambhā were to send reinforcement to Bijapur while he (Abu'l-Ḥasan) would send a large army consisting of 40,000 horse under Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān, and would then see how and where the Mughals would face them.[123] Quite naturally, and almost without a second thought, Aurangzeb made up his mind to make short work of Golkanda even while his forces were engaged in the struggle for Bijapur. In order to have some kind of excuse for the invasion of Haidarabad he sent a special envoy, Mīrza Muḥammad to Abu'l-Ḥasan demanding the unusually large diamond of 150 rattīs for the Emperor. Aurangzeb told him confidentially that what he wanted was not a piece of stone but war with "Quṭbu'l-Mulk" and he ordered him to be as rude as possible so that he might get enraged. But Abu'l-Ḥasan seems to have had a premonition of

what was coming, and when Mīrza Muḥammad began to be uncivil he reminded him that he was speaking to *Pādshāh*. To this Mīrza Muḥammad retorted that the real *Pādshāh* was the Emperor and no one else. Abu'l-Ḥasan was ready for a reply, and said that if there were no other Pādshāhs, then the Emperor would cease to be *Pādshāh-i Pādshāhān,* which would bring him down in his great status and dignity.[124]

The two Battles of Malkhēṛ

Mīrza Muḥammad's commission was evidently only a ruse, for almost simultaneously the Emperor ordered Prince Mu'aẓẓam with a number of other senior officers such as Khān-i Jahān, Ṣafdar Khān, I'tiqād Khān, 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān Bārhah, Raja Mān Singh and many others with 35,000 horse, to cross the Godavari and overrun Tilang. Knowing what was in store, Mādanna sent Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān, Rustam Rao and Shaikh Mīnhāj, with 40,000 horse to oppose them, and they were stationed at Malkhēṛ which was on the Quṭb Shāhī border.[125] The Quṭb Shāhī army reached Malkhēṛ earlier than the Mughals, and when Khān-i Jahān arrived at the border he found his route to Haidarabad blocked. In the skirmish which ensued, the Quṭb Shāhī army had the upper hand, and had Prince Mu'aẓẓam not arrived with the forces under his command the battle might have taken a different turn. M'aẓẓam sent word to the Quṭb Shāhī Commander that if Sēṛam and Kōhīr were to be evacuated he would desist from further fighting. The commander Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān was in favour of the arrangement, but Shaikh Minhāj, and Rustam Rao were not. The battle, therefore, continued and bombardment began over again. Prince Mu'aẓẓam thereupon ordered Prince Mu'izzu'd-dīn and Khān-i Jahān to the front of the centre, backed by Syed 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān Bārhah. On the Quṭb Shāhī side Khalīlu'l-Khān stood opposite the Prince himself. Terrible fighting ensued and lasted till sunset. It is said that when victory seemed uncertain the Mughals had recourse to a strategem. They tied a chain weighing three or four maunds to the tusks of a

mad elephant belonging to Raja Mān Singh and drove it right into Quṭb Shāhī lines where it played havoc, resulting in complete demoralisation. This state of affairs did not improve even when a further contingent of ten thousand horse was despatched from Haidarabad by Mādanna, Fighting went on from day to day between the Mughals and the Quṭb Shāhīs, and as time passed the Quṭb Shāhīs improved and the Mughals wasted two long months at Malkhēṛ.[126]

When Aurangzeb heard that in spite of the victory of the Mughals they did not pursue the enemy, he sent word to his son Mu'azzam that he was not happy with the affair. This led to the second battle of Malkhēṛ when, after heavy fighting, the Quṭb Shāhī army was pushed back mainly owing to the disagreement between Minhāj on the one hand and Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān on the other. The retreating army was back at Haidarabad in the beginning of October, 1686. It was about this time that Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān finally went over to Prince Mu'aẓẓam. He was immediately granted a *manṣab* of 6,000 and 4,000 horse with the title of Mahābat Khān. He was an important link in the line of traitors to the Quṭb Shāhī cause who went over to the Mughals for personal glory.[127]

The two battles of Malkhēṛ sounded the death knell of the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom. Abu'l-Ḥasan was terribly scared at the turn of events and left Haidarabad for Golkonda along with his immediate entourage. On hearing of the Sulṭān's flight, not merely the amīrs and high officials but also tradesmen left the capital for the citadel with whatever they could lay their hands on. Haidarabad now lay prostrate before the Mughals, and although Prince Mu'azzam issued strict orders that the city should not be despoiled it was looted right and left in spite of earnest entreaties of Abu'l-Ḥasan.

The prince now sent an ultimatum to Abu'l-Ḥasan demanding that (i) he should agree to an annual *pēshkash* of 1,20,000 rupees; (ii) Gaḍhī Sēṛam and pargana Kōhīr and other maḥāls, which had been conquered by Mughal arms, should be evacuated; (iii) Mādanna and Akkanna should be dismissed.[128] There was hardly any reason for the inclusion of the third

condition at this stage, because, while the negotiations were going on, the two brothers were no more, for they were murdered in the streets of Golkonda while going home from the Palace at night-fall on 1-5-1097/16-3-1686. While Mādanna's severed head was sent to Prince Mu'azzam who forwarded it to the Emperor at Shōlāpūr, Akkanna's head was trampled under the feet of an elephant.[130] It appears that Abu'l-Ḥasan had the feeling that the Mughal avalanche might be stayed, and it is related that five days after the deed, the Quṭb Shāhī envoy presented one hundred elephants to the Emperor.[130] As regards the *pēshkash* the Emperor sent Sa'ādat Khān to Golkonda to collect it. The Sulṭān said that it was impossible for him to submit such a large amount as there was not enough cash in the treasury, and so he sent nine trays full of jewels to the Imperial envoy for safe custody for two or three days, saying that they may be assayed, and if the amount which might be at hand fell short of the amount demanded he would make it up. He also sent many basketfuls of fruit to the Emperor. When after three days the Sulṭān wanted the jewel back from Sa'ādat Khān he was told that they had already been sent to the Emperor.

In spite of all this the Emperor continued his march on Golkonda. He was already at Shōlāpūr on 30-10-1686, at Bidar on 26-11-1686 and was one kos from Golkonda on 4-3-1098/8-1-1687. On arrival near the fort he ordered its complete investment on 24-3-1098/28-1-1687.[131]

Siege and Fall of Golkonda

The great saga of the siege of Golkonda, which lasted eight lunar months from 24-3-1098 to 24-11-1098, has been told by many authors both medieval and modern. There are quite a few episodes worth noting, but perhaps the most remarkable episode of the lot was the great power of organisation and the wonderful stubbornness showed by the Sulṭān himself. Mādanna and Akkanna were no more, Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān had defected long before, and many more were to go over; but Abu'l-Ḥasan's

grit and power of resistance kept the torch lit for months. And when treachery showed the way to the invaders he ended his rule with a collectedness and composure which has few equals in Indian history. And the act of surrender of the Fort and the end of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty were, in a way, crowned by the extraordinary loyalty, courage and self-abnegation of that martyr to the cause of the dynasty and the state. Muṣṭafā Khān, who is better known in history as 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Lārī.

On the arrival of the Emperor at Sholapur the stage seemed to have been set for a direct conflict, and the Sulṭān saw that any amount of talk for some compromise was out of the question. He therefore appointed Shaikh Minhāj, Sharzā Khān and Muṣṭafa Khān 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Lārī to defend the fort. He had stocked a vast amount of ammunitions and provisions in the fort and was prepared for a long siege.[133] Abu'l-Ḥasan was so confident of his superiority in arms and armour that he gave orders to his officers that in case the Emperor was made a prisoner he should be treated with the utmost respect.[133] The first contact between the two armies was two *manzil* (daily travelling stages) from Golkonda. The Imperial army was now free as Bijapur had fallen on 4-11-1097/12-9-1686, and the Emperor was ready to employ all his might against the Quṭb Shāhī citadel. Khwāja 'Ābid Chin Qilīch Khān had arrived, while his son Ghāziy'd-dīn Khān Fīrōz Jang was made Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Trenches were dug outside the fort and artificial hillocks constructed so that a full view of the fort may be obtained. On the other hand, as the enemy approached from the west the Quṭb Shāhī command ordered the artificial undulation of the ground in such a way that practically the whole breadth of the western circumvallation was safe as gun shots would not hit the wall at all.[134]

One of the first important casualties was that of Khwājā 'Ābid, one of the foremost officers of the Mughal army. The Emperor had ordered trenches to be dug, and Khwājā 'Ābid was supervising it. He was struck by a short of *zambūrak* or large gun from the ramparts of the fort, partly severing his right hand from the shoulder-blade. The Khwājā held high rank

in the hierarchy of the Empire, and on hearing an account of the incident the Emperor sent his minister, Jumdatu'l-Mulk Asad Khān to enquire of the Khwaja's condition and look after him. He called the Imperial surgeons to operate on the shoulder-blade, extract broken bones from it and apply sutures. When the surgeons were about to begin their highly painful operation the Khwājā called one of his servants to bring a cup of coffee. While the surgeons were at work he was quietly sipping his coffee and admiring the surgeons saying that he was fortunate that such a fine team of stitchers had been put at his disposal ! Not a sigh, not a cry emanated from the brave Khwājā as broken bones were being extracted and sutures were being applied. Unfortunately he died the third day, perhaps of blood poison.[136]

Another interesting and highly instructive episode was that of the attempted escalation of the wall of the Fort by the Mughals on May 16, 1687. Fifty thousand cotton bags had arrived from Berar under the Emperor's orders; these were filled with earth and thrown in the moat to make it passable. The Emperor himself began the work by stitching the first seam on one of the bags. All was ready for the Mughal army to reach the wall, and an attempt at escalation was made. In the dead of the night rope-ladders were thrown up and fixed without the garrison knowing it, and the Mughal soldiers began to scale it. They did their work so slowly and surely that quite a few succeeded in reaching the summit. Just then a pariah dog began to bark which caused alarm among the soldiers of the garrison who were immediately on the alert. They cut off the ropes of the ladder and beat off the Mughal soldiers. The dog was taken to the Sulṭān in triumph who put a collar of gold round his neck, and tied it near his person with a gold-plated chain.[136]

Incessant bombardment from both sides went on day and night. "Day became dark with bombardment and nights lit up".[137] Fīrōz Jang was honoured by the Emperor on the death of his father Khwājā 'Ābid, and when a rift appeared between him and the *Mīr-i Ātish* or Master of Artillery, Ṣafshikan Khān,

the latter had to resign. Soon famine conditions appeared in the Mughal camp, as, while 40,000 Quṭb Shāhī forces under Muṣṭafā Khān were let loose behind the Mughal lines preventing provisions to reach the invading army, Sambhājī's Marathas were laying waste the countryside. In the daily skirmishes many of the Mughal leaders such as the newly appointed *Mīr-i Ātish* 'Izzat Khān and Sarbarāh Khān were taken prisoner. They were treated well by the Sulṭān, given robes of honour and shown the granaries of corn and stocks of amunition and gunpowder in the fort by which they must have been greatly impressed. They were then released and sent back to Emperor's camp along with a petition from the Sulṭān. The purport of the petition was that Abu'l-Ḥasan wanted forgiveness for any wrong act done by him either purposely or unintentionally. He also requested that in case the Emperor wanted to hand over the government of his dominions to someone when he left the field, it might be delegated to him, and he undertook to abide by the Emperor's orders. Lastly, he promised to distribute one crore of rupees by way of thanksgiving, and also to send 5 or 6 thousand maunds of grain to ward off scarcity in the Imperial camp. He also expressed his wish that no further blood may be shed. But the Emperor would have none of it, and the sole condition which he offered was that Abu'l-Ḥasan should present himself before him either with his hands tied or with a rope round his neck. He in fact tightened the siege.[138] On the other hand the scorched earth policy practised by the Quṭb Shāhī army outside the Fort was helped by incessant rains. Houses in the city of Haidarabad were very badly affected, and the chronicler says (with of course, much exaggeration) that "not a human being was left alive there".[139]

And now came a series of defections of Quṭb Shāhī leaders to the Mughal camp. On 26-7-1098/28-5-1687 Shaikh Niẓām, "one of the ablest of Abu'l-Hasan's officers", crossed over to the Mughals and presented a valuable *naḍhar* to the Emperor. He was honoured with the title of Muqarrab Khān and granted a *manṣab* of 6,000 with 5,000 horse. One by one nearly all the high officials within the fort were lured to pay homage to the

Emperor, and even the "adopted" son of the Sulṭān, 'Abdu'l-lāh, paid homage to the Emperor and was granted a *manṣab* of 4,000 and 4,000 horse on 29-11-1098/27-9-1687.[140] From the military point of view, however, the Mughals failed to cow down resistance. There were a number of successful sorties on the part of the garrison, and once a cannon ball actually hit the bed-tent of the Emperor. When the *Qāẓiu'l-Quẓāt* or the Chief Justice remonstrated that it was against the *Sharī'ah* that a Muslim should fight another Muslim, he was not only reprimanded but actually dismissed.

Mining and counter-mining of the defences continued, but the operation almost always resulted in considerable damage to the Imperialists. While the bases of the wall were mined from outside, the defenders always filled them with water, making the mines dead and harmless, so that when fired they burst from the outside throwing up stones and debris which rose high and fell on the very party which had fired them. Sometimes holes were bored through and the gunpowder extracted by the defenders so that there was no gunpowder left to be fired. The rainy season set in. To make matters worse torrents and cascades filled the dry channels, and it was impossible for the Imperial army to reach the defences of the Fort. The defenders were naturally more immune, and they dared to come out and carry back some of the lighter cannon while they plugged the muzzles of the heavier ones.

In spite of all the "Acts of God" it was well-known that the hide-and-seek policy could not go on *ad infinitum,* and the treason of practically all the high officers of Abu'l-Ḥasan went on. Only two such officers remained loyal to the Sulṭān, namely 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān Pannī (entitled Sarnandāz Khān) and 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Lārī (entitled Muṣṭafā Khān). 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān had passed through a varied career. He was originally in the service of Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh, but when he knew that the days of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty were numbered, he went over to the Mughal camp, from where he crossed into Quṭb Shāhī service and became the Sulṭan's confident.[141]

It was during the night of 24-11-1098/21-9-1687 that 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān caused a *khirkī* or postern gate by the old moat to be left open. On a signal being given, when three-fourth of the night had passed (i.e. about 3 a.m.) the Mughal forces entered the *khiṛkī*, threw open the shutters of the Fatḥ Darwāzā and began to march through the road which had been forbidden to it for decades.[142] The great triumphal procession was led by Rūḥu'l-lāh Khān while Prince A'ẓam waited in the broad maidān which still lies right in front of the Bālā Ḥisār Darwāzā. Thus the great and proud fort of Golkonda lay at the command of the Mughals. They had tried in vain to conquer it by force of arms for eight months and had now conquered it by an act of treachery on the part of a high officer of the garrison itself. Of all the dignitaries, ministers and commanders the only one now left faithful to the Sulṭān was 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Lārī. He was also enticed by the Mughal Command, but on the receipt of the farmān, he is said to have gone up a battlement and torn the farmān to pieces in full view of everyone.[143]

When Lārī heard the drums of victory, he became, in a sense, intoxicated with the desire to end his life in the cause which he held sacred. He mounted an ill-equipped horse, took just a dozen of his faithful followers with him (we hear no more of them), and plunged headlong on to the jungle of soldiers who were advancing. It is related that he raised a cry that so long as there was a breath of life in him he would continue to fight for the honour of 'Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh. He was subjected to hand-to-hand fighting but he fought on, never yielding, till he reached Nagīnā Bāgh (which still exists in a ruined condition in the Fort to the right of the Bālā Hisār Darwāzā). There, covered with wounds from head to foot, with eyes darkened by the wounded and fallen skin of his eyebrows and forehead falling on them, his horse shivering all over, he fell

unconscious beside a coconut tree in the grove. It was in this condition, with just a spark of life left in him that he was carried home in a palanquin to be treated by two surgeons, one a European and the other an Indian, under the Emperor's orders. It was only after thirteen days of intensive treatment that he opened his eyes; or rather one of the two eyes, for the other had been wounded and lost.[146]

Perhaps hearing the beating of the drums of victory and the noise which the advancing army must have produced, Abu'l-Ḥasan knew that the end had come. He first bade farewell to his wife and the other ladies of the zenana and then waited for what was to be his fate. It is a fairly steep ascent from the Gate through which the Mughal army entered the Fort, and the actual *Bālā Ḥiṣār* where Abu'l-Ḥasan was, is 400 feet from the ground level. It was the end of April entailing fairly long days at Golkonda, and it is no wonder that by the time Rūḥu'l-lāh Khān reached the Sulṭān's apartments it was day-light. The Sulṭān was already fully dressed and was waiting for his captors. When he faced Rūḥu'l-lāh Khān he exchanged Muslim salutations with him. The Sulṭān now called his servants and ordered them to bring the morning repast, with the greatest composure and nonchalance. He then invited the Mughal commanders to partake of the breakfast with him. Mukhtār Khān and one or two other leaders acceded to his request and joined him. At the same time the following conversation between the Sulṭān and Rūḥu'l-lāh Khān ensued—

Rūḥu'l-lāh Khān : "Your Majesty, is this the time at which you should have your breakfast with any equanimity"?

The Sulṭān : "But this is the hour at which I have my usual breakfast".

Rūḥu'l-lāh Khān : Your Majesty is right; but how is it possible for you to have any appetite at this critical juncture?"

The Sulṭān : "You see, my reliance is on God who has always been good and kind to me. Both my parents spent their lives in comfort; but the Almighty so willed that I should live the life of a faqīr for many years. Then He raised me to the throne without my least expectation. And now, due to my own sins and misdeeds, the reins of government have gone out of my grip. But I again thank the Almighty that the government of this land should pass on to a devout Muslim like 'Ālamgīr".[145]

Abu'l-Ḥasan then called for a horse, and wearing strings of pearls, left the palace. When he reached the Bālā Ḥisar Darwāzā he found Prince A'ẓam waiting for him. He immediately took off the strings from his neck and put them round the Prince's neck. He was then taken to the Emperor's presence who was all kindness and regard for him. When Aurangzeb left Haidarabad for Bijapur on 1-4-1099/25-1-1688 he took Abu'l-Ḥasan with him; but when he reached Bidar on 14.4.1099/7.2.1688 Abu'l-Ḥasan requested the Emperor that he wished to lead the rest of his life in quietitude and begged him to send him to a permanent abode. He was thereupon sent to Daulatābād and lodged in the palace built by the Niẓām Shāhīs called Kālā Maḥal.[150] The Emperor fixed Rs. 50,000 a year as Abu'l-Ḥasan's allowance, and issued strict orders that he should be treated well and supplied all the necessities to which he was accustomed. He died of diarrhoea in 1111/1699-1700, or a year later, and was buried near the tomb of the grandfather of his preceptor, Shāh Rājū Qattāl, at Khuldābād near Daulatābād Fort.[147]

Abu'l-Ḥasan left four daughters and a son. The eldest daughter preferred not to get married and was her father's constant companion and nurse right till the end. The second daughter was married to Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh, the third to 'Ināyat Khān, son of Jumdatu'l-Mulk Asad Khān, and the youngest to Shaikh Muḥammad Sarhindī. The son, named Khudā Bandā or Banda-i Sulṭān, was born while Abu'l-Ḥasan was confined at Daulatābād, but as the Emperor sensed danger from him after Abu'l-Ḥasan's death he was taken to an unknown

place, and we hear no more about him.[148] As has been related above, Abu'l-Ḥasan had adopted a boy, 'Ābdu'l-lah, but he went over to the Mughal camp during the siege of Golkonda and was granted a *manṣab* by the Emperor.

The accumulated wealth of Abu'l-Hasan Quṭb Shāh, or what was left of it after the plunder of Haidarabad, was taken over by Imperial agents. It is said to consist of 68,51,000 hons, 2,00,53,000 rupees and 15,13,00,000 dāms, besides numerous gold and silver vessels, jewels and priceless inlaid articles.[149]

SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI.

Appendix

Administration and Finance

Certain aspects of the later phases of the Quṭb Shāhī administration have been discussed elsewhere.[150] In the time of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh Mughal influence came into full play. On the one hand larger sums of money continued to be paid to the Imperial exchequer as *pēshkash* coupled with office expenses under that head, on the other the Kingdom had to incur expenses as payments to the Marathas as well as on military equipment. An interesting phenomenon is also noticeable in the introduction of Mughal nomenclature in the provincial administration of the Quṭb Shāhīs and the division of the kingdom into sarkārs or districts and parganas or groups of villages. Although the treasury was a department of the Palace organisation, a system of keeping the accounts on the credit and the debit side had to be evolved as large sums of money were required for lump payments.

It is a known fact that ever since the onrush of the Mughals into the Deccan it was the Mughal rupee which was the current silver coin in the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom, while the Vijayanagar *hon* was the gold coin so current, and only copper coins were minted at Golkonda and later at Haidarabad. But the Mughal rupee had begun to be minted at Golkonda as early as 1636 consequent on the "Deed of Submission" signed by 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shah.[151] Evidently, however, the gold *hon* was still favoured not merely in the market but also in the royal treasury, and it is significant that the only statement of Income and Expenditure of the Quṭb Shāhī period that we possess is accounted for partly in *hons* and partly in rupees.

We have a fairly detailed statement of Revenue and Expenditure of the Kingdom for 1097/1685-86, the year just before its fall, given by Girdhārīlāl Aḥqar's *Tārikh-i Ẓafarah*.[152] We are not aware of the source of Aḥqar's information, but the way in which Abu'l-Ḥasan's name is mentioned without any honorific titles, and the name of Haidarabad made to rhyme with the derogatory title given to the city by Aurangzeb, *Dāru'l-Jihād*,

shows that the source must have been a Mughal, pre-Aṣafjāhī document.

The following are the main *revenue* heads—

Head I : 517 parganas—Hons. 82,95,196—7½ annas which amount is equated with Rs. 2,47,85,529—7 annas (@ the stated rate of Rs. 3 per hon).[153]

Head II : 21 Sarkars—355 parganas : 55,26,345 hon which amount equates with Rs. 1,68,49,065—6 annas as follows—

(1)	Sarkar Muḥammadnagar—22 Parganas	15,37,739—13
(2)	Sarkar Medak—16 parganas	35,16,089— 6
(3)	Sarkar Kaulās—5 parganas	7,42,480— 8
(4)	Sarkar Melangūr—3 parganas	67,987— 0
(5)	Sarkar Elgandal—21 parganas	12,19,507— 4
(6)	Sarkar Warangal—16 parganas	7,48,491— 8
(7)	Sarkar Khammamēṭ—11 parganas	6,29,323—13
(8)	Sarkar Dēwarkoṇḍa—13 parganas	21,19,616— 4
(9)	Sarkar Pangal—5 parganas	4,55,215—14
(10)	Sarkar Musṭafānagar—24 parganas	12,00,160—15
(11)	Sarkar Bhoṇgīr—11 parganas	1,47,836— 9
(12)	Sarkar Akarkara—6 parganas	5,18,228—12
(13)	Sarkar Kovilkōṇḍā—13 parganas	10,51,517—14
(14)	Sarkar Ghanpura—8 parganas	5,13,484— 4
(15)	Sarkar Murtaẓānagar—3 aṭrāf	11,67,704— 4
	39 parganas	5,40,001— 0
(16)	Sarkar Machhlipaṭam—8 parganas	2,87,000— 0
(17)	Sarkar Niẓampaṭam—Mahal—Rent	87,000— 0
(18)	Sarkar Ellore—12 parganas	6,90,448—15
(19)	Sarkar Rajahmundri—24 parganas	6,27,853—0
(20)	Sarkar Sikakōl—3 aṭrāf	9,09,242—11
	115 parganas	
(21)	Sarkar Kānāt (Rent)	2,55,001— 0
(22)	Taraf Karnataks 16 sarkar Arkat 162 parganas	26,75,498 hons. 80,36,494—9[154]

Total: Hons. 1,33,19,351 annas 9 or 2,47,41,251—9[155]

Disbursements (in rupees)			Rs.
Head 1.	Pēshkash of the Emperor including office expenses		50,00,000
Head 2.	Pēshkash of the King—to be deposited in the royal treasury, Rs. 69,501 p.m.		44,34,001
	Office expenses		5,66,001
Head 3.	*Privy expenses of the Sulṭān*		
	Privy purse—56,001 p.m.	6,00,000	11,00,000[156]
	Companions	3,24,001	
	Langar	1,26,000	
	Kitchen expenses etc.	5,001	
Head 4.	*Salaries*		
	Cavalry (55,00 horsemen)	1,00,18,319	1,03,31,203
	Infantry (96,070)	28,27,357-9	
	European horse	1,84,427	
Head 5.	Pay of the members of the Privy Council (Majlis Khāna-i Ḥuẓūrī)		4,93,801
Head 6.	Nadhar to Mīrān Shāh Rājū, the Sulṭān's preceptor.		3,97,801
Head 7.	Expenses on mines.		30,301
Head 8.	Monthly salary to Persian-knowing Brahman employees amounting p.a. to		2,23,801
Head 9.	In'ām to Muslims and orphans		6,35,001
Head 10.	Lamp room		31,501
Head 11.	Allowance to Hindu temples		64,925
Head 12.	'Id in'ām to the inmates of the Palaces		10,550
Head 13.	Expenses of 'Āshūr Khānas		64,450
Head 14.	Langar of the two Imāms		2,08,901
Head 15.	Spies etc.		7,501
Head 16.	Servants of the forts (21000 in number)		20,42,040
Head 17.	Allowance to the people of Tuljāpūr		9,00,000
Head 18.	Allowance to the men of Shivaji Maratha		3,00,000
Head 19.	Sihbandī of royal domain		1,31,269
	The total expenditure is not given but it amounts to—	Rs.	2,69,73,047

If we analyse the Statement we would perceive a number of things. It is significant that the word "Karnatak", the large slice of Vijayanagar territory conquered by Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumlā, which he regarded his own patrimony, had been successfully retained by Abu'l-Ḥasan due mainly to the diplomacy and strategy of the Prime Minister Mādanna. The statement clearly says that Rs. 5 lakhs were paid to the Imperial treasury by way of Pēshkash meaning the event before the fall of Golkonda the Emperor was regarded as the overlord of the whole Kingdom. But it also connotes that the Emperor could not annex Karnatak to the Empire, and further, that on Muḥammad Sa'īd's death there was no one to claim what he regarded as his patrimony. Karnatak was a vast tract, 300 miles long and about 60 miles broad, and there were actually 16 sarkars in the *ṭaraf* or Administrative Division of Karnatak which comprised as many as 162 Parganas.[158] It may also be noted that there was a great divergence in the areas of different sarkārs. Apart from Karnatak, there was the vast sarkar of Sikakōl (Srikākulum) which was constituted into 3 *aṭrāf* and as many as 115 parganas, while the sarkār of Malangūr had barely 3 parganas and was assessed for revenue only for 68,000.[159]

Coming to the debit side, the first charge was the Pēshkash to the Emperor and the second the Pēshkash to the Sultān. In fact, if one would add on household expenses it would come to more than 60 lakh rupees per annum. Another interesting item is the large sum of Rs. 3 lakhs paid to "the men of Shivajī" and as much as 9 lakhs to "the men of Tuljāpūr", paid no doubt to the Marathas as a prop against the inroads of the Mughals. A glaring amount is the *nadhar* to the King's preceptor, Shāh Rājū who is supposed to have been the primary instrument in the accession of Abu'l-Ḥasan to the throne. This *nadhar* for one year amounted to nearly 4 lakh rupees or more than 30 thousand per month.

Lastly, while evaluating the income and expenditure in Abu'l-Ḥasan's time we must remember that the purchasing power of the rupee in respect of staple foodgrains was at least twelve times it is today. The income of the kingdom, Rs. 4,42,34,594, therefore works out to nearly 50 crores per annum.

NOTES

1. Not 'four' as in Thèvenot, *op. cit.*, p. 142. All our authorities are unanimous that 'Abdu'l-lāh had only three daughters.

2. Thèvenot and other European travellers of the period did not have recourse to the royal palace, and are thus not always accurate in their description of the goings-on within. Thus Thèvenot says that the eldest daughter was married to the "Shaikh of Mecca" which is incorrect. Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān's wife is called *Baṛī Ṣāhibnī* in *M.L.*, 405.

3. *M.A.*, 145.

4. See *Landmarks* pp. 180-181; 183-184. Bilgrami has some doubt whether the lady was Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's wife, but there should really be no doubt, as, (1) 'Abdu'l-lāh had only three daughters; (2) One of them was married to Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, (3) Fāṭimā Khānam's name is inscribed on the tombstone and she is definitely indicated as 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh's daughter; and (4) her tomb and that of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad are in the same compound close to each other. Perhaps the reason why the wife was not interred in her husband's mausoleum was that Abu'l-Ḥasan had a personal animosity against Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and wanted to belittle the relationship of his sister-in-law, Fāṭimā Khānam with him. For the date of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's death see *Landmarks*, p. 181.

5. *M.L.*, 405. The Imperial newsletter from Haidarabad dated 29.10.1072/7.6.1662 mentions that "Quṭbu'l-Mulk" had called Syed Sulṭān, son of Syed Durrāj Najafī for the purpose of marrying his daughter to him, and the date of the marriage was fixed for 25.12.1072/1.8.1662. See *Selected Waqāi of the Deccan*, Hyderabad, Central Records Office, 1953, p. 28.

6. *Ibid.*, 407. There are a number of versions regarding the antecedents of Abu'l-Ḥasan and his connections, and they have been mentioned without much critical appraisal by A.M. Siddiqui in his *History of Golkonda*, pp. 215-228. He has not left out even the oral tradition current at Siddīpēt. (now headquarters of a taluqa in Medak district, Andhra Pradesh, 18°6′ N. 78°61′ E.), that Abu'l-Ḥasan belonged to a weaver's family who was a protégé of the brothers Mādanna and Akkanna. After relating the theory of Abu'l-Ḥasan's royal relationship as indicated by European travellers, he passes on to Ghulām Ḥusain Jauhar's *Māhnāmā*, 315-16 which was completed as late as 1229/1814). Here it is asserted on the authority of Abu'l-Ḥasan's "own nephew", one Abū Muḥammad, who had attained the age of 104, that Abu'l-Ḥasan was descended from Saif Khān 'Ainu'l-Mulk, "the son of Fathi Khan, a cousin of Sultan-Quli Qutub Shah", and

comes to the conclusion that "he was undoubtedly a kinsman of the Qutubshahi dynasty". But the learned professor also asserts that Abu'l-Ḥasan was not recognised and respected "as a relative of the Qutub Shahi dynasty and . . . . no serious notice was taken of him as such". In fact, whatever the traditions regarding his geneological connections might be, he came like a *deus ex machina* to save the face of the dynasty, and incidentally to resuscitate it for a life of another fourteen years.

7. Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad, the right-hand man of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh; for instances of his great influence see *Selected Waqai, op. cit.*, pp. 8, 10, 14 etc.

Shah Raju : Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh's spiritual guide for fourteen years, was the direct descendent of Ḥaẓrat Syed Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz of Gulbarga in the ninth degree. His name was Syed Raẓīyu'd-dīn Ḥusain but he is generally known as Shāh Rājū II as his own grandfather was also known by this name. Shāh Rajū I was the brother of Ḥusain Shāh Walī, the architect of Ḥusain Sāgar and son-in-law of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, for whom see Chapter II, note 204 above. Shāh Rāju II's full biography will be found in 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān Malkāpuri's *Taḏkira-i Auliyā-i Dakan* Vol. I. It is related that it was through his spiritual powers that Abu'l-Ḥasan succeeded to the Quṭb Shāhī throne. When Shāh Rājū died he was buried a few furlongs beyond the now demolished Fatḥ Darwāzā of the city, and the grateful Abu'l-Ḥasan ordered the construction of a splendid mausoleum, one of the finest in the whole range of Quṭb Shāhī tombs. It has "extensive Dalans and colonades of ashlar masonry . . . . The Nasta'līq inscriptions are carried on wooden panels fixed on four sides of the building"; *Landmarks*, 74-75, where there is the reproduction of Shāh Rājū's portrait as an old man, now in the British Museum. It may be noted that practically all the inscriptions in the mausoleum are of the Shī'ah variety, representing either the faith of the deceased or of the king who ordered them to be executed. Complete geneology of Shāh Rājū is given in the remarkable Telugu-Sanskrit work of his son Syed Akbar Shāh Ḥusainī, alias Baṛe Ṣāhib, the *Srngāramanjarī* edited by V. Raghavan, (published under the auspices of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1951) opposite p. (ix) of the Director, Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad's Introduction; portrait of Shāh Rājū as a young man riding a horse, pl. C; reproduction of the frontage of his tomb, pl. B.

8. *M.L.*, III, 408, 409.

9. MS., Salar Jung Library, Tārikh Fārsī, 213.

10. See *Hadīqa*, p. 151, which says that Muḥammad ibn Khātūn actually gave lectures on the Qur'ānic exegesis, the Apostolic Traditions, *Fiqh*, mathematics, logic, etc., every Tuesday which was a day of official rest in the Kingdom.

11. The Quṭb Shāhī Kings are dealt with on folios 112a—115b.

12. There is an interesting copy of the Qur'ān with interlinear Persian translation in the Haidarabad State Museum. It has the superscription:

این در مطالعهٔ ابو الحسن تانا شاه بادشاه این کمترین این قرآن پاک پیش
کردم در ۱۰۹۶

The name of the person who presented the copy to the King is illegible. The whole manuscript is illuminated and is bound in Kashmīrī decorative style. It is numbered P. 2582. See *Catalogue of Persian, Arabic and Urdu Manuscript in the Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad,* 1953, pp. 118-19.

13. *Srngāramanjarī* of Saint Akbar Shah, edited by V. Raghavan, Hyderabad, 1951.

14. *Ibid.*, preface by Khwāja Muḥammad Aḥmad, p. viii.

15. This rather sweeping remark is made by the editor on p. 7.

16. Even that is hardly any proof that the Sanskrit version was from the pen of a non-Muslim. The *Kitāb-i Nauras* by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur is full of invocations to Hindu gods and goddesses. The editor of this remarkable composition, Dr. Naẓīr Aḥmad, says that some of the songs deal with Saraswatī, Gaṇesh and other Hindu deities (*Kitāb-i Nauras,* New Delhi, 1956, p. 62).

17. *Srngāramanjarī,* Introduction, p. 7, n. 4.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

19. *Bhadrāchalam,* East Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh, 17°40′ N. 80°56′ E.

20. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, "Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and his ministers, Madanna and Akkanna"; *J.I.H.*, 1931, p. 128.

21. Various events connected with Rāmadās are included in his life, *Bhadrachala Ramadasa Charitra,* the author of which is not known. See E. Vasumati, *Telugu Literature in Qutub Shahi Period,* p. 264. His *kīrtanas* are interwoven into his life story, and in them would be found the story of the payment of money to Abu'l-Ḥasan while he was asleep.

22. *Ibid.*, 258-9. The *saṭakas* are poems of intense devotion, usually of 100 to 108 verses, while the *kīrtanas* are songs in praise of the Deity. It is rather remarkable that in one of the *tōhāras* or song metres the name of Abu'l-Ḥasan is mentioned along with those of Madanna and Akkana.

23. See V. Avadhani, *Andhra Vangamamaya Charitra,* 4th Edition, Hyderabad, 1965. p. 86.

24. For these see Sherwani, "Cultural Aspects of the Reign of 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah". *I.C.*, January 1967, at p. 55.

25. See *Aligarh Tārikh Adab Urdu*, I, 401. Compare the Persian saying, برعکس نہند نام زنگی کافور (They sometimes give the name of camphor to a black zangī!)

26. Zor, *Dakhnī Adab ki Tārikh*, pp. 89-90.

The lines may be freely rendered thus—

"O thou, with a body graceful like a cypress, smelling
like a rose, come unto my parlour; come to my
company like a flower in full bloom.

Till when wouldst thou remain speechless like lip of a
picture; O thou that art like a mischievous
being full of self praise, speak just a word.

"Some say that thy lips are sweet like sugar, some
that they are sweeter than honey; some that they
give a long life like the traditional Khiẓr;
some say this and some that.

Some call thee beloved of my life, some a female
of the highest virtues; some the chosen among women;
some say this and some that.

Khiẓr is said to be a prophet whose life is regarded as eternal.

27. See *Aligarh Tārikh*, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

Free rendering of the line quoted—

They say you meet strangers, some tell the truth,
others the untruth; pray, tell me, whose
mouth I should shut, for some say this and some that.

Some lines from Shāhī's marthiyas have been copied in Naṣīru'd-dīn Hāshimī's *Maqālāt-i Hāshimī*, pp. 202-203.

28. *Tadhkira Urdu Makhṭūṭāt*, *Idāra Adabiyāt Urdu*, I, p. 263, No. 220/370.

29. Hāshimī, *Kutub Khana Salar Jang Ki Urdu qalami Wizahati Fihrist*, p. 135.

30. See Chapter VI, section 3, above, Ṭaba'ī was like Abu'l-Ḥasan a devout disciple of Shāh Rājū. Free rendering of the lines quoted—

"Shāh Rājū, you have made Abu'l-Ḥasan the King of the Deccan, by making him the gift of a large throne and a royal umbrella.

Shah Raju, if one is struck by the dart of your love, there is no way of even eradicating its effects.

Shah Raju, I have held your feet with great hope, so that you may cast your favourable glance over my fate.

Quotation from Zor in Aligarh Tārikh, op. cit., p. 404. Also see Hāshimi: *Kutub Khana Asafyah ki qalami mizahati fihrist* 99, number of the mathnavi, 86.

31. These lines will be found in Hāshimi, *Yūrup mēn Dakhni Makhtūtāt*, Hyderabad, 1932, p. 125. See also *Urdu Shahpāre*, I. It is interesting to note that *Padmāvat*, which was originally composed in 947/1540-41, was rendered into Persian in 1028/1619. It is probable that Ghulām 'Alī rendered it into Dakhni from Persian.

32. *This mathnawi* has been edited by Prof. Syed Muḥammad and published at Ḥaidarabad in 1956. The date of composition is on p. 161. The Persian original and its translation have been mentioned on pp. 9-10. Vocabulary and diction nearer modern Urdu, Introduction, p. 6.

The purely Dakhni headings are a step further to its being recognised as a vehicle for prose literature. There are 56 such headlines in 161 printed pages, and show the trend of the language as it developed during the reign.

33. *Zor, Dakhni Adab ki Tārikh*, 94. The lines may be freely rendered thus:

"O famous King, Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh,
thy preceptor has presented thee the throne of the Deccan.
Thou drinketh the wine of Divine praise, and it is that which burns the mind (heart) of thy enemy.
Thou art like the modern Anūshīrwān, and it behoves the contemporary kings to learn the art of justice from thee".

34. There is a copy of *Qissa abu Shaḥmā* in the India office Library, Blumhardt, 71. In the text the name of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh has been mentioned while the date of the completion of the Dakhni version is stated to be 27.7.1090/24.8.1679; which falls within Abu'l-Ḥasan's region. Probably the original Persian was composed in 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign. The story covers only 29 folios. See Hāshimi, *Yūrup mēn Dakhni Makhṭūṭāt*, pp. 100 ff. In his *Catalogue of Kutub Khānā Nawab Salar Jung*, Hashimi mentions a copy of the *mathnawi* in the library of Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Aligarh, where the author's name is put down as Muḥammad Qādir Khāki, but that is evidently a mistake.

35. *Aligarh Tārikh, op. cit.*, p. 412.

36. A classical example of such an attribution is Abū Turāb's *Ḥadiqatu'l-'Alam* which has the name of Mīr 'Alam, the prime minister of the Haidarabad State, 1804 to 1808, on the title page, and one has to do a little research to find out that the author was not Mīr 'Ālam at all.

37. *Dakhnī Adab*, p. 105. *Aligarh Tārikh*, 415.
A free rendering would be—

"Full of sorrow are the flowers of the garden; nay, the Jasmine flower itself has been rent as under;

Sorrowful, afflicted, utterly perplexed are the narcissus, the tulip and the jasmine.

When the news of the King is heard in the gathering, lo! the very snuff which fell from the candle would burn and then be extinguished.

38. Thus in *Tadhkirā Urdū Makhṭūṭāt, op. cit.*, p. 57. Hāshimī in his *Catalogue*, op. cit., p. 600 rightly observes that Sewak was a Shī'ah Muslim. Also see *Yūrup meṇ Dakhnī Makhṭūṭāt*, pp. 141 ff. The colophon copied on p. 146 is clear that Sēwak was a Muslim and had implicit faith in God and in the teachings of the Apostle of Islam. As was the case with many other mathnawīs of the period the Jangnāma was originally in "Persian".

39. See *Blumhardt*, 109, Laṭīf says that his *Ẓafarnāmā* is like an Imperial Crown while the Shāhnāmā of Firdausī is like its dependent!

40. *Gōshā*, name of a village; Gulzarilal Ahqar: *Tarikh-i Zafarah*, pp. 41-42; *Gōshā Maḥal*, a palace for purdah ladies; *Landmarks*, 69. Chronogram of the completion of the palace is found in the words رونے صدق (94) and شاہ بیتی چنیں ندیدہ کسے (1004) occurring in the last two lines of a poem of 22 lines inscribed on a tablet which was *in situ* in Aḥqar's time when he completed his *Tārikh-i Ẓafarah* in 1185/1771-2. The date in *Landmarks*, p. 68, i.e., 1627, is evidently a misprint for 1672. There is no trace of this tablet now. It is in this palace that Prince Shāh 'Ālam, later, Bahādur Shāh, I, stayed in 1097/1686.

41. Neither *Landmarks* nor Satguru Parshad's *Farkhundā Bunyād* even mention this magnificent monument, nor has it been measured yet, nor, so far as the knowledge of this writer is concerned, is it mentioned in any archaeological report. As it is now the Freemasons' Lodge, the present writer could not have an ingress into its innermost precincts, and all he could do was to measure its outer length and breadth and photograph the structure from outside. Years ago he had the privilege of accompanying the late Sir Akbar Hydari within the *Bāradarī* before it was handed over to the Freemasons, and again to be present at an annual dinner given at the Lodge; but then he could not have the inner apartments measured. The readings in the text were made by him personally. It is strange that while the Bāradarī was a "protected monument" till 1960, the indicator has been removed and this magnificent structure is now open to the whims of all and sundry today!

42. Full description of the Maḥal, *Ẓafarah, op. cit.*, 40.

43. The profusion of inscriptions in the mosque which, barring one inscription of 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign (which has nothing to do with Malik Mishk) make the *ensemble* unique, and gives almost the history of the Malik as a royal officer which is not found elsewhere. For the inscriptions see *E.I.M.*, 1916-17; *Landmarks,* 78-88; Satguru Parshad, *op. cit.*, 56-61.

44. The measurement are the author's own.

45. The description of the Mishk Maḥal; *Satguru Parshad, op. cit.*, 113-14, and of the mosque, p. 115. Many of the observations are the result of the personal visit of the writer to the site on 8.9.1967.

46. See *Landmarks,* 93-94. For the Khairiatābād mosque see Chapter V, Section 2, under "Architecture", above.

47. *Srngāramanjari of Saint Akbar Shah,* Preface by Khwāja Muḥammad Aḥmad, p. vii. Photograph of the tomb, Pl. B. See also, *Landmarks,* pp. 74-75. Part of the description of the tomb is from the writer's personal observations. See also n. 8 above.

48. For these temples see Satguru Parshad, *op. cit.*, pp. 91, 112 etc.

49. For the two groups see *Journal of Indian History,* August, 1956 notes 135, 136; *I.C.*, January 1967, pp. 59-60 footnote 59.

50. For the British Museum portraits see *R.H.A.D.*, 1920-21, p. 38; for the Amsterdam portraits see Goetz, *Indian and Persian Miniature Paintings,* pp. 41-44.

51. Goetz, "Notes on a Collection of Historical Portraits from Golconda", *Indian Arts and Letters,* Vol. X (1936), No. 1. It was the Dutch ambassador at Golkonda who took these paintings to Holland in 1686, i.e. just before the fall of Golkonda on 22.9.1687. Mādanna and Akkanna were murdered on 16.3.1686 while Bijapur fell on 12.9.1686 and as the collection contains the portraits of Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh and Mādanna in office, they must have been painted before March 1686.

52. Fine photograph of the paintings of these two remarkable Mughal Commanders, *Indian and Persian Miniature Paintings,* Pl. 13 and 14.

53. The two portraits, Pl. C. opposite p. vii, *Srngāramanjarī,* Hyderabad, 1951.

54. Some of these portraits have been reproduced in *Indian Arts and Letters, op. cit.*

55. These are reproduced in *J.I.H.*, 1931, opposite p. 93.

56. Vito Salierno, "Notes on an Unknown Portrait of Tana Shah, last Ruler of Golkonda", *Muḥammad Shahidullah Felicitation Volume,*

Dacca, 1966, pp. 393-94. The miniature is a part of Sir Akbar Hydari Collection and housed in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

57. See *I.C., January,* 1967, p. 61.

58. *Kuchipuḍī,* a small town in the Divi taluqa, Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh, the direct road form Vijayavaḍa to Masulipaṭam, 32 miles from the former and 15 miles from the latter; 16°15′ N., 80°55′ E.

59. See Appa Rao, *Indian Dance,* p. 14. The date given by Banda Kanakalingeswara Rao, "The Kuchipudi Dance Drama" II, *Illustrated Weekly of India,* 11.11.1962, p. 35, is 1507 which would fall within Vīra Narasimha's rule (1506-1509).

60. *Ibid,* I, *Illustrated Weekly of India,* 4.11.1962, p. 27.

61. Appa Rao, *op. cit.,* p. 17.

62. M. J. Kamalakar, "Vēdanta Satyam", *Illustrated Weekly,* 3.9.1961. All this has now changed, and both men and women exponents of the dance-drama are affluent to a fault, as there is so much demand for the dance both in India and abroad.

63. Kanakalingeswara Rao, *op. cit.,* I, p. 23. The writer disproves the theory that the name was derived from the name of Śri Krishna's the friend, Kūchala, as Kūchala was never even remotely connected with the east coast of peninsular India.

64. See *Andhra Herald,* 19.8.1962, p. 6. See also Sherwani: "Cultural Aspects of the Reign of 'Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah", *I.C.,* January, 1967 at p. 49.

65. Appa Rao, *op. cit.,* p. 17.

66. Quotation from Kanakalingeswara Rao, *op. cit.,* II, p. 35. Of course Mādanna was not "Commander" of Qutb Shāhi forces, nor was Abu'l-Ḥasan the "Nawab" of Golkonda.

67. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, "The Brahman Ministers of the last Qutub Shahi King", *Khazeena-i Tārikh,* Hyderabad, 1339 F—1340 F., pp. 30-101; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar: "Abu'l-Hasan Qutub Shah and his Ministers, Madanna and Akkanna" *J.I.H., August* 1931, pp. 92-142, with the Dutch prints of the portraits of the two ministers opp. p. 93. Dr. Aiyangar says on p. 95 of *J.I.H.* that Sūrya Prakāsa Rao "must have been his name, Mādanna being more or less a familiar name by which he must have been known among his own people". But then what about his two brothers Akkanna and Madanna?

68. Ghulām Husain Khān, *Gulzār-i Āṣafīya*, Haidarabad, 1260 H. p. 49.

69. Girdhārīlāl Aḥqar, says in his *Tārīkh-i Ẓafarah* p. 34 that "Mādanna was a past master in cunning and one who did not desist from invoking even the devil's protection".

70. *M.L.*, p. 410. Evidently Syed Muẓaffar was imprisoned, perhaps at Mādanna's instance, by the king. But when Aurangzeb knew about it he sent a farmān to Abu'l-Ḥasan to release him. He was honoured by *Khil'at* and his two sons were given the Mughal titles of Aṣālat Khān and Najābat Khān while his daughter was married to a Mughal officer, Kāmgār Khān on 6.1.1096/3.12.1684; *M.A.*, 227. Syed Muẓaffar came back to Haidarabad, for he is buried in a simple mortar grave within the house of one Fakhru'nisā Bēgum near the quarter of the City called Harī Bāolī. It was this minister whose house near Mir Jumla Tank was once visited by no less person than 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh, in honour of which he presented the king his vast house and garden which exists now only in the name of the quarter of the city called Sulṭān Shāhī; see *Landmarks*, pp. 77-78.

71. "10 guilders a month", Aiyanger, *J.I.H.*, 1931, p. 93, quoting Havart's *Journal*. There is no doubt regarding the ability of the two brothers Mādanna and Akkanna whether the praise is downright as possessing "intelligence and wisdom in the field of action" (*Basātīn*, 455), of hate as "tyranous rulers, steeped in immorality" (for that also needs intelligence to sustain the process) as in *M.L.*, III, 411.

72. Both the Imperial farmān and the Deed of Agreement, in Girdhārīlāl Ahqar, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-38. The date of the Deed of Agreement is two years after the accession of the King on 21-4-1672. Although Mādanna is mentioned as prime minister in a letter from the English Factors at Fort St. George dated 21-11-1674 (Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 95) the date is not of the conferment of the premiership on Mādanna but only mentions Akkanna's accession to power and the change in the ministry. It is therefore possible that Mādanna became prime minister before 4-5-1674, the date of the Deed of Agreement. Strangely enough, *M.A.*, 143, says that it was only on 29-8-1086/8-11-1675 that it was brought to the notice of the Emperor that 'Abdu'l-lāh's nephew (*sic.*) *and* son-in-law had ascended the throne. The three dates, 4-5-1674, 21-11-1674 and 8-11-1675 seem to be at variance, and while the first two can be explained away it is difficult to be certain of the last date, especially when Muḥammad Sāqī

Mu'tamad Khān, the author of *Ma'āṯir-i 'Ālamgīrī* was a contemporary of the events. On the other hand it is unthinkable that it should have taken two years for the news of the change of rulers at Golkonda-Haidarabad to have reached the Emperor.

It is incorrect that 'Abdu'l-lāh had agreed that on his death the whole of the Quṭb Shāhī territory should from part of the Mughal Empire; what 'Abdu'l-lāh had to agree to was that on his death the eldest son of the Emperor, Muḥammad Sulṭān was to succeed him, which was, however, not to be, as the prince was interned by his father and died in imprisonment.

73. *M.A.*, p. 308.

74. See *Diaries and Consultations, Fort St. George*, Nov. 21, 1674; also *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, 10th April, 1679, p. 96, referred to in *J.I.H.*, 1931, *op. cit.*, p. 123. *Koṇḍāpalli*, renamed Muṣṭafānagar, one of the five "Northern Sarkars (Circars)", now a small town in Vijayawada taluqa of Krishna district. Some of Koṇḍāpallī's vast fortifications can be traced as far back as 1360, but they were added to by the Bahmanīs, the Quṭb Shāhīs and the Mughals; even now quite a few fairly well-preserved buildings can be seen on the top of the great hill. It was here that Maḥmūd Gāwān was murdered on 5-4-1481, for which see Sherwani, *Muḥmūd Gāwān, the great Bahmani Wazir*, pp. 169-172, and *Bahmanis*, pp. 335-36. It may be noted that, contrary to the scintillating progress of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shah to the east coast in 1639 (for which see above, Ch. VI, sec. 1, and *Hadiqa*, pp. 229-56), Abu'l-Ḥasan's visits were so simple and business-like that they were not even noted by the Mughal historians.

75. For the two battles, see later.

76. See Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, *J.I.H.*, 1931, p. 123.

77. Rāmadās is perhaps better known than Mādanna himself among the general public. As the revenue officer of Bhadrāchalam he was in charge of the collection of the revenue of the locality. Instead of remitting the amount collected to the capital, he quietly constructed a large temple sacred to Shri Rāma at his headquarters. On the discovery of the embezzlement he was arrested, brought to Haidarabad and interned in a large compartment in Golkonda fort. This is still called *Rāmadās Ka Koṭhā*, and is situated half-way up the staired road to Bālā Ḥisar, just north of the northern bulge in the road. Aiyangar *op. cit.*, *J.I.H.*, 1931, p. 128, says that "the story has it that a miraculous payment of the sum was made, and a receipt obtained by two men calling themselves Rama and Lakshmana, peons of the Bhadrāchalam circar, who came

overnight, paid the balance demanded in cash, and obtained a receipt then and there of the Padishah himself". Rāmadās was thereupon released from his confinement and then prevailed on the Sulṭān to endow the revenues of Bhadrāchalam, Palvancha and Shankargīrpally for the expenses of the temple. This endowment remained intact right through the Aṣafjāhī period. See Siddiqui, *op. cit.*, p. 316 n. 2 continued on p. 317, where a reference has been made to "Endowment Office Records".

Bhadrāchalam; now in East Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh, 17°40′ N., 80°56′ E.

78. See *M.A.*, p. 268, *H.A.*, I, 368. For the actual price of Ibrahim's promotion, see Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, *J.I.H.*, 1931, p. 109.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 113, quoting letter dated March 3, 1681-82.

80. For these see *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly,* December 1932, pp. 68-73, where four of Abu'l-Ḥasan's farmāns have been reproduced in dēvanāgarī script, without much regard for the nuances of the Persian language, script and pronunciation; also *Farmāns and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans, op. cit.*, which contains six farmāns of Abu'l-Ḥasan; nos. 9-14. There are also a number of Abu'l-Ḥasan's farmāns scattered here and there, such as in the *Mackenzie collection,* Local Records section.

81. Farmān of 22-4-1673, *Farmans and Sanads,* no. 9, p. 36; farmān of 25-2-1674, *ibid.*, no. 10, p. 37; farmān of 20-11-1674, *ibid.;* farmān of 27-3-1675, *ibid.*, no. 12, p. 38; farmān of 23-7-1681, *ibid.*, no. 13, p. 39 in which the titles of Rāmarāj are *Mu'taminu'd-daulah, Muḥram-i Rāz-i Ẓill-i Ilāḥi, Farzand-i Arjmand-i Shāhinshāhi;* farmān of 18-2-1684, *ibid.*, no. 14, p. 40. In these farmāns there are certain technical terms which need corresponding modern terms for being understood: *thalkarni* = paṭwāri; *kārkun* = local registrar or clerk; *desāi* = accountant; *muqāṣā* = land held on quit rent or small rent on condition of service; *simt* = division. *Majmū'ahdār* = Chief Accountant.

82. For the *Shuhūr San* see M. Nāẓim, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-102. Nāẓim says that the era began to be used in the Deccan with the establishment of independence of the region in the hijri year 743-44. The first day of the Shuhūr year was June 6. Up to 743-44 it was a lunar year, but the solar reckoning was tacked on to it, the next year becoming the solar Shuhūr San.

83. The Ghorpāḍēs were evidently distributed over a very large territory. There were the Ghorpāḍēs of Mudhōl (16°20′ N., 75°20′ E.) which was definitely under the protectorate of the 'Ādil Shāhīs, and is now in the Bijapur district, Mysore State. This was a part of the *samsthān*

the history of which has been so ably described by D. V. Apte in his illustrated Marathi Volume, *Mudhol Samsthānchya Gharānchya Itihās*, Poona, 1934. The position of the *samsthān* is clear from the map opposite p. 140 where it is shown to extend right into the eastern portion of the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab. There is another Mudhōl in the westernmost corner of the 'Ādilābād district, Andhra Pradesh, 19° N., 77°52′ E., and this was definitely controlled by the Quṭb Shāhīs. This Mudhōl village is barely a couple of miles from the present Andhra Pradesh-Maharashtra border and even now there is a considerable Marathi-speaking population in the district. We find that in the farmāns of 13-11-1670 and 19-11-1670 (*Quarterly* p. 67) issued when Syed Muẓaffar was Prime Minister, reference is made to certain villages belonging to the Ghorpāḍēs, lying near Muḥammadnagar (Golkonda), while the farmān of 28-6-1673 admonishes a Ghorpāḍē to be obedient to the new governor of Karnatak, Miān Mishk who had taken over from Mūsā Khān. Warangal is definitely mentioned in the farmāns of 19-11-1670 and 4-10-1674.

It appears that the clan was spread over vast territories extending from the Bijapur side of the Krishna to 'Adilābād district in the north, the province of Karnaṭak in the south and certain lands round Golkonda in the centre. As the learned editor of the *Quarterly* told the present writer personally, it is quite possible that, different to the 'Ādil Shāhi *samsthān* of Mudhōl the Ghorpāḍēs of the Quṭb Shāhī area were large-scale farmers and not owners of a centralised, consolidated estate.

84. For this farmān see *B.I.S.M. Quarterly*, March 1933, p. 73.

85. While our Indo-Persian Chronicles practically ignore the European settlements on the Golkonda Coast, or at least belittle their importance, we have ample data in the shape of volumes of letters written by the governors of Fort St. George. We have also the *Diaries of Sir Streynsham Master*, Governor of Madras, 1678-81, edited by R. C. Temple and published in 1911, *Diaries and Consultation Books of the Madras Council* covering practically the whole of Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign, and *Factory Records of Fort St. George* actually beginning with 1672, the year of Abu'l-Ḥasan's accession. Practically all these and some other documents have been epitomised by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his paper "Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and his Ministers Madanna and Akkanna", *J.I.H.*, August, 1931, pp. 91-142, and by Srinivasachari in his article on "The Madras Council and its Relations with the Golconda Aministration (1672-1686)", *J.I.H.*, December 1931, pp. 282-99. I am indebted to the information contained in these two valuable articles.

Poonamallee, now a western suburb of Madras connected with Egmore railway station by the Poonamallee High Road.

86. The "Cowle" of 1672; Srinivasachari, *History of Madras*, pp. 76-77.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 92, note 2. Viranna "had a remarkable partiality towards Islam", adopted a Muslim name Ḥasan Khān and constructed a mosque in Madras. When he died, there was a tussle between the Muslims and the Hindus whether his mortal remains should be buried or cremated; but the Governor and Council of Fort St. George decided that the remains should be cremated as they thought it would be dangerous "to admit the Moors such pretences in the town".

Lease of San Thome, *ibid.*, p. 86. *Triplicane,* now a part of the city almost immediately to the south of Fort St. George past the famous Island enclosed by two branches of the Cooum. It is this quarter where the old palace of the Nawabs of Arcot stands, converted by English into a part of the Government Secretariat, which it continues to be.

88. Srinivasachari, "The Madras Council", *J.I.H.*, December 1931, pp. 282, 283, quoting *Consultations* of 25-4-1672, and of 26-3-1674.

Chingleput, district with headquarters of the same name, Madras State, 12°42′ N., 80°01′ E.

89. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras,* I, 356, quoting *Records of Fort St. George, 1672-78,* pp. 90-91. See Srinivasachari, "the Madras Council", *J.I.H.*, December, 1931, p. 285. *Chennapatam* was the name of the settlement which sprang up round Fort St. George (Srinivasachari, *History of Madras,* p. 90), while *Madraspatam* was the earlier name of the site on which the Fort was later constructed.

90. *Hist. of Madras, op. cit.*, p. 87.

91. Srinivasachari, "Madras Council", *J.I.H.*, December 1931, pp. 288-89, referring to consultations of June 3, 1678.

92. Aiyangar, *J.I.H.*, August 1931, p. 109. One thing is certain; Podili Lingappa did not deviate from the loyalty to the Throne in spite of his avidity in money matters.

93. Srinivasachari, *J.I.H.*, December 1931, p. 296, quoting *Consultations* of 6th June and 20th July 1681.

94. *Letters to Fort St. George,* 1682, p. 16, quoted by Srinivasachari *op. cit.*

95. *Ibid.*, p. 299, quoting *Consultations* of December 1687. Yale's rule in Madras is to be remembered in many ways. He was the last governor to deal with the dying Quṭb Shāhī monarchy, his arrival at Madras being almost simultaneous with the fall of the dynasty in 1687. He was the first governor to have hoisted the Union Jack on the Fort, to have established a Corporation of Madras and to have acquired the right to coin rupees. These acts of his may be forgotten, but he will always be remembered by his name being given to the famous Yale University in

the U.S.A., one of the most flourishing homes of learning in that country. It seems strange today that this was done in recognition of the gift of a parcel of books worth just £500 to the Collegiate School in Connecticut which rose to be the Yale University.

96. The great mountain fort of Shivneri overlooks the historical town of Junnār or Junair in the Poona district, 19°21′ N., 73°58′ E. Shivaji attempted to capture the great fort a number of times but failed. It is rather strange that the only civil building left intact in the fort should be his birth-room, and that it is in such an excellent condition. Shivaji was certainly born in the fort, but it seems doubtful whether he was born in the exact room which is shown to a visitor as his birth-place. Junnār was the fort where Shahji had crowned Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh III as king.

97. *Bangalore,* now capital of Mysore, 12°58′ N., 77°38′ E. *Vellore,* capital of North Arcot district, Madras State, 12°55′ N., 70°11′ E. *Tanjore* (Tanjavūr) headquarters of the district of that name, Madras State, 10°47′ N., 79°10′ E.

98. There is a considerable difference of opinion regarding the dates of Shivaji's birth and death. Kincaid and Parasnis, in their *History of the Maratha People,* I, p. 123 give April 10, 1627 as the date of his birth and rely on *Marathi Itihāsanchi Sādhana,* pp. 42-43, while Grant Duff, in his *History of Mahrattas,* I, 96, puts it down to May 1627, relying on Mankar's introduction to Krishnaji Anant Sabhāsad's *Life of Sivaji.* There is another tradition, that Shivaji was born in February 1630, and this is related by J. N. Sarkar in his *Shivaji and his Times,* p. 23. See Grant Duff, *op. cit.,* I, 96, editor's n. 4. In the same way there is a difference among scholars regarding the date of his death. Grant Duff, *op. cit.,* I, 227 gives 5th April, 1680; Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia,* Hakluyt Society, 1909, III, 167, gives the 1st of June; Kincaid and Parasnis, *op. cit.,* I, 270 say that he died on April 3, while Clement, the French agent at Rājāpur, gives April 17, 1680. See Grant Duff, I, 227, editor's note, 1. *M.A.,* 194, says that Shivaji died on 24.4.1091/14.5.1680.

99. Shivaji's mercurial personality and his actions even during his father's lifetime, up to 1672, revolutionised South Indian history. We see him applying to Shah Jahan for the release of his father, then he submits to Prince Aurangzeb when he leaves for the north to fight his way to the throne, his preparation of the ruse to entice Afẓal Khān to Partābgaṛh and his murder, his maiming of Aurangzeb's uncle, Shā'istā Khān, at Poona, his submission to Jai Singh resulting in the Treaty of Purāndhar and his siding with the Mughals in the invasion of Bijapur, his trip to Agra, quitting the Imperial darbar and his escape from there in a basket of sweetmeats,—these and many other adventures made him one of the most daring personalities

of medieval India. A recent publication on Shivaji's journey to and from Agra (which occurred in 1666 immediately after the Treaty of Purāndhar) by Jadunath Sarkar and Raghubir Sinh, called *Shivaji's Visit to Aurangzib at Agra*, Calcutta 1963, would repay study in this connection. It reproduces a number of letters from Aurangzeb to Shivaji, from the representatives of Jai Singh's son, Rām Singh, Shivaji's host and "caretaker" at Agra, and records important conversations. He had captured Singaṛh in February 1670, had sacked Surat twice, once in January 1664 and again in October 1670, and had taken Panhāla, Parli and Satāra. The ground was ready for his coronation. But before the function could be held he had to prove that he was a Rajpūt, and this was overcome by the "discovery of a geneology" under which he was shown to be the scion of the premier house of Rajasthan!

Parli, district Bīṛ, Maharashtra State; 18°53′ N., 76°36′ E.

99.(a) The editor of Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, quotes (p. 204 n. 4) Ranade's *The Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 46 that "it is in the spirit of the same fond superstition that native historians trace for Sivaji a fabled descent from the royal house of Udepur". The editor also quotes Jadunath Sarkar that "the Bhonslés were popularly known to be neither Kshtriyas nor of any other twice-born caste, but were tillers of the soil".

100. Krishnaswami Aiyangar says in his article on Mādanna and Akkanna, *J.I.H.*, 1931, at pp. 129-130 that "it was really to the interest of these two Islamic States (Bijapur and Golkonda-Haidarabad) . . . . that the Mahratta State should not go out of existence . . . . The policy adopted by Abul Hasan Qutub Shah at the time of alliance with Shivaji and Bijapur was one which was best under the circumstances". This is perfectly understandable; but this policy came to naught firstly owing to the inherent weakness and exposure of Bijapur and then owing to the mercurial disposition of the Maratha leader.

101. It is interesting to note that at least the title of the Prime Minister, Peshwa, remained a part not merely of Maratha history and Marathi language but also of the history of India in general.

102. Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, I, 209.

103. It seems rather far-fetched that what Shivaji wanted was "to carve out a new kingdom as far south as possible to which he might retreat" in case of defeat by the Delhi armies, (as suggested by the editor of Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 213, n. 1). Jadunath Sarkār's surmise (*Life and Time of Shivaji*, quoted in the footnote above) that Shivaji's aim in this expedition was only "to squeeze the country of its accumulated wealth" is belied by Shivaji's permanent control of the territory so long as he lived.

104. Kincaid and Parasnis, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

105. There is a clear indication from Martin's *Memoires* and his *Diary*, quoted and discussed by C. S. Srinivasachari in *History of Gingee and its Rulers*, pp. 232 ff., that the whole episode of the Shivaji's visit to Haidarabad was prearranged, as also, perhaps, Hanumantē's defection.

106. Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, 103. The knowledge of Persian by Hanumantē is vouchsafed by *Shivdigvijaya Bhakkar*, referred to by Kincaid and Parasnis, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

107. For the treaty see Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, 106. About this time the Quṭb Shāhī dominions extended along the eastern coast of the peninsula right up to St. Thomas Mount with a bulge in Anantapur district, and the Ghats. "Immediately to the west of it lay the Bijapur conquest from Vijayanagar taking into it the eastern part of what is the present (1930) State of Mysore, leading southwards through the Baramahal of Sālem into North Arcot district and extending almost to the banks of the Kaveri and the Coleroon". It may be noted that not an inch of this territory was ceded to Abu'l-Ḥasan after Shivaji's successful campaign.

108. *Cuddapah*, headquarters of a district in Andhra Pradesh; 12°42′ N., 80°1′ E. Venkaṭarāmagiri, Venkaṭagiri pass in the map; 13°57′ N. 79°37′ E Jinjī or Gingee, a great fort in North Arcot district, Madras State 12°15′ N., 79°24′ E., *Kolār*, headquarters of a district in Mysore State, site of gold mines; 13°9′ N., 78°11′ E. *Sīra*, Ṭumkur district, Mysore State; 13°45′ N., 76°57′ E. For Shivaji's progress southwards to Jinjī see C. S. Srinivasachari *op. cit.*, pp. 210 ff. It appears that on the occupation of Jinjī by Shivaji he was approached by Abu'l-Ḥasan to allow it to be put under the command of one of his generals, and it was his refusal to do so that "opened Abul Ḥasan's eyes to the deception which had been practised upon him" and "made him realise that Shivaji and Madanna had come to a secret understanding with each other to the prejudice of his own interests", Martin's *Mēmoires* quoted by Adrian Duarte in his paper on "An Estimate of Madanna from French Records", *J.I.H.*, XI, pp. 298-313; Srinivasachari, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-35. Martin observes that "Madanna knew Shivaji too well not to realise that he would never keep the promise he had made"; Duarte adds that "the whole was a carefully planned conspiracy to hoodwink Abu'l Ḥasan into pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the greater benefit of the Mahratta chieftain". For the value of Martin's *Memoires* see S. N. Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*.

109. Bellary, headquarters of a district in Mysore State; 15°9′ N., 76°55′ E. Kopbal, in the Rāichūr district, Mysore State; 15°20′ N. 76°13′ E. *Jālna*, in the Aurangābād district, Maharashtra Province, 19°51′ N., 75°56′ E.

110. Sambhāji's defection, Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, I, 224. Shivaji's death reported to Aurangzeb; *M.A.*, 114.

111. For the two battles of Malkhēṛ see later.

112. *Basatin*, 453 ff. The abject condition of Bijapur can be guaged by its utter helplessness at this juncture, and it is no wonder that Sikandar proved to be the last occupant of the 'Ādil Shāhī throne.

113. *Ibid.*. 545, *Adōni*, Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh; 16°38′, 77°19′ E.

114. *Ibid.*, 456. Date of Mas'ūd Khān's entry into Bijapur, p. 457. 'Abdu'l-Karīm died on 8.11.1088/25.12.1677, and it was Mas'ūd who was now all in all at the capital. The date of 'Abdu'l-Karīm's death establishes the approximate date of the episode.

115. *M.A.*, 167-192.

116. *Basatin*, 487.

117. Progress of the Emperor southwards; *M.A.*, 212, 239. The extremely slow pace by which the Imperial cavalcade progressed from Ajmēr can easily be explained by the paraphernalia which was deemed necessary for such a progress; for this see the interesting description of the Mughal army on the march especially when it accompanied the Emperor, in Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-55. Practically everything conducive to pomp and comfort was duplicated and was sent in advance so that the camp might be fixed up and ready at the next stage when the Emperor arrived there. Moreover the power and the fame of the Empire was such that not much heed was paid to the growing dark clouds in the Deccan and elsewhere. It is no wonder that it took four years for the cavalcade from Ajmēr to reach Ahmadnagar.

'Ainu'l-Mulk received in audience; *ibid.*, 249; *M.L.*, 411. It may be noted that many of the Hijri dates given by Khāfī Khān fall short of one year, while the dates related correspond to other authorities. See Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 256, fn. 1, towards the end.

118. *M.L.*, 412.

119. Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, 257.

Gōkak, Belgam district, Mysore State; 16°11′ N., 74°52′ E.
Hubli, Dhārwāṛ district, Mysore State; 15°20′ N., 75°12′ E.

120. *Basatin*, 532.

121. *M.L.*, 412.

Sīṛam, headquarters of a taluqa of that name, Gulbarga district, Mysore State; 17°11′ N., 77°8′ E.

122. The actual date is given in *Basatin*, 536. Bijapur fell on 4.11.1097/12.9.1686, *Ibid.*, 540, *M.A.*, 279. It is strange that Mas'ūd Khān did not budge from Adōni in spite of the entreating letters of his king—such was the disintegrating political atmosphere in the kingdom. For the letters see *Basatin*, pp. 534-38.

123. For the letter and its antecedents, see *M.A.*, 259-60.

124. *M.L.*, 412. While recording this rather interesting verbal bout, Khāfi Khān says that he himself had been in the service of Mirza Muḥammad's elder brother Murād Khān who had been Imperial ambassador at Haidarabad for two or three years. He adds that he has recorded the story as it fell from the lips of Mīrza Muḥammad himself.

125. It may be noted Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān, who held the post of Sar Lashkar or Chief Commander, was reverted to his old, comparatively subordinate post of Sarkhēl, and Akkanna, who had returned frustrated from Bijapur, was made Sar Lashkar. It is highly probable that the course of the crucial battle of Malkhēṛ was due to Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān's dissatisfaction caused by his virtual degradation for no fault of his.

126. *M.L.*, 414-18. The episode of the elephant has been relied upon with confidence by Siddiqui, *History of Golconda*, p. 261. But it seems improbable that with thousands of spirited troops facing the Mughal army, they should have been scared and stampeded by a single mad elephant handicapped by a weight of four maunds. Surely one cannon ball or a couple of gun shots would have eliminated the beast. What seems more probable is that Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān allowed the army to be scared and stampeded by the elephant, leading to its final retreat. Grant Duff does not mention the elephant episode but says on p. 259 that "Ibrahim Khān (Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān), who had a fine army and had Khan Jahan completely in his power, made no vigorous attacks, and on the advance of Sultan Mauzum his conduct was so treacherous, or his exertions so feeble, that the Moghuls marched on to Hyderabad with little opposition."

127. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, 544-45. Sarkar says that the chain weighed 3 maunds, but that is immaterial.

128. *Kōhir*, now in the Mēdak district of Andhra Pradesh; 17° 35′ N. 77°40′ E.

M.A., 269; *M.L.*, 418; *H.A.*, 377. Khalīlu'l-lāh Khān's defection, 8.10.1686. *Manucci*, III, 92 n. 1, says that "he rose to be generalissimo by soft word and flattery". He was governor of Berar from 1686 to 1687, then governor of Panjab, where he died in 1100/1688-89.—*Ma'aṯhiru'l-Umara*, III, 627.

129. The question of the involvement of the Sulṭān in the murder is discussed by Krishnaswamy Aiyangar in *J.I.H.*, 1931, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

While Khāfī Khān, *M.L.*, 419, is clear that Abu'l-Ḥasan had no previous knowledge of the murder, Ishwar Dās, according to Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, "puts it into the mouth of Madanna" certain sentences, which incriminate the Sulṭān as the prime mover of the deed. *M.A.*, 272 says that the head was sent by the Sulṭān "as a mark of loyalty and submission", but that is no proof of the Sulṭān's involvement in the murder. Aiyangar says that "even Bhim Singh, the author of Dil Kusha, who was present at Shah Alam's camp at the time, agrees with Khafi Khan in regard to this point". It is also on record that there was absolutely no commotion in the populace after the murder. It may be noted that *M.A.*, 272, says that both the decapitated heads were sent to Shāh 'Ālam.

The grand edifice of government constructed by Mādanna and manned by his relations—brothers, cousins, nephews—had come down in a terrible crash, first by the failure of his policy at Bijapur and then the defeat at Malkhēṛ, leading finally to the flight of the king and the helplessness of the population of the capital. This must have turned the tables against the Minister. The feelings both within and outside the Palace became intense and the murder appears to be the cumulative effect of these feelings.

Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, gives a contemporary Dutch print of the actual murder of the two brothers, opposite p. 92, along with their portraits and a fine print of a contemporary Dutch portrait of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh.

130. *Manucci*, II, 293-4.

131. *M.A.*, 289.

132. The vast stores within the Fort which prolonged the siege for eight months and were still not exhausted, may be compared with the reported might of the encircling army; for which see Siddiqui, *op. cit.*, p. 274. They are said to consist of 1,900 musketeers, 14,000 footsoldiers, 106 guns of various calibres capable of discharging balls weighing 4 seers to a maund, 5,809 maunds of gunpowder, 1,244 cannon balls and as many as 3,75,000 bags of sand to fill the moat. Many of the guns were mounted on battlement after the conquest of the fortress. Two of these have tell-tale names, the *Fatḥ-i Rahbar* which is now mounted on Peṭlā Burj of the Fort, and the *Azḥdahā Paikar* which is on Mūsā Burj. The former was cast in 1083/1672-3 and the later in 1085/1674-5. The charge of the two was more or less similar, namely 13½ seers and 13¼ seers respectively. Both have suitable inscriptions, for which see *Landmarks*, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-75, 179-180. There is another large cannon, the *Qil'ah Kushā* mounted on one of the battlements between Bālā Ḥiṣār and the adjoining temple. This was cast in 1077/1666-67 and fired a ball weighing 13¼ seers. All the three cannon were cast by an Arab, Muḥammad 'Ali. See Satguru Parashad, *Farkhundā Buniyād Haidarabad*, pp. 151-52.

133. *H.A.*, 387. It may be noted that the Quṭb Shāhī commanders were themselves sanguine about the possibility of the Emperor being captured. They were so much disgusted regarding the policy pursued by him that they felt they would not be able to control themselves when Aurangzeb was taken prisoner, and it was doubtful if they would treat "the prisoner" well!

134. This is my personal observation and has been missed by practically all authors.

135. See *M.A.*, 289-90; *H.A.*, 387. As many as eleven sutures were necessary. It must be remembered that no method of anaesthesia was known in those days. Khwājā 'Ābid was the ancestor of the Aṣaf Jāhī dynasty which ruled Haidarabad in various capacities from 1724 to 1956; see Yusuf Husain Khan: *Nizamu'l-Mulk Asaf Jah I*, Ch. I. He was buried at 'Aṭāpūr not far from the place where he died. 'Aṭāpur is historical village in its own right, for it had been granted by Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shah to Miān Mishk and contains the remains of a mansion built by him. For the grant see *Landmarks*, pp. 81 ff. Also see section on Architecture, above. Khwāja 'Ābid is buried in a simple grave surrounded by the graves of some of his relatives and friends; the embellishments and the marble headstone are modern. His right hand which was blown off, is buried at Qismatpūr close by. It was from a hillock to the south of the graveyard at 'Aṭāpūr that the Emperor trained his guns on Golkonda. See Satguru Parshad, *Farkhundā Buniyad Haidarabad*, pp. 108-110.

136. An interesting Imperial order dated 4-11-1098/1-9-1687 enjoins certain high officials, including the Prime Minister Asad Khān to furnish a number of workmen each (totalling 144) for filling the moat of Golkonda fort; See Yusuf Husain Khān, *"Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's reign*, Hyderabad, 1958, pp. 169-72.

For the escalation episode, see *M.L.*, II, 242. Yusuf Husain Khān says in his *Nizamumulk Asaf Jah I*, p. 24, that not knowing the upshot, the Emperor ordered the drums of victory to be beaten, but "he as well as the others were sorely disappointed when the truth was known". The episode furnished an excuse for Ni'mat Khān-i 'Āli to compose some rather satirical lines; see *Waqāi'*, p. 4.

137. *M.A.*, 290 ff.

138. *Ibid.*, 291-92; *Hadīqatu'l-'Ālam*, pp. 397-99.

139. *M.A.*, 291-92; *Munt.*, II, 342.

140. "Pisar-i khwāndah"; *M.A.*, 303.

141. *Ibid.*, 399. It is not known that 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān's service with Abu'l-Ḥasan was prearranged to be of use to the Emperor when time came; but the fall of Golkonda by a mere wave of 'Abdu'l-lāh's hand,

when it had been defended resolutely for months, has a story to tell, *Gulzār-i Aṣafiyah*, p. 50, says that 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān's services were bought for three thousand rupees.

142. *M.L.*, II, 361. *Tārikh-i Ẓafarah, op. cit.*, says that "the entry of Prince A'ẓam into the Fort was through a breach in the wall caused by incessant bombardment." There is no corroboration by a contemporary chronicle. Moreover no breach was affected by Mughal bombardment, and none is visible today.

143. *H.A.*, 401. This episode seems to be doubtful, as, when Lārī showed himself up he could easily have been shot down.

144. For details of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq's wonderful fight see *H.A.*, 404. It is related that when 'Abdu'r-Razzāq regained consciousness he received a farmān from the Emperor offering him Imperial service; to which he replied in faltering terms that although God had granted him a new life, he was unable to undertake any further duties. He said that his whole being was full of Abu'l-Ḥasan's salt, and it would be impossible to join Imperial service. The Emperor was very much upset and angry at this reply, and ordered him to be imprisoned. But Fīrōz Jang interceded, and in 1103/1691-2 he was appointed *faujdār* of southern Konkan. He then proceeded to Arabia on a pilgrimage to Mecca *via* the place of his birth, Lār in Iran, where he died. Two of his sons, Razzāq 'Alī Khān ('Abdu'r-Razzāq) and Muḥammad Khalil, were granted jāgīrs. See *H.A.*, pp. 407-408.

145. *H.A.*, 405. *Tārikh-i Ẓafarah, op. cit.*, p. 48, gives an entirely different and wholly uncorroborated version of the episode; he says that when Rūhu'l-lāh Khān reached *Bālā Ḥisār*, the Sulṭān was busy in watching music and dance, and that he was brought to Prince A'ẓam "with a rope round his neck". A much later author, Ghulām Ḥusain, says in his *Gulzār-i Aṣafīyah*, p. 52, that Abu'l-Ḥasan was carried from the Palace to the Gateway in a covered palanquin along with a boy of four sitting opposite. As the boy became very thirsty on the way the Sulṭān asked a water-carrier who was evidently passing by, to give him a cup of water and actually dropped a diamond ear-ring worth fifty thousand rupees, which the boy was wearing, in the cup! Aurangzeb is said to have purchased the costly ornament from the water-carrier for Rs. 2,000/-. The whole story seems to be incredible and apocryphal. In the same way Manucci's story (*op. cit.*, III, 193, 397) that Abu'l-Ḥasan was badly treated by his captors and even beaten, and that he was imprisoned at Gwalior, is without any foundation.

146. *M.A.*, 308. The ex-Sulṭān was placed under the charge of a Mughal officer, Jān Sipār Khān. *M.L.*, II, 371 places the parting of the ways to about a month later.

147. The mortal remains of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh and Fīrōz Jang's son Aṣaf Jāh Niẓāmu'l-Mulk I, lie buried at Khuldābād almost side by side within the sepulchral compound of Shāh Rājū Qattāl, grandfather of Abu'l-Ḥasan's preceptor, while Aurangzeb lies buried in a simple grave over the road a few yards away, within the compound of Hazrat Zainu'd-din's tomb. Thus the victor and the vanquished, the captor and the captive, lie close to each other, cold in death. Fīrōz Jang is buried in Delhi, in a beautiful tomb constructed by himself next to the grand mosque, the focal point of what is now the Delhi College near Ajmēri Darwāzā.

Khuldābād or *Rauẓā*, headquarters of a taluqa of that name, Aurangābād district, Maharashtra State, 20°1′ N., 75°12′ E.

148. *M.A.*, 312, mentions three daughters, while *M.L.*, II, 312, say that there was a fourth daughter who was the eldest and who chose to be her father's constant companion. Khudā Bandā or Banda-i Sulṭān; *H.A.*, p. 414. Nothing more about the Sulṭān's progeny is known.

149. *H.A.*, 408; Gribble, *op. cit.*, 310, where there are slight variations.

150. See above, Ch. VI, section 4.

151. For the *Inqiyād Nāmā* or "Deed of Submission" see above, Ch. VI, f.n. 115. See also Ch. III sect. 5 and P. M. Joshi, "Coins Current in the Kingdom of Golkonda", *J.N.I.*, V, part I, pp. 85 ff.

152. *Tārīkh-i Ẓafarah* was compiled in 1185/1771-72, i.e. 86 years after the fall of Golkonda.

153. This equation as well as many others are not correct. The discrepancies in the totals as well as the balances struck may have been due either to wrong reporting and the mistakes of the copyist or even to the mistakes in printing the *raqams* or conventional notation used in the preparation of Persian balance sheets with which the modern scribe is not familiar. The difference between the official rate of exchange, 3 rupees, and the market price of a hon, may be due to fluctuation in the relative value of gold and silver. It is not clear how the "annas" stood *vis à vis* the hons to which they are appended.

We should also remember that the figures given in the Statement denote only the rent from agricultural land and do not include receipts from mines, particularly diamond mines at Kūlūr and elsewhere, nor the import and export duties levied at port towns such as Masulipatam, Niẓāmpaṭam and Madras. There were also taxes on merchandise similar to the excise duties levied today.

154. The number of parganas is mentioned as 355; but the sum total of the parganas enumerated comes to 559.

155. This is not correct. If we multiply the hons by 3 (leaving aside the annas) we would arrive at Rs. 3,99,58,053, while the total revenue of various sarkars comes to Rs. 2,60,01,429.

156. This should be Rs. 10,55,002.

157. This should be Rs. 1,30,30,103—9 annas.

158. The name "Karnatak" is used for the southern extension of the Quṭb Shāhī Kingdom, is a misnomer as it really covered the southern part of the present Andhra Pradesh and the northern part of Madras. The reason why the name was given to the region is purely historical. Originally the Kannada language was spoken in a large part of the old Vijayanagar Empire; but after the fall of the capital in January, 1565, the Empire gradually receded to the Tamil and the Telugu regions. Still, the name "Karnatak" stuck to the truncated kingdom even when it had to forego practically all the territory where Kannada was spoken.

159. It is interesting to note that the Mughal nomenclature of the "Ṣūbā", either in the sense of the old *ṭaraf* or as a union of a number of *aṭrāf*, and not been introduced during Abu'l-Ḥasan's reign. We have a book by Mun'im Khān Hamdānī, entitled *Sawānih-i Dakan*, which details the *ṣūbās, sarkārs* and *parganās* as they existed in 1197/1783, when the book was written, i.e. during the rule of Niẓām 'Alī Khān Aṣaf Jāh II. The Mughal Deccan was divided into six ṣūbās, viz., Aurangābād, Khāndesh, Berar, Bidar, Bijapur and Haidarabad. The last ṣūbā included Karnatak (both Bālāghāt and Pāiṇghāt) extending as far south as Trichnopoly and Tanjore, consisted of 35 sarkars or districts and about 400 paraganas or maḥāls. It was the five northern Sarkārs centred at Sikakol (Srikakulum), Rajahmundri, Elloie (Ellūrū), Mustafānagar (Koṇḍāpallī), and Murtaẓā-nagar (Koṇḍavīḍu) which were leased to the English by Shāh 'Ālam in 1765 and agreed to by the Nizam. Even now the eastern districts of Andhra Pradesh up to the Mouths of the Krishna, are called "The Circars".

ANNEXURE I

CONTEMPORARY CHRONICLES AND OTHER ACCOUNTS RELATING TO THE QUṬB SHAHI DYNASTY

There is such a vast amount of historical data regarding the history of the Quṭb Shāhīs of Golkonda-Haidarabad that we can deal here only with what was written in the Deccan and elsewhere contemporaneous with the rule of the dynasty. This consists mainly of two categories of documents, viz., official and unofficial chronicles, and other documentary data not amounting to history proper but of supreme importance for the evaluation of social, economic and inter-statal aspects of the period. For the purpose of analysis and classification we may divide our data into the following sections :

Section 1 : Contemporary Indo-Persian histories written in the Deccan, in prose.

Section 2 : Letters of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and the Emperor 'Alamgir mainly regarding the affairs of Golkonda-Haidarabad.

Section 3 : Contemporary Indo-Persian histories written in the Deccan, in verse.

Section 4 : Telugu poems with a bearing on the history of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty.

Section 5 : Travelogues.

Section 6 : "Mughal" histories, i.e., chronicles written during the reigns of the Mughal Emperors from Akbar to Aurangzeb 'Alamgir.

Section 7 : Records left to us by the Dutch and the English East India Companies.

SECTION I.

Contemporary Indo-Persian histories written in the Deccan, in prose.

1. *Burhān-i Ma'āṯhir*

It is noteworthy that *Burhan-i Ma'āṯhir* is the first Indo-Persian chronicle bearing on the history of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty compiled in the Deccan. The author, Syed 'Alī b. 'Azizu'l-lah Ṭabāṭabā, came to India from 'Irāq and entered the service of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh (1550-80). In any case he was present at the siege of Naldurg which started in the reign of Ibrāhīm in September 1681 and continued till the first months of the reign of his successor Muḥammad-Qulī in January 1682. But it was probably not long after this that he quitted Quṭb Shāhī service and entered the service

of the Niẓām Shāhīs. It was Burhān Niẓām Shāh II (1591-95) who commissioned him to compile the chronicle which has been named after him. The title of the work, *Burhān-i Ma'āṯhir*, is a chronogram and answers to 1000/1591-92 (which, incidentally, is the year of the foundation of Haidarabad) and this may be regarded as the date of the commencement of the compilation. The author says that he completed the work on 14th Rabi'II, 1003/17.11.1594, but the narrative is continued right up to the prolonged Peace Conference between Chānd Bībī Sulṭān and Prince Murād which culminated on 27th Rajab 1004/14.3.1596. There is an interesting colophon at the end of the Cambridge manuscript from which the printed edition has been copied, saying that the manuscript was completed by the author's own son, Abū Tālib on 22 Muḥarram 1038/11.9.1628.

The chronicle is divided into three Ṭabaqāt or Sections of unequal size. The first Section deals with the Bahmanīs of Gulbarga, the second with the Bahmanīs of Bidar and the third, with the Sulṭāns of Ahmadnagar as the central theme, up to the peace treaty of March 14, 1596. The first Section is the shortest, covering barely 52 pages in print, the second covers 115 pages, while the last covers nearly 470 pages and gives a detailed account of the Niẓām Shāhī kings up to the reign of Burhān II. As the author was in Quṭb Shāhī service before he migrated to Aḥmadnagar he pays special attention to the history of Golkonḍā-Haidarābad. He deals with the reigns of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk, his son Jamshīd, practically skips over the short reign of his son Subḥān (whom he does not name) and passes on to the reigns of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. He describes the reign of the last two monarchs with some interest, though he does so only in connection with the events of the Niẓām Shāhī kingdom. He is full of useful details about the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty, while he refers to the rulers of Berār as simply " 'Imadu'l-Mulk" and the second of the line as "Shaikh 'Atau'd-din 'Imadu'l-Mulk perhaps because the "Imad Shāhīs were at daggers drawn with the Niẓām Shāhīs.

As has been mentioned elsewhere (Sherwani, *Bahmanis of the Deccan : an Objective Study*, pp. 431-32) *Burhān* provides correctives to Ferishta so far as the Bahmanīs are concerned. In the case of the post-Bahmanī period Ṭabāṭabā was an eye witness to many events of his day, while his information about past history may also be regarded as fairly trustworthy. He was present at two sieges, one of Naldurg where he was in the service of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, and the other of Aḥmadnagar where he appears as a high dignitary in the entourage of Chānd Sultānā. Moreover he gives such a vivid account of the Peace Conference which ended the Aḥmadnagar-Mughal conflict for the time being, that one may surmise that he was personally present at the Conference itself.

The first two *ṭabaqās* were translated and abridged by J. S. King and published in 1900 as "The History of the Bahmanī Dynasty", while

the third *ṭabaqā* was likewise abridged and translated by Sir Wolseley Haig and published in 1923 as "The History of the Niẓām Shaḥīs of Aḥmadnagar".

2. *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī, generally called Tarikh-i Ferishtā*

Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, surnamed Ferishta, was born at Astrābād in Iran in 1552 and died at Bijāpūr in 1623. He was brought to Aḥmadnagar when still a child and remained there till 1591 when he joined service at the court of Ibrahim 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijāpūr.

His monumental work, the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* or *Nauras Nāmā*, generally known as *Tarikh-i Ferishtā* was presented to the king in 1606 in a complete form, though subsequently the author enlarged it, bringing it down to 1609. It is certainly one of the most important chronicles of events relating to the medieval period of Indian history. Its importance is such that the chronicles compiled after it may be regarded either as supplementary to the respective themes or else mere couplets of Ferishtā dealing with specified areas.

In his Introduction the author has given a list of thirty-two works on which he has drawn for his information, but not one of these was a history of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty. In the very brief section 4 of volume 2 (Lucknow edition, 1865) devoted to *"Rulers of Tilang"* he only refers to one work, the *Waqai' Quṭbshāhīya* which was supposed to have been written by Shāh Khurshāh of 'Irāq in the time of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh but he confesses that did not have recourse even to that work. As a matter of fact no such work by Shāh Khurshāh exists. There is a fine copy of *Tarikh Ilchi Niẓām Shāh* (by Khurshāh b. Qubād al-Ḥusaini), prepared for the royal library of 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh in 1038/1628-9 (Sālār Jung Museum, Haidarābād, MSS. No. 118 B), in which the author describes the history of the world right up to the Bahmanīs of the Deccan, including the Turkoman ancestors of the Quṭb Shāhīs. But when he comes to Muḥammad Shāh Lashkārī (1463-82) and the disintegration of the Bahmanī Empire he stops there and promises to write later detailed histories of the Bahmanī succession States, namely the states ruled by "Niẓāmu'l-Mulk. 'Ādil Khān, Quṭbu'l-Mulk, 'Imādu'l-Mulk and Qāsim Barīd". Even if he did write a history of the Quṭb Shāhīs we are not aware of it, and at least Ferishtā did not have recourse to it.

In the Lucknow edition of Ferishtā barely five pages are devoted to the Quṭb Shāhīs, while 92 pages have been taken up by the 'Ādil Shāhīs and 74 by the Niẓām Shāhīs. Even in these five pages the author has made certain palpable mistakes due to his ignorance of facts. A few instances of his *faux pas* may suffice—

(1) He says that Muḥammad-Qulī ascended the throne in 989/1581

at the age of 12, although he himself says that he was born on 1st Ramẓan 973/22-3-1566. (2) Writing in 1018/1609-10 he says that the Persian envoy, Aghuzlu Sulṭān was still in the Deccan waiting for the acceptance of the proposal for the marriage of the son of Shah 'Abbās II of Irān to the Sulṭān's daughter, Ḥayāt Bakhshī Begum; although her marriage with the Sulṭān's nephew, who later became Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, had already taken place two years earlier. (3) Ferishta is so much interested in the supposed romance of Muḥammad-Qulī with the "*zan-i fahishā*", Bhāgmatī, that he calls the newly founded capital 'Bhāgnagar' in 1018/1609-10, when we have a number of coins struck at "Dāru's-Salṭanat Ḥaidarābād" dated 1012/1603. He forgets his own theory when he says categorically that the Quṭb Shahī army which had been sent to Aḥmadnagar in 1005/1597, was routed by the Mughals and flew black to "Ḥaidarābād".

Thus, so far as the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty is concerned it cannot be said that Ferishta's *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* is to be relied upon.

3. *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk*

Mir Rafi'u'd-dīn Ibrāhīm bin Nuru'd-dīn Taufiq Shīrāzi was born about 947/1510-11. He came to Bijāpūr with his father as a merchant in the time of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, but gyrated into government service in the time of 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh (1557-79) apparently as a *Khwān Salar* or Steward of the Royal Table. He rose step by step till Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II (1579-1626) sent him on an important mission to Aḥmadnagar in 1005/1596-7. He also served as the governor of Bijāpūr for some time.

Rafi'u'd-dīn began writing the *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk* on 19th Ramaẓān 1017/17-12-1608 and completed it at Nauraspur, a suburb of Bijāpūr (which, he says, was renamed Bidyapūr), on 6th Jamadi II, 1024/23-6-1615. This fell on Friday, and evidently Monday, as in the Āsafiyāh Manuscript, is wrong. Storey, however, says that the work was completed in 1020/1611, which happened to be the year of the death of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. The last date recorded is Rabi' II, 1020/June 1611.

The *Tadhkira* is primarily a chronicle of the 'Ādil Shāhīs of Bijāpūr, prefaced by a chapter on the Bahmanīs and ending with two chapters on the Mughals from Amīr Timūr to Akbar. The remaining seven chapters are taken over by the history of the 'Ādil Shahis right up to Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II. But the politics of the Bahmanī Succession States were so much intertwined with each other that a detailed history of the 'Ādil Shāhīs was bound to have a fairly important niche for the Quṭb Shāhīs as well. It is interesting to note that the author calls the first four rulers of the 'Adīl Shāhī dynasty by their names without the suffix of Shāh, thus denoting that they did not proclaim their kingship. It should, however, be noted that there are certain inscriptions of the fourth ruler,

Ibrahim 'Ādil dated 945/1538-9 in which he is called Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh. It is also interesting that he traces the geneology of Yusuf 'Ādil Khān to Maḥmūd Beg of Sāwah in Central Asia, not to Maḥmūd I or II, Sulṭāns of Turkey, as is sometimes asserted.

The author devotes considerable attention and space to the Quṭb Shāhīs. He is all praise for Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and gives some very useful information about the foundation of the new capital, Ḥaidarābād. He describes its raison d'être, its general lay-out, the details of the part of the royal palace and the position which men of learning and wisdom occupied in the State. On the whole the book gives a fairly correct account of the earlier period of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty.

4. *Tarikh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shah*

5. *Ma'athir-Quṭb Shāhī*

The *Tarikh* which is a comprehensive and detailed history of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty was compiled under the order of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh in 1025/1616. The author, who chooses to be anonymous, says in his Introduction that he had before him a larger history "by one of the servants (Chākirān) of His Majesty" which he has condensed and added on certain other facts which have a bearing on the history of the period. As a history of the dynasty with an official hallmark, it begins with a description of the Qara Qūyuntū background of Sulṭān-Qulī's family before he and his uncle Allah-Qulī first came to India, and goes on to the history of the dynasty in all its aspects. The book is divided into four "Accounts" and an Epilogue—

(1) Account of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk.

(2) Account of "Jamshīd Quṭbu'l-Mulk" and his son "known as Subḥān-Qulī".

(3) Account of the life and reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.

(4) Account of the life and reign of Sulṭān Moḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

(5) Epilogue; Account of "some of the events" of the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.

The book not merely describes the events at the court, the campaigns undertaken and the conquests made, but also surveys the public works of the Quṭb Shāhīs, their patronage of literature and their edifices. It gives the raison d'être of the foundation of Haidarābād, the scheme of its lay-out, various buildings and roads which radiated from the new capital, the relative importance of Golkonḍa and Ḥaidarābād and numerous facts not found elsewhere. It is very punctilious about dates, and its survey of facts is chronologically correct to a very large extent.

The author completed the work in Sha'bān 1026/July-August 1617. Ethé was of opinion that he wrote it between Sha'bān 1026 and the

commencement of 1027 but Storey points out that the mistake in the calculation is due to a misunderstanding of "twenty-seven" which really indicated the age of the king. 1025/1616 is the last date dealt within this History.

Another author, Maḥmūd b. 'Abdu'l-lāh Nīshapūrī has brought the narrative to 1038 in his *Ma'aṯir-i Quṭb Shāhī*. He entered the service of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh in 995/1587 and compiled the book between 1033/1624 and 1038/1629. It was originally in three volumes but was "several times altered and enlarged". The only portion extant today is the one in the India Office Library and even that is defective at the end. Apart from the history of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty up to the year of Muḥammad-Quṭb Shāh's death in 1035/1626, he deals in some detail with the history of his home country Irān and stops at the death of Shāh 'Abbās II in 1038/1629.

6. *Ḥadīqatu's Salātīn*

Ḥadiqatu's Salātīn as a voluminous history of the first nineteen years (not 16 as in Storey) of the reign of 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh (1626-72) written by Mirza Niẓamu'd-dīn Aḥmad at the instance of the well-known Pēshwa of the kingdom, Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Khātūn. It purports to be a day-to-day chronicle of 'Abdu'l-lāh's life from his birth on November 21, 1614, to January 1, 1644. The period was one of the extreme decline of the political power of the Quṭb Shāhī kingdom which was fast heading towards the quagmire in which it was destined to sink. It had become a virtual protectorate of the Mughal Empire by the fateful "Deed of Submission" of January 1636. The Sulṭān had to seek favour from those in power at the Imperial capital and to write abject letters to Dārā Shikoh, Prince Aurangzeb and Imperial ministers and envoys such as no independent sovereign would ever care to write (*Makātīb Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh*, for which see later). And yet the author of Ḥadīqā represents him as the most mighty monarch, and relates that when he was born astrologers predicted that "he would be like Alexander and Solomon, and issue orders to all the kings of the world." He describes him with great bombast and details the functions connected with the celebration of various festivals "when flowers abounded, casks of scent filled the breeze, lakhs of lamps lit and thousands and thousands of hons distributed." The progress of the king to the east coast is described in words which would put the Field of the Cloth of Gold to shame. And just then Mīr Jumla was conquering the Rāyalsīmā (perhaps with the connivance of the Mughal Emperor) with his centre at Gaṇḍikoṭā and unfurling the Quṭb Shāhī flag on eminences south of St. Thomas' Mount, preparing for the day when he would cross over to the Mughal camp and put the Quṭb Shāhī Court to shame.

Ḥadiqatu's Salāṭīn is like a diary of the Quṭb Shāhī Court in which not merely the pomp and merriment are described but also the manner in which the country was administered, the ways of the great lords, the duties and functions of the Pēshwa and other ministers, the establishment of the *"Majlis-i Diwāndārī"* or Privy Council, the administration of justice and even the day-to-day postings of high civil and military officers. It gives a fairly correct picture of the social life of the people, their superstitions, their rites and ceremonies, and what is significant, of the cordial relations which existed between the different sections of the population, chiefly the Hindus and the Muslims. Finally we can glean from it the international set-up, the position which foreign *ḥājibs* or envoys, both permanent and extraordinary, occupied in the capital. The diction of the book is such that in spite of the wealth of facts it contains the reader is not bored, and in fact his interest increases with almost every page.

7. *Ḥadā'iqu's-Salātīn*

The full name of the book is *Ḥadā'iqu's-Salātīn fi Kalāmi'l-Khāwaqīn* or "The Gardens of the Sulṭāns and the Poetic Compositions of Kings". The author, 'Ali bin Ṭaifūr al-Busṭāmī, says that he was a pupil of Muḥammad ibn Khātūn, and it was at the instance of Sulṭān Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh that he completed this work in 1092/1681. The Hadā'iq is not a book on history but a compendium of Persian poetry and the lives of eminent poets. It also contains certain letters written by the kings of Iran and of India as well as of some of their ministers and learned men. Although it was barely six years before the fall of the dynasty and the life-incarceration of the last of the Quṭb Shāhīs at Daulatābād, the author ends his narrative with a prayer that the power and prestige of the king should last for ever more!

The book is divided into three *Ḥadīqās* or Gardens each further divided into a number of *Tabaqās* or Sections:

(i) Pre-Islamic Iranian Kings from the Pīshdādīs to 30/650-51.

(ii) Muslim Kings and Emperors of Iran, Central Asia and India including Ghōrīs, Seljūqīs, Khwarāzm Sāhīs, Turkish Sulṭāns, the Mughals from Timūr to Jahāngīr, the Qarāquyūnlūs, Ṣafawīs, Bahmanīs, of whom only "Muḥmūd Shāh" (meaning Muḥammad I) and Fīroz are mentioned, the 'Ādil Shāhīs and finally the Quṭb Shāhīs, of whom only "Sulṭān-Qulī known as Baṛē Malik", Jamshīd, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh and Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh's reigns are touched. It is strange that 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh and Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh do not appear as poets or patrons of poetry at all.

(iii) The life histories, poems and some letters of certain ministers,

amirs, judges and learned men. These include more than thirty names, but north India is represented only by 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān Khān-i Khānān, 'Ali Qulī Khān, Faiẓi and Abu'l-Faẓl, while the Deccan is represented by Maḥmūd Gāwān, Mirzā Amīn Isfahānī Mīr Jumlā of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, and Rīẓa-Qulī Bēg entitled Neknām Khān.

The subject-matter of the book is mainly poetry and the poets, as the name of the book itself connotes, but the life history of each of them gives certain historical data, though as the author himself admits, culled from Indo-Persian and other chronicles. Out of more than 200 folios only about 20 have a bearing on the history of Golkonḍa-Ḥaidarabad, but even here certain new facts are mentioned which bring the *Ḥada'iq* into a line with the source books of Quṭb Shāhī history. It must, however, be stated that the standard of the work is definitely inferior to the standard maintained by such histories as *Tarikh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*, and, considering the steep downward political trends of the region it was only natural that it should be so.

SECTION II

Letters of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh and Aurangzeb mainly regarding the affairs of the Deccan.

8. *Letters of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh*

(1) *Makātīb Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh ba nam Dārā Shikōh waghairah*, (MSS. Salar Jung Library, Adab, Nathr Farsi, No. 295)

(2) *'Ara'iz wa Ittihād Nāmājāt wa Farāmīn 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh.* (MSS. Anjuman Taraqi Urdu, Karachi, No. 7/27)

(3) *Insha-i 'Abdu'l-'Alī Khān Ṭāliqānī* (MSS. Salar Jung Library, Adab, Nathr Farsi, No. 15.)

These three collections of letters and farmāns of 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh and certain other prominent personages of his reign give us important data regarding the political position of the kingdom after the Deed of Submission signed by the king in 1636. The manuscript in the Karāchī collection is virtually a copy of the manuscript in the Sālār Jung Library, No. 295, with certain additions and deletions which are not of a very great importance. The last actual date mentioned in the collection is Rajab 1072/February-March, 1662, being the date of the marriage of the king's third daughter to Mīrza Abu'l-Ḥasan who was destined to be the last ruler of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty. The third book, *Insha-i Ṭāliqānī* is obviously meant to be a collection of certain choice

letters illustrating the Persian diction in vogue in the Deccan of the seventeenth century, contains not only some letters common to the other two collections but also other letters which have no bearing on the history of the period.

The letters in the first two collections roughly cover the period from Mīr Jumla's defection in 1065/1654 up to 1072/1662. Most of the letters are undated, some have only the month and the year while a few have the full dates. There are letters of 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh addressed to Shah 'Abbās II of Iran, to Shāh Jahān, Dārā Shīkōh, Prince Aurangzeb, Shāh Jahān's daughter (may be Jahānārā), to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, to 'Abdu's-Ṣamad Dabīru'l-Mulk, Quṭb Shāhī envoy to the Mughal Court, Hājī Naṣīrā, Quṭb Shāhī envoy to Bijāpūr and many other personages.

The range of these interesting letters is such that they throw a flood of light not merely on the complete dependence of 'Abdu'l-lah's Ḥaidarabad on the Mughal power but also the utter despondency of the King who stoops low to complain of his plight to the Shāh of Irān and his own brother-in-law of Bijāpūr. The first letter in all the three collections is to Shāh 'Abbās II in which 'Abdu'l-lah bitterly complains to him of Mīr Jumla's treason and the "faithlessness of Sulṭān Khurram." On the other hand his "Petitions" not merely to the Emperor but also to Prince Dārā and Prince Aurangzeb are couched in the most abject terms. Thus whenever he mentions the Emperor's name it is with a profusion of laudatory epithets running sometimes to many lines, while he himself calls these petitions "entreaties". In one of his letters he says that Prince Aurangzeb was "the Pearl of the Great Caliphate." Even when he sends a farmān to his envoy at Delhi he refers to his letters to the Emperor as " 'Arzdāshts" and the Emperor himself as "the Abode of the Refuge of the Khilāfat."

The letters, therefore, are valuable for they furnish us correct estimate of the foreign, diplomatic and, to a certain extent, of the domestic policy in the later part of 'Abdu'l-lāh's reign.

9. *Letters of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr mainly regarding the affairs of 'Golkonda-Haidarabad.*

Ādāb-i 'Alamgīrī, (MSS., Salar Jung, Adab, Nathr-i Farsi, 2; Asafiyah, Insha-i Farsi, 86.

A counterpart of 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shah's letters and petitions is the collection of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr's letters, the *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī,* compiled by Munshīyu'l-Mumālik Shaïkh Abu'l-Fatḥ 'Ināyatu'l-lah Khān, entitled Qābil Khān, who was secretary of the Emperor. There are atleast two copies of this voluminous work at Haidarabad, one in the Salar Jung Library and two in the State Central (Aṣafiyah) Library. There are a dozen other copies ensumerated by the editor of a part of the Collection,

Najīb Ashraf Nadawi (*Ruqqa'āt-i 'Alamgīr*, n.d.), and these are scattered in many libraries including the British Museum (Or. 107, and Or. 2054) and the India Office Library (Nos. 371 and 372). But he is definite that the dated copy in the State Central Library at Haidarabad, written in 1115/1703-4, is the oldest, while the next in point of date is the British Museum copy of 1125/1713. The Salar Jung copy, of which, evidently he was not aware, is dated 1152/1740. In this copy there are 39 letters addressed to "Quṭbu'l-Mulk" by the Emperor and one addressed to him by Prince Muḥammad Sulṭan, while there are as many as 73 letters addressed to Muḥammad Sa'īd both while he was the Mir Jumla and when he defected to the Mughals to become Mu'aẓẓam Khān. A large number of these letters show his utility to the Mughal cause and the regard which Prince Aurangzeb, later Emperor 'Ālamgīr, had for him.

While Muḥammad Sa'īd is sometimes addressed as "Khān-i 'Aẓamu'sh-Shān" (the Khān of Exalted Dignity), 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shah has to be satisfied with a mere "Quṭbu'l-Mulk, ruler of Golkonda." This was only to be expected as 'Abdu'l-lah had belittled his position by the cringing manner with which he penned his petitions, first to Dārā Shikōh when he was in power, and then to 'Ālamgīr.

There is much historical interest in these letters, for they show the inner psychology of Aurangzeb regarding the problems he had to face. Some of these letters extend to many pages describing their contents in great detail. Naturally their tone varies with Aurangzeb's fortunes, first as the Viceroy of the Deccan, then as the warring claimant to the Mughal throne, later as Emperor after the incarceration of his father, and finally as the invader and conqueror of Golkonda; but the attitude *vis á vis* the Quṭb Shāhī monarchy remains the same—one of increasing disdain and contempt.

SECTION III

Contemporary Indo-Persian Histories, written in the Deccan, in verse

(1) *Nisbat Nāma-i Shahryārī*
(2) *Nasab Nāma-i Quṭb Shāhī*
(3) *Tawārīkh-i Quṭb Shāhī* (London)
(4) *Tawārīkh-i Quṭb Shāhī* (Haidarabad)

All these four books are in manuscript. While the first three have been noted in the descriptive list of the libraries where they are housed, the fourth, which is housed in the Salar Jung Library at Haidarabad, was evidently not known to Professor Storey when he compiled his *Bio-Bibliographical Survey of Persian Literature*.

The first time we read of the *Nisbat Nāma-i Shahryārī* is in Sprenger's *Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindu'sta'ny Manuscripts of the Library of the King of Oudh* (No. 227), in which it is stated that the book was compiled by Ḥusain 'Ali Shāh Fursī who completed it in 1016/1607, and that it was copied at Lahore in 1019/1610. The name, *Tawārikh-i Quṭb Shāhī* actually occurs in one of the lines at the commencement of the book. It is divided into 4 cantos and "appears to be an abstract of the Nasab Namah." The *takhalluṣ* of Fursī appears on page 5, but the book is ascribed to Hiralal Khushdil, Secretary (Munshī) of Haidar-Qulī Khān, and the takhalluṣ "Khushdil" appears in one of the odes in the book.

There are two copies of the name *Nasab Nāma-i Quṭb Shāhī* in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Ivonow, 690 and 691) both ending at the commencement of the rule of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. They once belonged to the College of Fort William and have the seal of that College in the Urdu, Devanagari and Bengali scripts. Ivonow rightly says that the name "Ḥusain 'Alī" is only mentioned in the eulogy of Imām Ḥusāin (Ḥusāin-i 'Alī=Ḥusāin son of 'Ali) and has nothing to do with the name of the author. It is not clear where Sprenger found the date of the authorship, but there is a reference on fol. 238 to the poet Thanā'ī (not Sana'ī) as a living luminary, which means that the book must have been written before his death which occurred in 1588.

The book is divided into four Maqālās or Theses; namely

I. Introduction and the early history of the dynasty ending in the death of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī (1518).

II. Decline of the Bahmanīs and the rise of Barē Malik.

III. Inter-statal wars of the Deccan Sulṭānates, up to the death of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, with odes in honour of Ibrāhīm and his son Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

IV. The first year of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh up to the celebration of the King's marriage with Mīr Shāh Mīr's daughter.

The book contains three fine vignettes. The first part was copied from the library of Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh by 'Alī b. Abī Muḥammad and completed on 22 Shawwāl 1022/25.11.1613, while the remaining parts were copied by Sa'īdu'd-dīn Iṣfahānī. Ivonow says that the word "Lahore" has been added on later as it is in a more modern hand.

The narrative goes on to the first year of the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh before the king's father-in-law was deposed from his office and ordered to leave the kingdom; but it seems to have been copied down in the first year of the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, in

1021/1613, not in the reign of his predecessor Muḥammad-Qulī as Ivonow would have it.

The other book also called *Nasab Nāmā-i Quṭb Shāhī* by Ivonow (No. 691), is "a poem of the same content but half its size", while the name of the author, Fursī" appears in a number of places. Ivonow says that No. 691, is the same copy as Sprenger's 227, but it is hardly possible as both 690 and 691 originally belonged to the College of Fort William, while No. 227 of Sprenger belonged to the Mōtī Mahal library of Wājid 'Alī Shāh, King of Oudh, in 1854. The most that can be said is that No. 691 is the exact copy of the work in the Lucknow library. Unfortunately the manuscript in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society has been bound very carelessly, many folios are misplaced and some are upside down. It is a matter of great regret that, at least in 1962, both Nos. 690 and 691 were not properly cared for; many pages were stuck together and it was with some difficulty and risk that they could be separated. On the fly-leaf of No. 691 there is a long note by Blochmann in his own handwriting in which he has discussed the authorship of the work.

Tawārikh-i Quṭb Shāhī (Ethe, no. 1486). This book is similar to the two books described above, and it was likewise dedicated to the reigning Sulṭān, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh. The author "who conceals his name", was engaged in this compilation for ten years. It is also divided into 4 parts, namely,

Part 1: Geneology of the Quṭb Shāhī family up to the birth of "Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭb Shāh."

Part 2: Reign of "Malik Sulṭān- Qulī Quṭb Shāh" and of Jamshīd.

Part 3: Reign of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.

Part 4: Reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh.

As in the case of other books the frontispiece is illuminated in gold. There are 137 folios, i.e., 274 pages, written in clear nasta'liq.

Tawārikh-i Quṭb Shāhī (Salar Jung Library, Adab, Naẓm-i Fārsī, No. 1101). The work which is, like the above three books, is a history of the early Quṭb Shāhs in verse, and was compiled in the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh as the author indicates in the beginning. It covers barely 55 folios with 21 lines to a page and is a beautiful gold illuminated book written in fine nasta'liq and an embellished frontispiece in gold. It traces the history of the dynasty from its inception and deals with certain events in great detail, some of which may have been the product of the fertile imagination of the author. There are blank spaces left for vignettes on folios 9(a), 30(b) and 35(b). The manuscript is incomplete, for while it was written in the time of Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh it ends the narrative with his accession in 1580. Evidently the last few folios of the manuscript have disappeared.

Although it is not so mentioned, the book is virtually divided into four sections, each beginning with the praise of God, a device which ends a narrative and begins another with *āghaz-i dāstān* or "Beginning of the Story." The four sections are as follows—

(1) The reign or rule of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk to the successful campaign of Kovilkōnda and the death of Ismā'īl 'Adīl Shāh of Bijāpūr;
(2) From the accession of Mallū to the Bijāpūr throne to the murder of Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk.
(3) From the accession of "Jamshīd Khān" to his return from Sholāpūr.
(4) The remaining period of Jamshīd's rule, Subḥān's interlude and Ibrāhīm's reign.

The name of the compiler is nowhere mentioned and it is possible that the colophon with his name formed the part of the book which has been lost. It is noticeable that the epithet "Naṣab Nāma" appears in the book three times viz., on folios 15(a), 24(a) and 40(b). It is possible that it is a partly edited and partly epitomised version of the manuscript in the India Office Library mentioned above, with the reign of Muḥammad-Qulī missing.

The manuscript contains certain useful data which are not found in any other work. Thus the interesting episode of Jamshīd going to pray at the grave of his martyred father, the search for his father's murderer and his execution shed some light on the problem of the complicity or otherwise of Jamshīd in his father's murder. There are also some interesting details of the battle "on the banks of the Krishna" of January 1565. These and certain other episodes described in the manuscript are both interesting and useful. As has been mentioned above the book has not been listed in any of the catalogues published so far.

SECTION IV

Telugu poems with a bearing on the history of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty

1. Long Poems:

There is no history proper of the Quṭb Shāhīs in Telugu. Apart from inscriptions, with which we are not concerned here, there are some long poems which throw light on certain aspects of Quṭb Shāhī political and social history. Thus Addanki Gangādhara Kavī's *Tāpati Samvāranamū*, describes the extent of the conquests of Sulṭān Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk and praises his character as a ruler. He also gives an account of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh's campaign against Rājahmundrī and Srīkākulum and further up to the confines of Orissa, as well as a full pen-picture of Ibrāhīm's

court. Similarly, the anonymous writer of the long poem *Chatuṗādya-manimanyāri* describes in some detail the patronage accorded to Telugu by Ibrāhīm. The third important Telugu work which has a bearing on the social set-up is *Yāyaticharitramū* by Ponnaganṭī Teleganārya. It is a mythological poem consisting of the story of Yāyati who was said to have been descended from the Moon and from whom all the Chandravaṇśis were supposed to be descended. It is a poem in *atsā* or pure Telugu without any *tatsam* Sanskrit word, and is dedicated to Amīn Khān of Paṭanchēru. From the historical point of view we are more concerned with the dedicatory introduction than with the story, for in it the author gives a fairly long account of Amīn Khān's family, its position in the field of diplomacy and public service and the general set-up of the village society. Although the three books mentioned are not books dealing with history as such, they give us the Telugu view-point of the events mainly of the time of the early Quṭb Shāhs.

2. A very interesting set of compositions in Telugu are long laudatory odes which were sung generally every morning at the courts of the kings and other feudal rulers. They are composition of the bards of varying knowledge, capacity or understanding, and are therefore of a heterogeneous variety. The most famous of these are the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṃśāvalī* and *Chikkadēvarāya Vaṃśāvalī* which describe the deeds of valour of the members of the families in question. There is also the *Rāmarājāvijayam* containing odes in praise of the Aravidū family of Vijayanagar. All these are just family chronicles and when they ostensibly sing praises for the subjects of their adoration we should expect the description to be one-sided and at times exaggerated. Moreover, as no dates are mentioned we have to draw from other chronicles for the chronological sequence.

3. The Mackenzie Collection: We have a mass of village accounts called *Kaifiyāt* (*Kaifiyat* in Singular). These originated in the *daṇḍakavilēs* or *kavilēs* which were kept by the village *karṇam* or revenue officer (paṭwārī), and contained information about the political, religious, social and economic conditions of the village, including an account of the contemporary events which had a bearing on the locality. Entries were made by each *karṇam* during his incumbency, who then passed them on to his successor. It was Col. Mackenzie who espied the value of these village *kavilēs*, literally hundreds in number, and tried to collect them or have their copies prepared. But the karṇams as well as the clerks who were sent to copy the documents thought that it was futile to copy down the long accounts fully, and made their gists according to their own predilections. It is these gists which are called kaifiyats or "Narratives", and they are collectively known as the "Mackenzie Manuscripts" or the "Mackenzie Collection."

These kaifiyats are "an admixture of legend and history—the legendary element preponderates in the account of the early period, but it leaves the later period free." The research worker, therefore, must use them with great caution especially as the karṇams were sometimes ignorant of even elementary facts. The most important of these kaifiyats from our point of view are those of Chittivēlī, Cuddapah, Hanamkōṇḍa, Kōṇḍavīḍu, Nandyālā, Sara, Siddhavāṭam (Siddhout) and Taḍpatrī.

Included in the Mackenzie Collection is *Rāmārājana Bakhair* which is supposed to give an account of the decisive battle wrongly called the Battle of Tālikōṭa. The *Bakhair* furnishes us with a bewildering mass of statistics regarding the battle. Among other things it says that "Akhabara Jaladin Mogal Padusaha, the lord of Jahalnapura" took part in it, and the army which he contributed to the joint forces included 2½ crores of footsoldiers, a lakh elephants, two lakh camels, 5 lakh archers, about 12,000 guns and 12,000 riderless horses. That was only "Akhabara's" contribution. On the other side Rama Raja's resources included 65,50,000 horses, nearly 19 lakh camels, about 20,000 elephants, 9,87,76,413 maunds of gunpowder and 9,87,65,43,21,00,000 cannon balls! On the basis of such a data, one of the foremost of modern historians thinks that this chronicle furnishes us with the Hindu version of the great battle and enables us to investigate the problem afresh."

SECTION V

Travelogues

1. *Three French Travellers: Tavernier, Thèvenot, Bernier.*

The travelogues of these three distinguished Frenchmen who visited Golkonda-Haidarabad in the time of 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh are valuable documents for the study of the social, economic and administrative history of the period.

Jean Baptiste Tavernier, created Baron d'Aubonne by Louis XIV, was born about 1605. He made six voyages to the East and was in the Quṭb Shāhi Kingdom in 1638-39, 1651, 1657-58 and 1662-63. His book *Travels in India,* appeared in 1676 and he died at the advanced age of 85 in 1690. The value of Tavernier's account of the conditions in the Quṭb Shāhī Kingdom is not to be met in his description of the events at the Court such as are so profusely given by our Indo-Persian chroniclers, but in his observations regarding the life of the people in general. We are indebted to him for a description of the trunk roads and branch roads of the kingdom, the means of communication, the stages *en route,* the price of commodities, the produce, import and export of the kingdom, trades, money, exchange and other such matters. His description of the formalities he had to undergo while entering the city of Haidarabad

via the *Purānā Pul* or the Old Bridge, thrown on the Musi by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh in 1578, make an interesting reading. He also gives a clue to the meaning of the enigmatic name of the capital and says that while Aider-Abad (Haidarabad) is the official name, the general public calls it Bagnagar (Baghnagar) or the City of Gardens. Being himself a dealer in diamonds his description of the mines he visited, the processes connected with the working of these mines, the weight of the gems, their value and their demand by the Court, are all valuable. Quite naturally, however, he was not in full cognizance of the events at the Court, and his enunciation not merely of the history of the dynasty but also of contemporary events, is sometimes faulty and incorrect.

Jean de Thèvenot was born in 1633 and was in the Quṭb Shāhī dominions in 1666-67. He invariably notes down the things he saw, the difficulties he had to undergo, and the experiences he gained. He mentions how he carried letters of credit with him, which were honoured much in the same manner as bills of exchange or travellers' cheques are honoured today. He also gives a fair delineation of the Quṭb Shāhī-Mughal border, the organisation of the army, the rites and ceremonies observed by the people and their economic conditions. He describes the city of Haidarabad with a certain amount of exactitude, and also the way the tombs of the Quṭb Shāhī Kings were kept. But, like Tavernier, his information regarding the history of the dynasty are meagre and unreliable.

François Bernier, a medical practitioner by profession, was born in 1620 and received his doctorate of medicine in 1652, arriving at Surat in 1658. We learn from Tavernier that he and Bernier were together in Bengal, but it is strange that Bernier does not mention this in his memoirs. As a doctor he was attached to the Court of the Emperor Shāh Jahān and it is quite natural that he describes the general economic and political conditions of the Mughal Empire in his book *"History of the late Rebellion in the State of the Great Mogul"*, which was published in 1670. He stresses the conditions of the Mughal Empire in all aspects, particularly the economic conditions, military organisation and political events at the court, in which he is more correct and precise than Tavernier or Thèvenot. He has got an interesting paragraph or two analysing the reasons why Golkonda was allowed to preserve its independence, while he is candid that "Bijapur is verging towards dissolution." He has added value to his narrative by supplementing the information he has collected in his book with a series of letters written to Colbert, the famous finance minister of France under Louis XIV, and to many other eminent persons of his homeland. Although some historical inaccuracies are found in his book he is, on the whole, accurate in the description of what he saw and experienced. He was himself a

philosopher with almost a professional training for observation, and his power of analysis excels that of Tavernier or Thèvenot.

2. *The Venetian Manucci*

Niccolao Manucci was born at Venice in 1639. He was of a rebellious nature and ran away from home at the early age of 14, seeking the protection of Viscount Bellemont and accompanying him in his journeys to Turkey, Persia and finally India. They reached Surat in January 1656 and travelled up north. It was between Delhi and Agra that Bellemont died and Manucci was left without a supporter. It was now that he began his kaleidoscopic career. He joined the services of Dārā Shikōh as a gunner, was present at Samūgaṛh where Dārā's fate was virtually sealed, entered Aurangzeb's service but left it after a while, went over again to Dārā at Lahore and became the Captain of his Artillery. After Dārā had been done to death he joined the services of Rājā Jai Singh and accompanied him to the Deccan as Captain of Artillery. He now thought he would be more at home at Goa where the Portuguese authorities employed him for negotiating with Aurangzeb. But his mercurial disposition was none at ease and he escaped to Agra, Delhi and Lahore where he practised as a doctor for seven years. He became the Court Physician to Prince Shāh 'Ālam (later Bahādur Shāh I) in 1678 and accompanied him to the Deccan. He again left Mughal service and fled to Goa where he was employed to negotiate with Sambhājī. Shāh 'Ālam was touched to the quick and was after him. He now escaped to seek the protection of Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, and when Golkonda was occupied by Aurangzeb in 1687 he went over to Madras, entered the service of Governor Gyfford, and became a citizen of Madras, where he died in 1717 at the age of 84.

Manucci's four famous volumes of the *Storia do Mogor,* which was written partly in Italian and partly in French and Portuguese, were left in oblivion for more than two hundred years till they were "discovered" at Berlin and translated into English by William Irvine in 1907. In 1503 Catrou based his *Histoire Générale de l'Empire du Mogol* on Manucci's manuscript and published it two years later. Manucci's whole treatment is based on his personal experience, though at times it is slightly exaggerated, and it is unfair to say (as his translator has done) that it "savours of baskstair gossip." On the other hand "it is a storehouse of observed political and social information" and as such is of profound value to the historian of the period.

Manucci was at Golkonda in Abu'l Ḥasan's service as a physician and received 700 rupees per mensem as his salary which would amount to at least ten times the value of money at the present day. He gives a picture of the court life of the last Quṭb Shāhī monarch at Golkōnḍa where the

Court had moved after the surrender of Ḥaidarabad to the Mughals, He illustrates his observations with numerous illustrations, one of which is the famous group containing the portraits of all the Quṭb Shāhī rulers from Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk up to Abu'l-Ḥasan, and he says that he had the individual portraits copied from the original ones in the collection at the Imperial Palace, by his friend the artist Pīr Muḥammad.

Whatever the critics may say, we can certainly glean very useful information from the *Storia do Mogor*.

3. *Relations*

Under the same category would come the accounts or "Relations" of the Dutchman Schoerer, the Englishman Methwold and an anonymous "Relation." Schoerer was appointed a factor at the Dutch Factory at Masulipatam about 1609 and was there till 1614, during which period he visited Ḥaidarabad at least once. He has left us a description of the coins current in the kingdom, the rate of exchange, weights and measures, and the staff at the Dutch Factory which consisted only of four persons. He says that Masulipatam "was the most famous market on the coast" and enumerates the cargo carried from there. He gives a long list of commodities and their prices at the market of the "Bandar" as Masulipatam was commonly called.

Methwold, who rose to be the President of the Factory at Surat, was born in 1590. He reached Masulipattam in May 1618 and was there till October 1622. He observes the climatic conditions and social set-up of the kingdom, and mentions its produce and its cattle wealth. He describes the new city of Ḥaidarābād at some length and says that the city was "the best situated in India." He was allowed to visit certain forts with the permission of the King. He mentions that there was a complete freedom of religion. He is explicit about the social and religious conditions of the population and gives an account of the clothes the people wore, the workers' emoluments, the rites observed at the time of marriage and death and other matters which are both interesting and instructive.

There is a third "Relation" left by one of the members of the staff of the Factory at Masulipatam, but the writer chooses not to divulge his name. He describes of the social and religious customs, their means of livelihood, crops, administration, justice and coinage of the Quṭb Shāhī State.

SECTION VI

"Mughal" Histories

In this context, by Mughal histories is meant chronicles written out-

side the Deccan mostly by the authors who were bidden to compile them by Mughal Emperors or else wrote for reward by them. They mostly register events connected with the person of the Emperors, military campaigns, movements of officers, and like matters, and they have very little information regarding such affairs as do not revolve round the administration. They correctly reflect the attitude of the Mughals towards the Sulṭāns of the Deccan in general and the Quṭb Shāhī Kings in particular. The other variety of "Mughal" histories are the compilations which deal with the general history of India not concentrated on the history of the Chaghtāi dynasty. As instances may be cited the *Tabāqāt-i Akbar Shāhī*, which served as a model of many later compendia, and *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, which was however compiled in 1731 and thus technically falls outside our purview.

But whether "Mughal" chronicles were the results of royal command or were independent compilations by authors in their private capacity, there is one uniformity in their outlook. They invariably ignore the royal status of the Sulṭāns of the Deccan and speak of them simply as 'Ādil Khān, Quṭbu'l-Mulk or Niẓāmu'l-Mulk" as the case may be. To the authors of these books, the Mughal Emperor was the only one supreme ruler in India, and whether the other rulers had recognised his overlordship like 'Abdu'l-lah Quṭb Shāh or not, they were just "Dunyādārān-i Dakan" or "Marzbānān-i Dakan", never Sulṭāns or Kings. And when time comes and they have to sign a submissive treaty they are made to call themselves merely Quṭbu'l-mulk and 'Ādil Khān. The "Mughal" chronicles do not care to know about the Quṭb Shāhīs more than can be couped up in a few lines, and even that is not a first-hand information. Due to their ignorance of Quṭb Shāhī history they make some mistakes of fact with regard to the past of the Quṭb Shāhīs, which is in vivid contrast to the rest of the narrative.

The first of these chronicles, the *Tabāqāt-i Akbar Shāhī* by Niẓāmu'd-din Bakhshī, was completed in 1593. Apart from the fact that there are barely a dozen lines devoted to the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty the author makes the absurd statement that the founder of the dynasty, Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk, sold himself as a slave to Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī because he had heard that the king accorded great privileges to his slaves ! He follows the sarcastic and sneering remark of Akbar's Resident at Aḥmadnagar, Faiẓī, that Muḥammad-Qulī "was steeped in Shi'ism and had as his mistress an old and worn-out prostitute, Bhagmati."

Abu'l-Fazl's *Akbar Nāmā* deals with the life history of the Emperor Akbar up to 1600. It contains almost day-to-day diary of the Emperor, and is also full of useful data about the Deccan Sulṭanates when they came in a line with Imperial ambitions. He deals with the directed objective of the Mughal policy, Aḥmadnagar, and his description of the

part which Golkonda took in warding off the earlier Mughal onslaught on Aḥmadnagar is vivid. But facts are so shrouded in sheer verbosity and adulation of the Emperor that it is difficult to unravel them. Naturally the gradual infiltration and advance of the Mughals demanded a scaling down of the Deccanī Sulṭanates and Abu'l-Faẓl was quick to implement this policy with the power of his pen. He calls Burhān Niẓām Shāh "Burhānu'l-Mulk," Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh "Murtaẓa Niẓāmu'l-Mulk", Rājā 'Alī Khān of Khāndēsh "Marzbān-i Khāndēsh" and the Sulṭāns of Bijāpūr and Golkonda " 'Ādil Khān" and "Quṭbu'l-Mulk".

There is nothing very original about 'Abdu'l-Bāqi Nihāwandi's *Ma'āthīr-i Raḥīmī*, which was completed in 1616, except its enunciation of the life story of his patron 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān Khān-i Khānān and the sandwiching of certain historical facts in between. In the very beginning the author says that as he was pressed for time he could not compare the historical parts of his manuscript with the source books of history, and that was so "especially with regards to the Sulṭāns of the Deccan." It is perhaps for that reason that what little he knows about the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty is not always correct. He follows *Tabaqāt-i Akbar Shāhī* as his chief guide, but deviates from it even in certain essential facts, such as when he makes Muḥammad Amīn, whom he calls Muḥammad-Qulī's nephew, ascend the throne after him.

The two outstanding chronicles relating to Jahāngīr's reign, namely *Tozuk-i Jahāngīrī* and *Iqbāl Nāma-i Jahāngīrī*, are valuable as they give us full information about the history of Aḥmadnagar and Malik 'Ambar. As is known, a large part of the *Tozuk* was written or dictated by Jahāngīr himself and is a record of his reign in an uninhibited form. The *Iqbāl Nāma-i Jahāngīrī* is from the pen of Muhammad Sharīf Ma'tamad Khān. It is in three volumes, and it describes the annals of the Chaghtāi family including an abridgement of the first nineteen years of Jahāngīr's *Tozuk*. In both these books Malik 'Ambar is spoken of as the "Black 'Ambar" and with other epithets meant to be derogatory to him, and, as usual, Quṭbu'l-mulk" and " 'Ādil Khān" are epithets used for the Quṭb Shāhī and the 'Ādil Shāhī monarchs. The stress in both is, of course, on Aḥmadnagar, although the information regarding Golkonda is not lacking.

The two main chronicles of Shāh Jahān's reign, namely, 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhōrī's *Pādshāh Nāmā*, and Muḥammad Swāleḥ Kambō's *'Amal-i Swāleḥ* are full of valuable information about Quṭb Shāhī Ḥaidarābad. Lāhōrī's *Pādshāh Nāmā* deals with the first twenty years of Shāh Jahān's reign. While employing the usual Mughal epithets for the Sulṭāns of the Deccan, it gives a chronicle of the reign, including the Emperor's campaigns in the Deccan, his relations with "Quṭbu'l-mulk" and " 'Ādil Khān", the internal conditions of the States of the Deccan, the texts of the

imperial "farmāns" to 'Abdu'l-lāh Quṭb Shāh sent to him through the Mughal envoys and a number of official and private letters of the Emperor. Practically everything is datewise, and except for the inherent prejudice against the rulers of the south the book is a good chronicle of the Mughal role in the Deccan during the reign of Shāh Jahān.

Muḥammad Swāleḥ Kambo's *'Amal-i Swāleḥ* is as valuable a source book as Lāhōrī's *Pādshāh Nāmā*. It is more concise because it does not go into minute details of the reign. Like *Shāh Jahān Nāmā* it gives the dates of almost all the important events of Shāh Jahān's reign, but is comparatively poorer so far as the Deccan is concerned.

Passing on to the reign of Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr we come to *Ma'āṯhir-i 'Ālamgīrī* of Muḥammad Sāqī Musta'īd Khān which was completed in 1710 and is thus technically beyond the purview of our "contemporary histories". But for the first ten years of the Emperor's reign he bases his account on the *'Ālamgīr Nāmā* of Mirza Muḥammad Kāẓim, which goes as far as January 1668 and was compiled under the order of the Emperor himself according to the Mughal traditions. But this tradition was discarded in the tenth regnal year because the Emperor "preferred laying foundation of things esoteric to displaying things external", or perhaps, (according to Jadunath Sarkar) because he had to close the department owing to financial stringency. Whatever the reason might have been, it was only after 'Alamgīr's death that the *Ma'āṯhir* was again taken in hand.

The *Ma'āṯhir-i 'Ālamgīrī* is a faithful record of the reign by one who accompanied the Emperor to the Deccan. The author is certainly not verbose even when he borrows from *'Ālamgīr Nāmā*. The book contains a full description of the sojourn of the Emperor in the Deccan, his campaigns against Tilang-Andhra and occupation of Ḥaidarābad leading to the last days of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty.

As is the case with all "Mughal" histories, *'Ālamgīr Nāmā* is full of derision for the "Dunyādārān-i Dakan", and Abu'l-Ḥasan, who had lost all his power and authority, is treated with scant respect. The last siege of Golkōṇḍa, to which Abu'l-Ḥasan had betaken himself, is described in detail but with a certain amount of exaggeration. Thus "of the men of Ḥaidarabad not a soul remained alive" reminds one of the exaggerations of *Tārīkh-i Fīroz Shāhī* narrating the supposed order of Muḥammad bin Tughluq to the citizens of Delhi when he moved to Daulatābād.

There are many more chronicles of the reign of Aurangzeb but they are virtually of the same *genre*. Perhaps the last "Mughal" history contemporaneous with the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty is that by Mirza Nūru'd-dīn surnamed Ni'mat Khān and later Dānishmand Khān, with 'Ālī as his takhallus, called *Waqāi'*, "a facetious and satirical account of Aurangzeb's siege of Ḥaidarābād in 1687". The full name of the book, which is in mixed prose and verse, calls Haidarābād "Dāru'l-Jihād" or "the

Region of the Holy War", thus preparing the reader for the final blow of the Emperor on what was left of the power of the last Quṭb Shāhī monarch. Naturally one cannot expect a balanced view from a writer like Ni'amat Khān-i 'Ālī. Satirist as he was, satire did not leave him even after his death, for while he is variously supposed to have died at Delhi and Lahore, his grave is still pointed out in the Dā'irā of Mīr Mu'min at Ḥaidarābād!

SECTION VII

Records left to us by the Dutch and the English East India Companies

We have a fairly complete set of records of the Dutch East India Company and factories in India with its centre at Batavia (modern Jākārtā) and the English East India Company centred primarily at Surat with its offshoots in what came to be called the Golkōnḍa Coast. Although these records are not histories proper but principally communications from the Dutch and English Factors, they throw a flood of light on certain aspects of the life led by the people and are even more valuable to a student of the social and economic history of the region than our Indo-Persian chronicles. This was the period of Dutch expansion and their competition, struggle and wars with the British. The Dutch stole a march over the British in this area, for while the English were able to establish their factory at Masulipatam in 1611, the Dutch had already established their factory at Pulicaṭ two years earlier, while the French East India Company was not founded till 1664.

The Dutch had a big outlet for their trade to Batavia and the hinterland, and their records consist of official letters from their establishments on the east coast of India to and from Batavia. On the other hand the English records consist mainly of communications between their establishments in the Andhra region to their factory at Surat, and later, to their factories in Bengal. Both the Dutch and the English companies were purely commercial establishments, although they had acquired the right to construct small forts and to man them by companies of armed soldiers. It was the Dutch who first acquired the right to keep a "Residentiary" at Haidarabad, and this was soon followed by the appointment of like representative of the English there, though these "Residentiaries did not enjoy the same status and privileges as accorded to Ambassadors.

These records are extremely valuable as they have registered such important data as the enumeration of the natural produce and manufactories of the region, price levels in port towns, rates of exchange between

the European and local currencies, salaries paid to the Factors and other servants of the Companies, compared with the affluence of the magnates, cordial relationship with the different sections of the population, and the condition of the roads and means of transport in the Kingdom. They also deal with certain important state officials and their jurisdiction, the control they exercised on the trade of the Companies and the underhand manner by which they were able to get special privileges from the concerned governments. On the international plane they deal with the relations between the Mughal power, the Deccan Sultanates, and the rising power of the Marathas.

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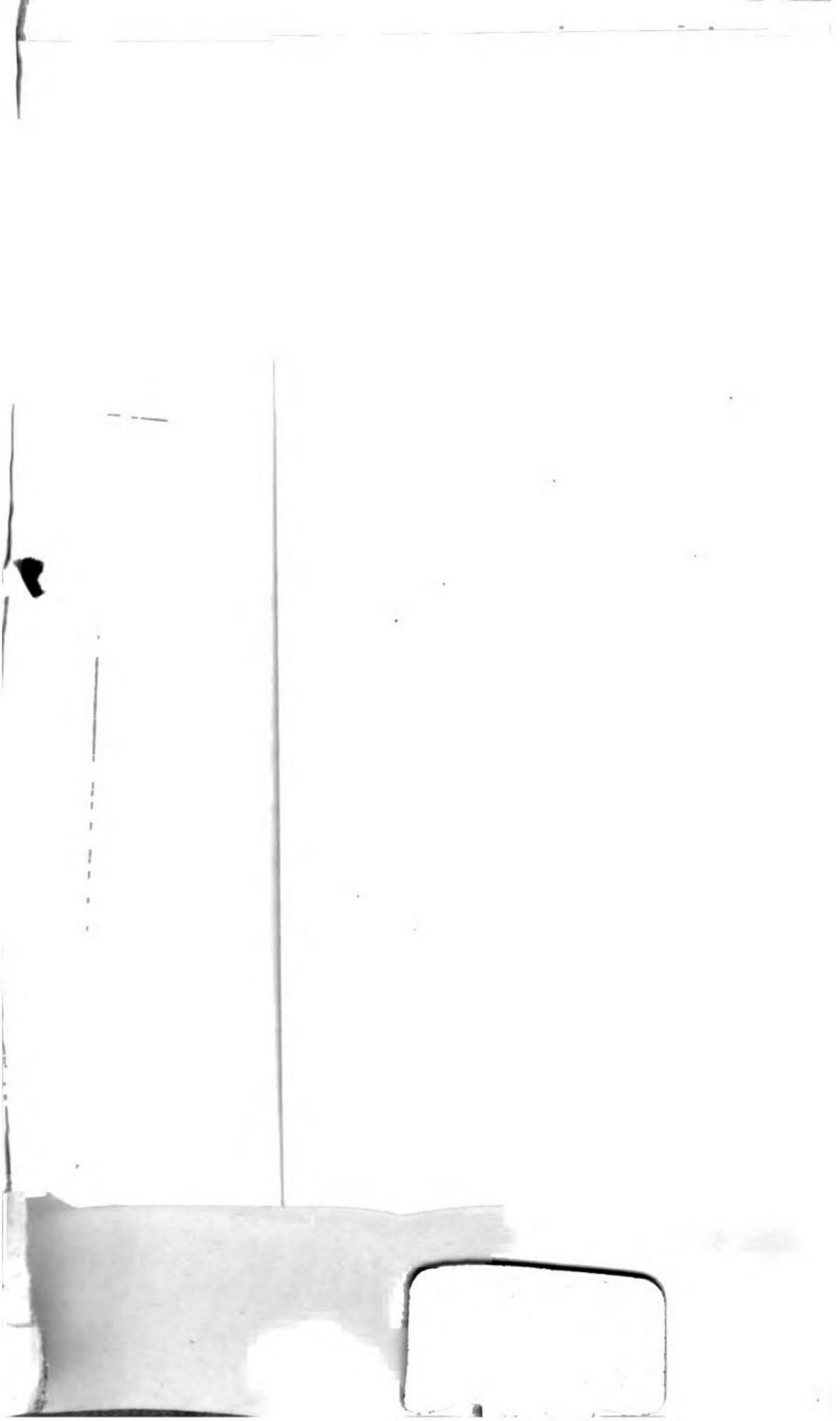
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